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THE

NEW ENGLANDER.

NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI.

VOLUME IX.

NEW SERIES—VOL. III., 1851.

NEW YORK:
S. W. BENEDICT, 16 SPRUCE STREET.
1851.

NEW YORK:
S. W. BENEDICT, 16 SPRUCE STREET.
1851.

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L. B. NOTEDMAN

NEW YORK :
S. W. BENEDICT, PRINT.,
16 Spruce street .

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX.

No. I.

	Page
ART. I. The Monuments of Egypt, - - - - -	1
II. Systematic Benevolence, - - - - -	14
III. Dana's Writings, - - - - -	28
IV. Dr. Davidson on the New Testament, - - - - -	35
V. Everett's Orations and Speeches, - - - - -	44
VI. Domestic Architecture, - - - - -	57
VII. Steamships to Liberia,—African Colonization, - - - - -	70
VIII. Caucasus, - - - - -	88
IX. Reforms in Collegiate Education, - - - - -	100

LITERARY NOTICES.—Andrews' Latin English Lexicon, 144; Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, 146; The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for 1851, 149; M'Cosh's Method of the Divine Government, physical and moral, 151; The Women of Israel, by Grace Aguilar, 151; Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Pre-Millennial? by the Rev. David Brown, A.M., 152; Fowler's English Grammar, 153; Dwight's Christianity revived in the East, 153; Ward's India and the Hindoos, 154; Lowrie's Two Years in Upper India, 155; Bigelow's Jamaica in 1850, 155; Dickinson's Responses from the Sacred Oracles, 155; Leyburn's Soldier of the Cross, 156; Williams' Religious Progress, 156; Cobbin's Illustrated Domestic Bible, 156; Peabody's Christian Consolations, 157; Addresses and Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Middlebury College, 157; A General View of the Fine Arts, Critical and Historical, 157; Macfarlane's History of Propellers and Steam Navigation, 157; Bartlett's Elements of Natural Philosophy, 158; Downing's Horticulturalist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste, 158; The Cultivator, a Monthly Journal for the Farmer, Gardener and Orchardist, 158; Books received, 158.

No. II.

ART. I. The Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, 161	161
II. Endless Punishment, a Result of Character, - - - - -	186
III. The Bards of the Bible, - - - - -	198
IV. The Results of Modern Missions, Permanent, - - - - -	207
V. Health and Disease, - - - - -	223
VI. Brown on the First Epistle of Peter, - - - - -	243
VII. Life and Writings of Campbell, - - - - -	261
VIII. Plank Roads, - - - - -	290
IX. Sketch of the Life and Character of the Hon. David Daggett, - - - - -	296

LITERARY NOTICES.—Bushnell's Christ in Theology, 310; Davis' Half Century, 311; Trench on the Miracles of our Lord, 314; Putnam's World's Progress, 314; Miller's Old Red Sandstone, 315; Miller's Footprints of the Creator, 315; Hunt's Poetry of Science, 315; Agassiz and Gould's Zoology, 315; Green's

RECAP

History and Geography, 317; Lincoln's Horace, 317; The Devotional Sacred Music of America, 317; Reveries of a Bachelor, 318; Anthon's Smith's Classical Dictionary, 318; Appleton's Mechanic's Magazine, 319; Lavengro, 319; The Wide, Wide World, 319; Books received, 319.

No. III.

ART. I. The Railroad Enterprise, its Progress, Management, and Utility,	321
II. Amusements,	345
III. James H. Perkins,	359
IV. The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church,	372
V. The Military Orders,	388
VI. Sketch of the Life and Character of the Hon. Simeon Baldwin,	426
VII. The World's Advance,	438

LITERARY NOTICES.—Buttmann's Greek Grammar, 459; Report on Education in Liberia, 461; Sanitary Reform in Massachusetts, 465; Autobiography of Obadiah Congar, 466; Irving's Conquest of Florida, 468; Stuart on Ecclesiastes, 471; Gayarre's Louisiana, 471; Hildreth's History, 472; Memoirs of Wordsworth, 472; Comstock and Coming's Physiology, 473; The Stones of Venice, 473; The Irish Confederates and Rebellion in 1798, 474; Potter's Address before the R. I. Historical Society, 474; Hollister's Mount Hope, 475; Books received, 476.

No. IV.

ART. I. Physical Science and the Useful Arts in their relation to Christian Civilization,	481
II. Dr. Isaac Barrow,	498
III. Lord's Epoch of Creation,	510
IV. The Puritan Element in the American Character,	531
V. Campbell's Age of Gospel Light,	544
VI. Stephens' Farmer's Guide,	553
VII. Wilson's Church Identified,	564
VIII. Memoirs of William Wordsworth,	583

LITERARY NOTICES.—Murdock's Peshito New Testament, 616; Atwater's Concio ad Clerum, 618; Adams' Elements of Christian Science, 619; Dwight's Discourses, with Memoir, 621; Henry's Life and Times of Calvin, 621; Neander's Church History, 622; Humboldt's Cosmos, 623; Comte's Philosophy of Mathematics, 623; Arnold's History of Rome, 623; Mayhew's London Labor and London Poor, 624; De Quincey's Literary Reminiscences, 624; Motherwell's Posthumous Poems, 625; Hildreth's History, 625; Appleton's Dictionary of Machines, &c., 625; Mills' Literature, and Literary men of Great Britain, 625; Baillie's Memoir of Hewitson, 626; Clement's Memoir of Judson, 626; Birks' Memoir of Bickersteth, 627; Kitto's Cyclopædia, 627; Kitto's Bible Illustrations, 627; Tucker's Rainbow of the North, 628; Williams' Lectures on the Lord's Prayer, 628; Wickes' Exposition of the Apocalypse, 628; Trench's Star of the Wise Men, 629; Postscriptum, 629; Books received, 629.

THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. XXXIII.

FEBRUARY, 1851.

ART. I.—THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT.

The Monuments of Egypt; or Egypt a Witness for the Bible.

By FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D. With illustrations.
Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Geo. P.
Putnam, 155 Broadway. London: John Murray. 1850.
New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THE former edition of this work has already received a brief notice in our pages. We take the opportunity of a second edition to discuss several topics of interest, either contained in it or suggested by its perusal.

Various circumstances have contributed to excite a deep interest in whatever relates to Egypt. Its physical peculiarities, its ancient achievements and glory, its parental relation to Grecian civilization, its wonderful dynasties, awaking, as seen in the shadowy distance of far off centuries, the sublimest emotions of the soul; all its history, as the cradle of civilization and the land of the Monuments, its treasures of remotest antiquity, not more curious in themselves than in the manner of their transmission to us, its rich veins of historic learning yet to be explored, the contrast of its present abjectness with the colossal grandeur of the ruins of what it once was—these things would throw a thrilling interest around it, even if its history had no intimate connection with the Bible. But the fact that it has such a connection, must to the Christian scholar, immeasurably enhance this interest. Very naturally, therefore, has the attention of scholars been directed to Egyptian researches; and these have been rewarded by splendid results.

It is to be hoped this interest will steadily increase. Indeed we think it is to be expected, especially on the part of our own countrymen. For, through the present facilities for commerce and travel, Egypt is brought almost as near us as the Canadas were twenty years ago. Accordingly, it is but reasonable to anticipate that a people, like ours, active and full of enterprise, will resort thither, not alone on errands of commerce but of pleasure, and will thoroughly explore a region so replete in stirring and sacred associations, and indebted, scarcely less to antiquity than to nature, for its attractive features. Nor is Egypt destined to monopolize the interest which American scholars and Christians will feel in the countries of the Old World. Every country from classic and philosophic Greece to the hitherto unexplored and untutored regions of central Africa, from sacred Syria to the Siberian wilds, will as surely be visited by lovers of adventure and science as is now the majestic scenery of Switzerland, or the ruins of the Coliseum or of Pompeii. Indeed we cannot doubt that every point on the earth's surface is destined to an examination as much more minute than heretofore as the facilities for reaching it are more multiplied. Every such point is destined to furnish its tribute to the mighty aggregate of human knowledge.

And we are glad to think that it will be so. Whoever adds to the stock of human knowledge, merits a commendation which sooner or later he is sure to receive. At the present time particularly we are disposed to applaud those who are fostering among us a love of research into antiquity. Happy if we emulate in this respect English and German scholars. Hitherto we have done in this field comparatively nothing. Nor have we appreciated its real productiveness, or the value of what it would yield.

It should be remembered that, although the process of decay goes on as time advances, yet God has fixed a limit to decay as to the ocean, with the decree, "hitherto shalt thou come and no further." He has prohibited the destruction of a single, the smallest atom of the universe, preserving to a wonderful extent in the crust of the earth even the forms of ancient organic life, and thus opening for the curiosity of the learned a long chapter on the natural history of the remotest ages. He has also preserved written or rock-recorded chronicles of generations far back toward the infancy of our race. He has overruled the destructive instincts of men and recovered by novel and surprising methods, historic knowledge which the vandalism of an Omar in burning the Alexandrian library, or the bigotry of ecclesiastics in obliterating the classic lore upon innumerable old parchments, had undertaken to extinguish. And to what but the providence of God shall be ascribed the fact, that, prior to the art of printing, whose value in transmitting the ideas of one generation to be the

starting point of that which succeeds, none can duly estimate, mankind were moved as by the impulse of a divine economy, to preserve their national records in enduring sculptures and paintings? What agency but his has so signally preserved these chronicles buried, as at Nineveh, beneath the ruins of an empire and the rubbish of forty centuries, or locked up, as in the hidden tombs of Egypt, in the mystery of hieroglyphic symbols? What agency but his has at length, when their perpetuity will by the art of printing be secured, guided the seeker after knowledge to their sealed repositories, and thus recovered them for the world?

But we shall have occasion hereafter to notice the agency of providence in preserving for modern research the treasures of antiquity. We allude to it now only as an auspicious omen for those who are incited to explore the remote past. Doubtless there is a limit to productive research backward along the line of centuries. We are far enough, however, at present from that limit. There is a vast region of unexplored territory yet to be traversed by the antiquarian. Pompeii is not wholly disinterred. Many a street there, many a mansion, many a manuscript, many a choice specimen of ancient art, is yet to be uncovered. The ruins of ancient Nineveh are not explored in vain. The sculptured and painted records of that ancient empire, of which she was the renowned metropolis, are neither lost nor altogether beyond the sagacity of man to decipher. Many an old library in Europe contains, among its dust-covered manuscripts, treasures of ancient learning yet unrevealed. Many a tomb doubtless remains in Egypt whose hoary seal of thirty centuries has never yet been broken, whose mummies and precious relics are yet to be gathered. Many a hieroglyphic inscription is yet to be read and the intelligence, stored behind its mystery, to be divulged. Accordingly, the antiquarian scholar will dig in a rich mine. He wants neither a path nor an inducement, other than he now possesses, to urge him forward.

But if this be true generally of researches into antiquity, pre-eminently is it true of researches among the rocky and written remains of those splendid empires that lie about sacred Palestine, and whose history is inseparably interwoven with that of ancient Israel. Not to speak of the almost incredible massiveness of their architecture, an architecture whose imperishable material has preserved for us, upon its walls and ceilings, the delineations of the history of their people, as the art of printing will more perfectly preserve ours for posterity, other circumstances throw around their antiquities a peculiar charm. The connection of their history with that of God's people, for example, will greatly enhance the interest with which it will be investigated; particularly as this connection associates it intimately with the truth of the Bi-

ble. So will the intrinsic character of that history, and its relation to the civilization of those nations with whose golden eras profane history may be said to have begun. These circumstances are fitted to kindle among scholars and Christians a livelier enthusiasm in researches like those of which the volume before us treats.

This volume aims to accomplish two praiseworthy objects; the one, to awaken among our Christian scholars a deeper interest in those portions of the field of antiquity which are most intimately connected with the Bible; the other, to meet the skeptic on his own ground, and demonstrate to him that, so far from the monuments of Egypt throwing suspicion on the Old Testament, they signally and in numerous particulars confirm its statements. The work is, in many respects, similar to the treatise on the same subject by Hengstenberg, a translation of which was published at Andover in 1843, although it differs from that in being, if not as learned, more extensive and more popular. It contemplates, at least in the concluding chapter, the application of monumental evidence to the entire Old Testament, while Hengstenberg has confined himself to the books of Moses. It will be more read than the German work and more serviceable to religion.

The particular necessity for investigations like those in this volume, Dr. Hawks has well remarked, lies in the "bold assertions of those who have proclaimed their discovery in the monuments, of evidence directly contradicting the Bible," not in any real deficiency of the evidence of its authenticity. That these assertions of unbelievers and misbelievers give importance to these investigations is most true. But there are other reasons which very much magnify this importance. We believe that undesigned coincidences between facts of an historic or scientific nature and the Bible, are often the best possible evidence with which to meet the infidel. They are often better than a thousand veteran arguments. And for this reason, that unbelief or misbelief is frequently the growth of a mere notion, or conjecture, which, when once it has obtained a lodgment in the mind, defies all regular argument and appeal. No ordinary process of reasoning, no logical missiles, can reach it. And yet, under these circumstances, apparently hopeless, an incidental testimony, an undesigned coincidence, will many times prove entirely effectual.

We of course agree with Dr. Hawks, that the Bible needs no incidental testimony to support it. It stands impreguably founded on other and more direct evidence. At the same time, who would not covet material with which promptly to silence unbelief, and this by pointing, as if disdainfully, not to the main arguments, but only to incidental coincidences corroborative of scripture. However unpretending this kind of evidence may and ought to be, it will yet compare favorably in its popular influence with many of the standard evidences of Christianity.

For the benefit of such of our readers as may not have access to the volume of Dr. Hawks, we will give, in a condensed form, a specimen of his *mode* of argument. Having alluded to the geographical contiguity of Egypt and Canaan, and to the fact that since both these countries were confessedly peopled by descendants of Ham, the former, by the posterity of Mizraim from whom in the Scriptures Egypt is often named, and the latter, by the posterity of Canaan, the remaining son of Ham, he adds :— “Nothing therefore was more natural than that an intercourse should exist between these descendants of a common stock. We have in the Scriptures the history of this intercourse, and we now enter upon the direct inquiry how far the statements of our history derive incidental confirmation from facts concerning Egypt, gathered from other sources.”

For a specimen of his *argument*, we will review the case of Joseph. Opening first the Bible, we gather from it the following incidents in his biography. He was sold for twenty pieces of silver by his brethren to Arabian merchants traveling with their spices into Egypt. Sold again for a household slave to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's guard, he is made overseer of Potiphar's house ; Potiphar's wife attempts to seduce him ; he is cast into prison ; he interprets the dreams of the chief baker and butler ; is sent for to interpret Pharaoh's dream ; is elevated with certain ceremonies to office and honor ; during seven years of plenty he collects and stores the fruits of the earth ; in the subsequent famine which was over all the lands, he entertains his brethren on their second visit to Egypt ; he sends for his father with wagons, who arrives with his other sons, and is settled in Goshen. At length, Jacob dies and is embalmed by Joseph's physicians at his command. Afterward Joseph dies, is embalmed, and put in a coffin in Egypt.

Such are the incidents as related in the Bible. They throw not a little light upon Egyptian society and customs at that period. The allusions are particular, definite, and various ; allusions such as no man would have dared to make, ignorant of what he affirmed. They are such as rendered it easy to expose the writer, had he been an imposter. They are such indeed as a man, drawing on his imagination for materials, could never have devised.

We turn next to the monumental records of Egypt. These we find partly engraven in monumental inscriptions, partly sculptured on pillars and obelisks, or on the interior walls of tombs, partly painted there in unfaded colors, and partly indicated by the multiplied relics of ancient workmanship and agricultural productions. They constitute a history, locked up during the centuries that have intervened between that and the present, and thus preserved from all interpolation. This history we know, there-

fore, to be, in its general features, perfectly reliable. Turning accordingly to it, to ascertain whether the statements of the writer in the Bible relative to Joseph will bear the test of this reliable contemporaneous evidence, we at once perceive that the credibility of the Scriptures is here incidentally maintained, and from an unexpected source. For, in reference to the first of these statements, to wit, that he was sold to Arabian merchants going with their spices to Egypt, it is ascertained from the existence of certain wells, referred to by Wilkinson, and found in the desert over which the caravans were obliged to pass, that such caravans were accustomed at that time to go into Egypt with merchandise. He cites also some monumental evidence of the same fact. Next, as to the price paid for Joseph, "twenty pieces of silver," the fact that such expressions as "pieces of silver," "pieces of money," are common in the Bible, and that no mention is any where made of coin, having a fixed value, shows that, according to the Bible, the circulating medium of that remote period was, not coined money, but pieces of the precious metals having a specific weight. That the idea of price with the ancient Egyptians involved indeed, not a specific number of coins, but a specific weight of metal, is fully confirmed by the monuments where money is seen in the form of ingots, bars and rings of gold and silver. We next ask whether such a condition of servitude as that to which the Bible represents Joseph to have been reduced, did actually exist in Egypt? On this point the monuments leave no room for doubt. Slaves in great numbers are represented in the sculptures and paintings, employed in building temples, cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments and other public works, as also in the service of families. We next inquire whether such an office as that of Potiphar existed in Egypt? He is styled captain of the guard, or according to another translation, chief of the executioners. Taking the former as the correct translation, we discover in the battle scenes depicted on the monuments a body guard around the monarch, of which Potiphar must have been the commander; while taking the latter as the true translation, we have only to remember that the chief of the executioners is at the East a high court officer. As his office was considered one of great honor and responsibility, "the incidental allusion to it in the story," as Dr. Hawks has justly remarked, "shows on the part of its author minutely accurate information as to the customs and usages of the Pharaonic Court."

The next circumstance in the scripture narrative is that Joseph was made overseer of Potiphar's house. Did this office exist among opulent and official Egyptians? Of this there can be no doubt; for the steward, or overseer, is often delineated—a man carrying implements for writing, the writing table, the tablet, and the like,—even to the pen over the ear. This man follows or pre-

cedes the servants, and is known, not only by the implements about him, but also by an inscription over him, which states that he is the overseer of the slaves, or the steward. In relation to the attempt of Potiphar's wife to seduce Joseph, we of course find on the monuments no direct confirmation. We however find numerous representations, evincing unchastity and intemperance among the women of Egypt, which render the statement of the writer in the Pentateuch highly probable. In relation to the chief baker and butler, kitchen scenes, painted in some of the tombs, furnish abundant evidence that these offices were common in Egypt. The circumstances related in the dreams, also find abundant confirmation in the monuments. The wicker baskets, so constructed that they might be carried one above another, the carrying of them on the head, the vine, too, with the whole process of converting the grape into wine,—these are all delineated on the monuments. We find equal confirmation from this source of the incident of Joseph's introduction into Pharaoh's presence to interpret his dream, and of the allusions in the dream itself. One circumstance is particularly striking—Joseph, being sent for, is said to have "*shaved himself*" before going in unto Pharaoh. This "casual and slight allusion to remarkable customs," it is well said by our author, "a mere inventor would not be likely to introduce at all, or at any rate without explanation." Contrary to universal custom among Orientals, the Egyptians are almost uniformly represented on the monuments as beardless. Accordingly, Joseph, who as a Hebrew or a man in prison, had suffered his beard to grow, "would not dare to enter the presence of Pharaoh without shaving." He knew that the customs of Egypt rendered it indispensable. Respecting the dreams, we will mention but one of several allusions, significant in themselves, and impressively confirmed by monumental evidence. In the second dream seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, that is, seven heads of wheat. Now, strange and inexplicable as this may appear, it is at once explained, and the significance of the allusion perceived, by a knowledge of the particular species of wheat, grown from the earliest periods in Egypt. Unlike that with which we are acquainted, this variety produces several ears, or heads, to each stalk. This peculiarity is ascertained, not alone by reference to the wheat grown in Egypt at the present day, but by the actual germination and fruitfulness of wheat, preserved from the most ancient times, and found in vessels in the tombs of the Pharaohs. The same variety of wheat is cultivated in California at the present time.

The next circumstance for which we seek confirmation from the monuments, is the promotion of Joseph from the oversight of Potiphar's house to that of the entire realm. We first notice here a large grant of power. Joseph becomes the first officer in the

kingdom. This is quite in keeping with all we know of Orientalism from the remotest antiquity. The next thing is the royal ring put upon Joseph's hand, like the great seal of England entrusted to the prime minister. Now, although this circumstance has given rise to an objection of a German infidel, who alleges that "these objects of luxury, especially polished stones, belonged to a later time," yet is the statement of the Bible supported in the clearest manner by monumental evidence. For not only are signet rings and bracelets distinctly delineated on the monuments, but they have been actually found in the most ancient tombs, together with rings and seals, cut both in gold and stone, and are now to be seen in the valuable cabinet of Dr. Abbot at Cairo. This is a specimen of the manner in which the statements of the German neologists have been disproved by disinterments and discoveries in the Egyptian tombs. Next we notice that vestures of fine linen were put upon Joseph. Did the ancient Egyptians manufacture or make use of linen fabrics? That they did so is demonstrable from a microscopic examination of the wrapping cloths of the mummies, some of which are ascertained to be linen. That such a ceremony of investiture had obtained in Egypt, is proved by a painting in a tomb at Thebes, which represents the investiture of a chief with a highly honorable office under the king. In this painting, "the two attendants," in the language of Wilkinson, "or inferior priests, are engaged in clothing him with the robes of his new office. One puts on a necklace; the other arranges his dress, a fillet being already bound round his head, &c." As to the chain of gold put about Joseph's neck, our author quotes from Hengstenberg, that "in the tombs of Beni Hassan many slaves are represented, each of whom has in his hand something which belongs to the dress or ornaments of his master. The first carries one of the necklaces with which the neck and breast of persons of high rank are generally adorned. Over it stands an inscription signifying, 'necklace of gold.'"

In reference to the circumstance of Joseph storing the fruits of the earth during the seven years of plenty, the following may be cited as strikingly illustrative and confirmatory. "In one of the grottoes of Eleithuias a man is depicted whose business it evidently was to take an account of the number of bushels which another man, acting under him, measures. The inscription over him is, 'the registrar of bushels.'" Granaries, too, ordinarily constructed as a series of vaulted chambers, are depicted in the tombs, as also laborers engaged in filling them successively with grain, the measurer, and the registrar who takes the account. Next follow the statements of the Bible, that there succeeded these years of extraordinary fertility, a famine which extended over all the neighboring countries; that Joseph gave an entertainment to his brethren on their second visit to Egypt; that he sent for his

father with vehicles denominated wagons in our version of the Scriptures ; that his father and brethren on their arrival were settled in Goshen ; that upon Jacob's death he was embalmed by the physicians of Joseph, and that upon Joseph's death he also was embalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt. In regard to these incidents, narrated in the Bible, our limits will not permit an extended notice. Enough to say that, inasmuch as from history we know that famines have occurred in several instances both in Egypt and in the adjacent lands, it is entirely credible that, although depending on different natural causes, they may yet have occurred simultaneously over the entire East. The incident of the wagons employed to transport the patriarch and his family from Canaan to Egypt is corroborated by monuments showing, in addition to the ancient war chariot, light covered carts or wagons, which are probably the vehicles referred to by the sacred writer. The settlement in Goshen, and the bestowment of this choicest portion of Egypt on the family of strangers, are explained, not only by the fact that the temper of the government at this time naturally disposed it to display extravagant liberality to the kindred of Joseph for Joseph's sake, but that Goshen, being a frontier territory between Egypt and Arabia, and thus exposed to the incursions of a nomadic foe, was less valuable to the Egyptians than its richness of soil would lead us to suppose. Being occupied by the native population, neither property nor life were secure, while the Israelites, having come from the East, would not only be more likely to remain unmolested, but would thus become a frontier guard to the rest of the kingdom. The remarkable respect paid by the Egyptians to the dead in the embalming of their bodies, is demonstrated by the actual existence of those embalmed bodies in the mummies of the present day.

We have thus given in a condensed and consequently imperfect form a specimen of the incidental coincidences with the statements of the Bible, and of the corroborations of its history, traced by Dr. Hawks more at length in the latter half of the present volume. We have taken for our specimen the history of Joseph only. But the compiler has likewise compared scripture and monumental testimony respecting Abraham, the bondage in Egypt, the deliverance, the wanderings, and certain historical statements of the Bible not found in the Pentateuch. One of these statements furnishes, when thus compared with the monuments, so remarkable a confirmation of the Bible, that we quote his account of it. It relates to the invasion of Judea by Shishak king of Egypt, mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the second book of Chronicles. Shishak, it will be remembered, according to the Bible, came and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the king's treasures ; in a word, he achieved a conquest of the country.

"This Shishak is the Pharaoh Sesonchis of Manetho, and was the head of the twenty-second dynasty of kings, which originated at Bubastis, a very ancient city of Lower Egypt. It so happened that before the mixed commission of French and Italians that visited Egypt in 1828, Champollion without then having ever seen Egypt detected the cartouche of this Pharaoh in some of the engraved representations of Europe and read it 'Beloved of Amon, *SHESHONK*.' It was four years afterward before Champollion saw Egypt, 'during which interval,' says Mr. Gliddon, 'the name of Sheshonk and his captive nations had been examined times without number by other hieroglyphists, and the names of all the prisoners had been copied by them and published, without any one of them having noticed the extraordinary biblical corroboration thence to be deduced.' On his passage up the Nile, Champollion landed for an hour or two about sunset to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnac; and on entering one of the halls he found a picture representing a triumph in which he instantly pointed out, in the third line of a row of sixty-three prisoners, (each indicating a city, nation, or tribe,) presented by Sheshonk to Amunra, a figure, the writing upon which he translated 'king of the country of Judah.'

"The picture had been executed by order of Shishak, or Sheshonk, so that here was found the sculptured record of the invasion and conquest recorded in the Chronicles. On the same picture were shields containing in hieroglyphics the names of Beth-horon, Megiddo, Mahanaim, and some others, all towns through which Shishak passed on his invasion of Judea."

From the foregoing evidence gleaned from the monuments compared with the incidents in Joseph's career, which we find in the sacred narrative, and from the direct confirmation of the conquest of Judea by the army of Shishak, our readers will be able to judge respecting the testimony borne by ancient Egyptian remains in favor of the Bible. It lays no claim to the dignity of direct, positive testimony. With regard to a multitude of events of which the sacred writer speaks, it is silent. Yet, purely circumstantial though it be, who can fail to appreciate its interest and value? It is particularly valuable for a class of minds apparently so constituted that an incidental argument, an undesigned coincidence, especially from a source having no reference to the principal subject, is, in matters of religion, most of all satisfactory and conclusive. For it ordinarily proves to be at least the one drop more which sets the mind overflowing in conviction. For this reason we have no sympathy with those minds which profess to despise this kind of evidence. And yet it is quite possible to injure the cause of truth by raising expectations, and putting forth assumptions in regard to monumental evidence for the Bible, which are unwarrantable. Hence we accord fully with the following judicious remarks at the close of the volume.

"The truth of the Bible is not dependent, in any degree, on our being able to produce evidence for its support from the monuments of Egypt. If that country had not a monument within it, it would not affect the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament. That it has such monuments, and that in modern times, God in his providence has permitted us to see that in many particulars they do illustrate and confirm our sacred writings, is cause for thankfulness; but such confirmation it must be remembered, when found is purely incidental, and cannot, therefore, be expected to present to us a continued story of events, which would constitute in fact but another complete history of what is already written in the Bible."

We have been specially interested while traversing this general subject with the indications of a providential agency in the preservation and production at the present day, of these monumental confirmations of the Bible. Indeed had Dr. Hawks given to the idea of this agency a greater prominence, it would have enhanced, certainly to the Christian scholar, the interest of his work. Nor would it, with any reasonable mind, have at all impaired the force of his argument by the impression that he was leaping too often from the region of fact to that of fancy. In the exercise of the same discrimination and judgment which he has elsewhere displayed, he would have thrown around it an additional charm. Writing for Christians, as well as for inquirers into the authenticity and credibility of the Bible, he might have penned on this theme one of his most attractive chapters, or have interwoven it more through the entire discussion. That his mind was not a little impressed with this agency is clearly apparent. Indeed it were impossible even for a candid deist to shut out entirely the conviction of a providential agency in furnishing us, in these latter days, with so copious materials, so numerous remains, and these so instructive, in reference to the Bible. Whence those peculiar characteristics of the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians—we speak with reference to the colossal scale which distinguishes their architecture, and to its massive materials, as if originally intended to defy the tooth of time and outlast all time? Whence the custom of paying such respect to the dead, as appears from those *threescore and ten* pyramids, built, as it is now ascertained, for royal mausolea, and constituting “that sublime Necropolis of the world,” and as appears too from the embalming of bodies and storing them with so costly a care in rock-hewn tombs? Whence their superstitious care to conceal the localities of these sepultured dead—a concealment to which may be attributed, perhaps, past security and more extensive present discovery and exploration? Whence the custom of painting their tombs with life scenes, national and domestic, and of placing in them many of the productions, utensils and ornaments of Pharaonic times—articles which we may now, more than three thousand years afterward, look upon and handle? Whence their habit of constructing for the great, imperishable sarcophagi, covered with significant sculptures, and minute inscriptions, forming, when collected together, a sort of running chronicle of national affairs? Of a truth, these remarkable peculiarities of the people, viewed in connection with the unparalleled dryness of the atmosphere of Egypt, whereby the most ancient monuments have been preserved from corrosion, and the most ancient paintings from fading, viewed too in connection with the preservation of the monumental records through the successive billows of calamity that have swept over that now degraded

country, and in connection with the close relation of these records to the Israelites and the Bible, bespeak the finger of God. Taken together they form a chain of circumstances, which it is immeasurably less superstitious to ascribe to the providence of God than to accident or chance.

Conspicuous to us likewise is a providential agency in the great discovery of Champollion by which the mysterious hieroglyphics have been made to disclose their long treasured secrets. One can hardly read the admirable description which Dr. Hawks has given of the successive steps of progress made by such archæologists as De Sacy, Akerblad, Young and the immortal Champollion, till the latter achieved his triumphant entrance into the temple of hieroglyphic learning, and opened its doors to the world, without confessing that the finger of God was in this thing. It was not a little marvelous that the minds of these eminent orientalist and their coadjutors should be simultaneously waked up to the subject. It was no less marvelous that, while eager and earnest they were congregated around the doors of this wonderful temple, a French officer should, in the Rosetta stone, dig up for them its key, and French scholars, accompanying Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, should furnish to their hand such an abundance of hieroglyphic inscriptions, and that soon after Caillaud should light upon the obelisk at Philæ, previously discovered by Belzoni, and so valuable in verifying their conclusions. When we remember, too, that from the ruins of ancient Nineveh, Layard is digging fragments of the chronicles of Assyrian dynasties and finding there many a striking confirmation of scripture; when we consider that the advancement of the modern sciences, particularly chemistry and geology, has incidentally arrayed them among the witnesses for the Bible—the former, demonstrating that the infidel's alleged impossibility of a general conflagration of the earth, such as many suppose to be revealed in the Scriptures, is not only no impossibility but entirely credible, and the latter, confirming the Bible's chronology of the creation of man, by the fact that no human remains occur in geological strata of anterior date—we can not be blind to the footsteps of Providence. It savors of no superstition to believe, that, in this age of inquiry and skepticism, God is multiplying from unexpected sources, evidence, incidental, indeed, but for this reason more impressive, of the authenticity of the Bible.

And we look hopefully to the future. We look for a better understanding of the cuneiform character and the inscriptions written therein; for more discoveries in the tombs of Egypt, and a more extended and thorough deciphering of hieroglyphic literature. The end of these interesting confirmations of scriptural history, we are sure, is not yet. Not that they are important to supply a felt deficiency of evidence for the Old Testament; not

that the Christian asks them for himself, but that even on the proclivities towards infidelity on which so many of our youth and business men are thrown, there may be found various and ample restraining influences to keep them back from the abyss.

We can not conclude this article without calling attention to one or two other interesting bearings of the information derived from researches into Egyptian antiquities. The knowledge already obtained, not only respecting Egypt but Assyria, ought to eradicate forever the notion of many that this world began in barbarism. Founded on this assumption is an infidel objection to the Old Testament, which urges the high civilization of Egypt at so early a period as evidence that the creation of man took place earlier than the time indicated by the writer of the Pentateuch, on the ground that the interval between Adam and the period of Egypt's grandeur, is too brief for the race to have grown up to so elevated a condition. But how much more rational is it to believe, from the evidence we have of Egypt's high civilization, at an antiquity so remote as the days of Abraham, that the world began in intelligence as well as in purity. How much more rational to believe that its original progress was, not from barbarism to civilization, but the reverse; that sin and selfishness have been bearing only their natural fruit in human darkness and degradation, and hence that man's recovery to universal civilization may be expected only to keep pace with his recovery to God.

These researches among Egyptian antiquities bear in their results with peculiar interest on the interpretation of portions of the Old Testament Scriptures. They have gone far toward a settlement of many of the interpretations about which the learned have disagreed. Many a time, a hint derived from the monumental records has been the interpreter's guiding light, conducting him to a satisfactory view of what was dark before. One passage, which has been the theme of much discussion among commentators, we can not forbear to instance. The Bible states that at the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt, "every shepherd was an abomination" there; while, prior to this, at the time of Abraham's sojourn in the country, nothing of the kind appears to have existed. Conjectural explanations of this fact are not difficult. Several rather ingenious ones have been proposed; but by far the most satisfactory is suggested by what the researches of antiquarians have brought to light relative to Egypt's early history. It is believed to be now a settled fact that Lower Egypt was at a very remote period overrun and tyrannized over by a race of Asiatic nomads, or shepherd kings, and that between the arrival of Abraham in Egypt and that of Jacob, they had been expelled by the native sovereigns. This explains the national prejudice against the shepherd race at the time of Jacob's arrival, and explains too the absence of such a prejudice in Abraham's

time. Although more disputed than some others, the fact on which this interpretation rests, and the interpretation, furnish a good illustration of the important use which may be made of that knowledge of ancient Egypt which is likely to be gained by these researches. From the same source we have already learned the probable origin of many precepts in the Jewish national code. But to trace all the important bearings of the discoveries already made, not only on the question of the credibility of the Bible, but also on its interpretation, would form a copious theme by itself.

ART. II.—SYSTEMATIC BENEVOLENCE.

The Divine Law of Beneficence. By REV. PARSONS COOKE, Lynn, Mass.

Zaccheus; or, the Scriptural Plan of Benevolence. By REV. SAMUEL HARRIS, Conway, Mass.

The Mission of the Church; or, Systematic Benevolence. By REV. EDWARD A. LAWRENCE, Marblehead, Mass. All published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

THE American Board has recently published the forty-first annual report of its missionary operations. From the table of receipts which is annexed, we can ascertain by a glance what has been the actual increase of contributions for the support of this great Christian enterprise during the whole period of its existence. Dividing the time in which this Society has been employed in the work of Missions into periods of ten years, it appears that in the second and third of these periods, there was an increase of two hundred and of two hundred and fifty per cent. In 1830, the contributions were double those of 1820, while the receipts of 1840, were two and a half times greater than those of 1830. But the next ten years exhibit no corresponding advance; so far from it, the contributions of the three successive years, 1841, 1842, and 1843, furnish a larger sum than those of the last three years. The natural inference from these facts is, that these ten years evince a diminution of interest in the missionary cause among those who sustain this Society. Before assenting to this conclusion, however, it might be proper to enquire, whether the number of contributors has diminished, or other causes have operated to divert the charities of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, once connected with the Board, into other channels. Without the means at hand of authenticating our statements, we feel warranted in saying that the number of churches and individuals who now contribute to the funds of the Board is

not less than in any preceding year of its history. The "slavery agitation" has undoubtedly diverted the charities of churches in New England and New York, as well as in the states where slavery prevails. But with a few exceptions, the contributors who withhold their funds from the Board for this reason are not of the class which had become deeply interested in Missionary operations. We may safely assume that the places of those who have withdrawn to unite with other organizations have been supplied by the additions to the churches that sustain the Board, and by the accession of new patrons. The diminution of patrons will not, we think, explain the facts before us.

We are also confident that there is no lack of resources to carry forward all the enterprises of Christian benevolence that now claim the pecuniary aid of the churches. New objects have arisen, and existing societies have been asking larger donations; but these claims have not multiplied as rapidly as the ability to meet them. The increase of wealth in the older states, and especially in New York and Massachusetts, has been almost without precedent. The returns of the state valuation of Massachusetts show an annual increase of about twelve per cent. since the census of 1840. And New York and Connecticut will not fall much short of this ratio. The members of our churches have participated in this prosperity; so that the actual ability of the churches in the most favored states must have doubled, and in all the states there must be an approximation to this condition. No computations are required to show that there has been no corresponding increase in the number of objects of Christian benevolence, or in the amount contributed to sustain them. An exact estimate of all the monies which they have received in this period would not exceed two hundred thousand dollars. We must, therefore, assent to the conclusions of the Secretaries of the Board, when they say, "that the new objects which have arisen have by no means exhausted the resources of the churches." An examination of the history of other societies—such as the Bible, Tract, and Home Missionary Societies,—which enjoy the confidence of the Christian community, and by actual experiment have shown themselves well adapted to the several departments of Christian efforts in which they labor, does not lead to a different conclusion. We find evidence of abundant ability on the part of those who are, and of those who ought to be, their patrons. Still the directors of these institutions are frequently embarrassed by the want of funds to carry on the work and meet the demand for more enlarged operations. These embarrassments are often greatly aggravated by the fluctuations in their receipts. To remedy the evils resulting from this cause, recourse has been had to special efforts. As might be anticipated, the frequency with which these efforts have been made, has impaired their effect; so

that the utility of them has become exceedingly doubtful. This forcing system is attended by a twofold disadvantage; by a disastrous reaction on the part of those who endeavor to answer the application, and by great practical inconvenience to all whose charities are regulated by a definite and predetermined plan. These objections are so serious that we are persuaded the directors of our benevolent institutions will soon decide, that retrenchment is preferable to this method of sustaining their operations.

Shall we, then, conclude from this survey of the existing state of missionary and kindred institutions, that the Christian public is less interested in them than at a former period? No direct answer to this question could correspond with the actual facts that meet our observation. An opinion formed from a comparison of the receipts of these societies with the actual ability of the churches, must lead any one to feel that Christians are not becoming more benevolent. Many of the proposed plans of retrenchment, such as the reduction of salaries, and the relinquishment of the services of agents, seem to confirm this opinion. On the other hand, if we consider the increased attention which these several departments of Christian effort now secure, as appears from the immense numbers that attend the anniversary meetings, and the very general knowledge of their operations which is disseminated gratuitously by secular as well as religious newspapers, we should decide that the objects never occupied a higher place in the public esteem. In general, the members of churches are better acquainted with the design and operations of our benevolent institutions now than at any former day. Every year, the reports of these societies are securing a more extensive circulation. It must, however, be admitted that this increase of intelligence has not been attended by a corresponding increase in the depth and earnestness of the missionary spirit. Christians know more about the religious destitution of our country and the wants of the heathen world, but they are not correspondingly intent on supplying those necessities. This may in part be accounted for on the well known principle that familiarity with great evils diminishes the impression of their serious nature. The romance of missions, as has been said, is passed away. We know much better than ever before what is involved in the labors of missionary life. Our friends and members of our own churches are engaged in the work. It consequently has less of the sacredness of a peculiar consecration in our minds. The mode of planting churches in the newly settled states is reduced to a system. We can compute the time and labor and money requisite to translate and print the Bible in a strange language. It is not an uncommon thing for a sailor to be a temperate or a pious man. The field of missionary effort has to a great extent been actually surveyed, and the magnitude of the work has in many of its aspects

become more exact and definite. The practicability of Christianizing heathen nations is now well established. The necessary consequence of this knowledge is to diminish the curiosity and the intense interest with which the earliest labors in these enterprises were regarded. There may not be less need of faith at the present stage of the missionary work than at the outset, but this faith must be occupied with a different aspect of the subject. Again, it is worthy of notice in this connection that the attention of Christians has been very much engrossed with absorbing questions of a political and moral nature, and these still continue to agitate and distract their minds. The discussion of such topics as war and slavery, especially in the practical form which they assume in our country, must always be attended with great warmth of feeling, and consequent diversion of our attention from other subjects. For the time, other questions of duty are disregarded, and the calm tone demanded in the adjustment of personal obligations to the Savior in other relations, is lost. Whatever opinion may be entertained concerning the necessity of discussing these exciting themes, it can not be denied that the debate has been conducted at the sacrifice of much feeling that might otherwise have been concentrated on the enterprises of benevolence. In some instances, churches and other ecclesiastical bodies have been rent asunder by the violence of the controversy; and the contest for the right has made men forgetful of what is charitable. Another cause that has operated to the disadvantage of our benevolent societies will be found in the peculiar financial condition of the country. Within the last ten years, immense sums have been invested in the construction of railroads, and public works of similar character. The capital required in building these roads has not been furnished alone by the wealthiest of our citizens. The stock in the first instance was not taken merely by capitalists, but by farmers, mechanics, and professional men, who constitute the working classes of our inland towns. The ready and large incomes realized on the roads that were first constructed, made this an eminently popular mode of investment with those who could lay aside small sums at a time from their earnings. Money was also withdrawn from savings banks, private loans were refused, and all available resources were converted into stocks. Before the roads were completed, or the means of their completion were furnished, the loans required by the government to carry on the Mexican war, produced an unexpected stringency in the money market of our cities. Capitalists preferred government securities to the bonds of private corporations, so that great difficulty was experienced in raising the means of paying railroad installments and meeting the ordinary demands of business. It is unnecessary to present in detail the consequences of the financial crisis, which in the end has fallen most severely on the inhabitants of our

country towns. It is sufficient for our purpose to show, that these enterprises which have greatly augmented the wealth of the country, have consumed nearly all the available capital of our citizens. This expenditure in connection with the loans above mentioned and the drafts that have been made in the sudden and hurried outfitts of the numbers who have rushed upon the gold regions of California, left very little money in circulation in the towns of the country. Men of business and others who were in easy circumstances have been constantly straitened. Disappointed in the returns of their investments now rendered unproductive because incomplete, they have been obliged to pay high rates of interest to keep themselves from bankruptcy. In this state of affairs, the annual collections in the separate congregations would be small because the contributors, however wealthy, had no money to spare. This has been the condition of multitudes who might otherwise have given liberally to forward the cause of the Redeemer. Having invested all their previous earnings, they were comparatively poor, when deprived of the income of their investments. As most persons are in the habit of giving in charity without much forethought, and as applications are frequent, they usually are satisfied with making such donations as may be convenient at the time. The amount bestowed is no true criterion of their prosperity, perhaps, not of their benevolent feeling ; for the times when capital is most occupied, or, in other words, when business is flourishing, they are most likely to have no money on hand. In a new country where great enterprises are yet in progress and capital is scarce, the rapid development of natural and manufactured products requires that a large business be managed with a small currency. This statement will sufficiently explain what has probably been true of many thriving New England towns within a twelve month, that while its inhabitants might own property to the amount of three or five hundred thousand dollars, the ready money in their hands would be less than one. We have not adduced these facts to furnish any defence for the indifference and remissness with which the claims of benevolence are dismissed by a majority of professed Christians. We desire most emphatically to express the conviction, that God will hold men to as strict an account for the use of their wealth as of any talent whatever.

Our aim in the preceding considerations has been to illustrate the necessity of introducing a systematic plan into the efforts of our benevolence. Something, that shall relieve the directors of our missionary and kindred societies from the painful embarrassments attending the present disastrous fluctuations in their receipts. Something, that will develop and strengthen the principles of benevolence in the hearts of Christians. Something, which shall secure the adoption of such methods as will impart

to their charities the regularity and system that prevail in the transactions of business. It was to meet this necessity and induce the friends of the Redeemer to act upon system in their religious charities, that the prize was offered which called forth the treatises that are named at the head of this article. We most heartily commend the forecast and generosity which proposed it. It evinced a true perception of the real deficiency in the habits and views of professed Christians. And in future years, we doubt not, this appropriation will produce an increase of an hundred fold.

In furtherance of the same design, we propose to offer some thoughts on the contents of these volumes, without, however, confining our remarks to the exact limits of a connected review. We regard it as a peculiar merit of these publications, that they set the duties of benevolence before our churches in a practical light. They assert with distinctness, what the history of our benevolent operations fully illustrates, that Christians must be educated to the work of sustaining missions and other enterprises for the conversion of men. A large proportion of the members of our churches are living without any suitable impression of their obligations to use their property as stewards of God. The subject has not been discussed with much frequency in the pulpit. To many pastors, the positions illustrated in these volumes will seem strange; if they are not regarded as untrustworthy. An enquiry into the sources of the contributions which are made in the most intelligent of our New England congregations, would show, that large numbers do not acknowledge the obligations of Christian benevolence, in any form, aside from the support of public worship; while, in some districts, the whole subject is neglected, unless the congregations are visited by agents in behalf of the established charities. We have painful evidence of the truth of our assertions, when we say, that a majority of church members are yet uninstructed in the duty of systematic charity. Indeed any other supposition would, in view of their practice, constitute an impeachment of their piety. On the scriptural rule, enforced in these essays, that God has imposed upon Christians the obligation to *contribute steadily for purposes of benevolence and in proportion as they are prospered*, the conductors of the religious press and the pastors of churches should direct their efforts to the work of training the disciples of Christ in the right use of their property. Hitherto this duty has been very generally overlooked. A few years ago, and the public profession of faith in Christ and of devotion to his service was not supposed to include a virtual consecration of one's property to the same master. In giving currency and clearness to the precepts of the Bible on this important subject, and especially in reducing these precepts into habitual practice, these publications of the Tract

Society will do valuable service. They are pervaded with a genial and earnest temper, and written with a direct and business-like tone. The principles of the Gospel are stated with clearness and concisely illustrated, and their practical application in the conduct of life exposed with unsparing fidelity. No person can read these treatises without an enlargement of his knowledge and a quickening of his religious sensibilities. The treatise of Mr. Lawrence, entitled "the Mission of the Church," is the largest and most elaborate performance. It embraces a wider field than the others, and to minds unfamiliar with the designs and operations of modern Evangelism, will prove an instructive work. The treatises of Rev. Messrs. Harris and Cook, the one on "the Scriptural Plan of Benevolence," the other on "the Divine law of Beneficence," are more simple and direct both in style and arrangement. The authors assume that the necessity for this discussion is well understood by the reader, and proceed at once to the subject in hand. This is an admirable feature in books designed for general circulation; especially, if they are to gain the attention of men of business. If we desired to persuade an enterprising merchant or mechanic, who admitted the obligation of honoring God in his business, to adopt some plan of systematic benevolence, the tract of Mr. Harris would suit our purpose. We are confident that the vigorous style and the healthy religious tone of its successive chapters would awaken the conviction, that such a plan is adapted to promote every valuable end of his existence; to relieve the cares and perplexities of business from the debasing influences of transactions that have no higher aim than pecuniary advantage; and to impart to all the labors of the sales room, the exchange and the workshop, the dignity of a service performed for God. If our endeavors were directed to secure a like result with persons of less active habits, less familiar with the claims of our benevolent organizations, and less disposed to admit the utility of their operations, we should select "the Divine law of Beneficence" or "the Mission of the Church." As these commence with the more common views of this duty, a prejudiced or reluctant mind would be less likely to reject the conclusion to which the argument must conduct it. The mode of approach is more gradual, but the rules at which they arrive are equally elevated and scriptural. In this view of these publications, we think, the public will approve the decision of the Committee to whom the essays were submitted, in dividing the premium among the three writers, instead of giving the preference to one.*

* The original premium of three hundred dollars was subsequently increased by its author to four hundred, and the sum divided equally by the committee of award among four of the competitors. As the fourth essay was published separately, and in different style, it had not come to hand when this article was written.

The question has occurred to us in reading these volumes, whether by their cheapness and the larger consequent circulation, they might not accomplish a greater good than a single work upon a more comprehensive plan. It is clearly a great advantage, that the price of these books is such that a copy might be placed in every family of a congregation without a burdensome outlay. We hope that pastors, church officers and wealthy individuals will provide the means to place one or more of these publications in every habitation within the limits of the towns in which they reside. The dissemination of the views presented in these essays will do much towards correcting the evils of which we have previously spoken.

While we commend these volumes with confidence in their adaptation to meet an existing and serious want of the Christian community, it will we think occur to many readers that a single work, having a broader plan, might be written of greater permanent value than these can be. We could wish that Mr. Harris had attempted to produce an essay which in its completeness and adaptation to the condition of American Christians, should correspond with the admirable treatise of his transatlantic namesake. There is much in "Mammon," that ought to be reproduced in the form of an appeal to wealthy Christians in America. In saying this, however, we can easily see how the modesty of these authors would naturally deter them from entering on a field so ably occupied. But, still, we hope that either they or others will be guided in the preparation of a work which shall cover the whole ground of Christian obligation in the use of property. Such a discussion is needed to elucidate the just and practicable method of sustaining the Gospel. The practice of churches and the decisions of ecclesiastical bodies differ both in regard to the principles of this duty and the mode of their application. In many instances the Gospel is very inadequately sustained, because there is no common rule respecting the mode of supporting the ministry. The burden is distributed very unequally. Where the expenses incident to the support of the institutions of religion are defrayed by a tax on the pews, there is no practical recognition of the New Testament rule of contributing according to our ability. According to the spirit of the Gospel, the work of sustaining the ministry, in common with other religious appropriations, requires that the strong aid the weak. This is the ground of every effective appeal in behalf of Home Missions; but the principle that binds a church in Connecticut to aid a feeble body of disciples in Iowa, ought surely to have a practical influence on the several members of this stronger church in their treatment of each other. But the attempt to enforce the execution of a more equal system has in most cases been unsuccessful. With the increase of their means men often lose the disposition

to use them liberally. This point is well presented by Mr. Cook, and we make the quotation as a fair specimen of his style and a good illustration of our position.

"We have often seen those who, when in comparative poverty, *were generous with their little, but who have become penurious in becoming rich.* While their means were small, their outgoes trod close on the heels of their incomes; their habit of giving was exercised and strengthened in some proportion to that of receiving, and the passion for accumulating had not room to spread its roots. But when the gains began sensibly to advance beyond the outgoes, a habit was formed of calculating how long it would take to reach such and such a sum; and with no active principle of benevolence proportionally counterworking the growing passion for gains, every little increase served to feed the passion, and every call for charities was resisted, because it postponed the time of reaching the proposed amount to be laid in. Aware of this principle of human nature, divine wisdom has given the caution, 'If riches increase, set not your heart upon them;' hinting to us that the 'setting of the heart upon them' is a common result of increase.

"How many thousands have said in their hearts, O if I were as rich as such a one, how would I multiply the streams of my bounty; I would do nothing else than employ my wealth in doing good. But all such talk is vain; the process of becoming so rich would expose you to the fiercer heats of temptation, consuming all benevolent affections. The process of increasing wealth, without the outgoes of benevolence, is a process of confirming a feeling of poverty, a grasping desire for more, which like the grave will be ever crying, Give, give. A case has been known of a man at the age of threescore and ten, with his hundred thousand dollars, free from debt, and well invested, and yet crying like a child in apprehension of a possible experience of poverty. And this state of feeling was induced by a most natural process, by a mind given up to the passion of accumulating, without the counter-process of distributing. This is an invariable result of human experience in like circumstances, and it shows the importance of some law of conduct to keep our benevolent activities in use. Our condition is like that of a leaky vessel, which needs the constant labor of the pump in throwing out, to prevent its being submerged."—*Divine Law of Beneficence*, pp. 61-62.

Examples are not wanting in the church, of persons who have become avaricious by this very process. And when with the accumulation of property, they become less ready to sustain the institutions of religion, there ought to be power in the church to correct so palpable and injurious a dereliction of duty. The offense, however, will seldom be made the subject of discipline, because the opinions of Christians are so at variance respecting the nature and extent of their obligations in the use of property. The cause of Christ in many of our congregations is suffering reproach because of the tolerance of these offenses; in others, they are the occasion of strife and divisions. To remove these offenses, we need such a discussion as will settle the leading principles of religious obligation—a discussion which will secure substantial agreement among the members of our churches in respect to what may rightfully be required of professors of religion. Let this subject be fairly adjusted according to the instructions of the New Testament, and the united sentiments of the churches would soon remedy most of these evils.

We should be glad to see a more full and comprehensive work on this subject, because of the very intimate relation between the proper use of wealth and the future religious prosperity of our country. If no extraordinary hindrances shall arise to obstruct the increase of our wealth, it is plain, that the people of this land will soon attain an unprecedented rank, both in the amount and the general diffusion of property. Every day opens new and lucrative fields of enterprise, while all the established modes of gain furnish an average return of profits unknown in other parts of the world. Of course wealth becomes a powerful incentive to industry, and furnishes the foundation of distinctions in society. What then shall prevent a passion so congenial to the habits and spirit of our countrymen from becoming the prevailing ambition of all? What shall hinder it from invading the enclosures of the church and secretly corroding the vitals of her piety? The grandeur of our enterprises and the rapidity of our accumulation, all favor this natural tendency. Even religion seems to favor it, by the inculcation of economy and industry. No one needs to be told, that the economical lessons of our fathers have often nurtured parsimony and covetousness in the bosoms of their sons. Now what shall check this tendency and convert a debasing because penurious toil into the exercise of a munificent and ennobling course of action? Nothing less than the liberalizing and benevolent teachings of the New Testament. The love of accumulation, always strong, is fostered by peculiar influences among professing Christians. They are not expected to lead in the fashions of society, they are sheltered from most of the temptations to extravagance, and in this condition they will assuredly hoard their gains with an idolatrous affection, unless the passion be counteracted by the constant operation of an enlarging beneficence. Unless our benevolent enterprises shall furnish an outlet for our superfluous wealth, and the church shall cordially and promptly second the expenditures that will send the missionary and the Bible, with the means of Christianizing the nations, to the ends of the earth, the piety of the church will soon be choked in the deluge of cares that accompany covetousness. From this danger, so insidious in its operation and fatal in its consequences, we know of no deliverance, except through the inculcation of systematic and large beneficence. If Christians shall learn to honor God in the distribution of their wealth, through the various channels which divine providence may open for enlightening and Christianizing the families of men; if they shall learn the benignant uses, the spiritual growth, the joy and peace that attend a life of practical benevolence, we know not the limits which shall define the extent of their religious prosperity. Such a course of Christian activity would at once remove some of the most serious obstacles to the success of the gospel

in our own congregations. It would promote the spirituality of our churches. The cares and labor of business would no longer be regarded as hostile to the interests of religion, if the proceeds of that business were employed as a sacred trust wherewith to honor God. The claims of business would then be identified with the service of Christ. The practical antagonism of the two would cease to exist, and the followers of Christ would not regard the labors of their respective callings as a hindrance to their religious progress. When this difficulty shall be removed, the temptations of worldliness will be shorn of half their strength. Mr. Harris has very clearly exhibited the influence of systematic benevolence in securing this end.

"Systematic benevolence is a most important and an indispensable agency in making business a helper and not a foe to the religious growth. When a man acts on this principle, his place of business becomes a Bethel; every transaction becomes like a renewal of his consecration to God; money and bills and labor are associated with his obligations to his Master, and fragrant with the memory of the cross; and like the attraction drawing every part of the earth and binding it to the sun, divine love fastens its attraction on every possession, on every toil, and every gain, and binds him with all that he has to God the centre of his whole life's orbit. Then he is intimate with God not less on the exchange or the farm, than in the closet. Then his whole course of life becomes a help and not a hindrance to his spiritual progress; and like a healthy child, he grows steadily and unconsciously amid the ceaseless activity of life.

"Normand Smith, when roused to a more entire consecration to God, falling in with the common notion that a life of secular business is incompatible with a life of eminent usefulness and piety, seriously purposed to abandon it. But more scriptural views led him to continue in business, consecrating it to God. He put on record the 'purpose to engage in my business, that I may serve God in it, and with the expectation of getting to give.' His biographer says, 'From that time it was observable by all who knew him, that he made rapid progress in religion. There was a fervor and engagedness of spirit, a purity and elevation of aim, that could not be misunderstood or concealed. He rose toward heaven like the lark of the morning.' From that time 'he found no tendency in his worldly engagements to chill his piety, or to enchain his affections to the earth. His business became to him a means of grace, and helped him forward in the divine life, just as truly as reading the Scriptures and prayer.'—*Scriptural Plan of Benevolence*, pp. 67-69.

The benefit is not confined to the heart of the believer; its fruit will be manifest in removing the objection most frequently alleged against the reality of his piety which is furnished by his worldliness.

"No argument," says the same author, "is oftener urged against religion than that founded on the alleged inconsistencies of its professors. The chief foundation for this plea, so far as it has any, is the conformity of Christians to the world in all the aims, the maxims, and the manner of getting and spending money, so that too commonly, Christians, away from their devotions, can scarcely be distinguished from the better sort of worldlings. Let the scriptural law of benevolence be usually obeyed; let the world behold Christians actuated by the sublime desire to do good in all their gettings and their expenditures, and consecrating spontaneously to the Lord as he hath prospered them; let it be seen, when men become Christians, by the change in their pursuit of

earthly treasure, that they have found a better portion; and now have their hearts and their treasure in heaven; and the church will stand up before the world with a consistency and elevation of piety which will prove that gainsaying springs only from opposition to goodness—with a triumphant power which will compel the exclamation, "God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved"—with a manifest and practical renunciation of the world, like that which in the apostles' days compelled both Jews and Gentiles to confess the reality and feel the power of religion, and which, reappearing in the church, will go far towards restoring the like rapidity and glory to her conquests."—*ib.*, pp. 71, 72.

As the power of religion shall be manifested in the conduct of its avowed friends, those living epistles known and read of all men, we may expect large and rapid accessions to their numbers. Coming into the church under the influences of a more harmonious and complete development of Christianity, we may expect the converts of another generation to exhibit a symmetry of character and a power of achievement more in keeping with the design of the Gospel and the fields of usefulness that we are invited to occupy.

In such a work as we have proposed we should expect a discussion of the practical bearings of the principles of Christian beneficence on the general prosperity of a nation. The salutary influence of Protestantism in its general operation on the health, industry, and political interests of a country, can hardly be called in question. The statistics furnished by every census of England, Scotland, and the states of this Union, are crowded with arguments in favor of the general inculcation of the doctrines of the Bible. We believe the argument may be carried much farther. We believe a diligent comparison and analysis of the facts furnished by the history of the Hebrew commonwealth and of Christian states since, would supply the data of some important inferences respecting God's dealings with nations, that ought not to be overlooked—inferences to which politicians and statesmen may well give heed, and which might dispose worldly and irreligious men to regard the institutions of Christianity in a more favorable light. In this age when the systems of paganism are evidently losing their hold upon the nations, when Oriental researches and scientific investigations are constantly bringing new facts within our knowledge which corroborate the truths of the Bible; when oppressed nations are groping and struggling unsuccessfully for liberty and discerning minds are enquiring into the causes of our freedom; when multitudes are entertaining the half-formed conviction that Christianity is identified with national as well as personal prosperity, we ought to take advantage of the results of those great experiments, which God has permitted the nations to make, to elucidate the application of the truth of His word to the social and political relations of men. In this day of "world's conventions" and "Christian alliances," we should like

to see a more distinct recognition of the operation of the truths of the Bible in promoting the happiness and wealth of nations. It seems to us an interesting fact that the successful competitors for the premium to which we have alluded, are all ministers resident in the same state—a state preëminent for the number of its charitable institutions and the magnificence of their endowments—a state distinguished for the liberality with which the institutions of education and religion are sustained—a state that has hitherto been foremost in the amount of her charities for the carrying on of missions and other efforts of evangelism. We have no doubt that these things have had their influence in directing the minds of these authors to the subject which they have treated with such good judgment and success. These publications could not have been written amidst the superstitions sanctioned by Catholicism. They are the products of a Christianity which has been illustrated by the practical workings of benevolence—an instance of that reproductive power by which the virtues of the gospel constantly improve upon each other—each stage in the advancement preparing the way for a purer and more complete development of the precepts which Christ taught us.

A volume written on the plan which we propose, might trace the effects of generous appropriations to the cause of learning and piety, as they are seen in the character of the population, and in the returns of their industry. We should anticipate that such an enquiry would bring to light new duties for the church to perform, as well as reforms to be executed by the state. We are not of the number who hope to accomplish any great moral good without self-denial; still we have long thought that the Gospel contains the germs of all salutary and permanent reforms; that more or less directly every successful endeavor to cure or remove the miseries of sin might be traced to that source; that the sacrifices required by religion are not the appropriate fruit of her benignant nature, but the sufferings incidental to the works she must perform. We do not suppose that any man will ever embrace Christ in consequence of the most lucid demonstration of this identity between the principles of Christianity and his own present as well as future interest. But such a demonstration might disabuse many minds of prejudice and groundless objections, while a conviction of this truth would make the followers of Christ more hopeful and hearty in their endeavors to enter every new field of Christian effort, and to improve every opportunity of fulfilling the Savior's commandments. Why should the church always act in her encounters with the enemies of the Gospel, as if the God of providence was not the God of the Bible, or as if fidelity to the one forbade our profiting or taking courage in the aids that are furnished by the other? The lessons of the Old Testament history give us the key by which to interpret the developments of all subse-

quent history. And in the conflicts of the present life we need the instruction which would attend a similar recognition of the hand of God in the events of later times. In how many instances might the spiritual desolations over which the servants of Christ have mourned, be traced to the prevalence of a covetousness that has robbed Jehovah in tithes and offerings. We have no desire to countenance any hasty inferences on a subject so serious. But an induction founded on a wide scale of careful observations, would afford confirmation of many declarations of Scripture more worthy of confidence than many of the things accredited as *facts* of science.

We rejoice in the indications that pastors and churches are recognizing more clearly the intimate connection between the religious use of property and the spiritual prosperity of its possessors. We thank God that, here and there, in cities and towns, are found individuals who, like Normand Smith, are endeavoring to manage their business in conformity with the rules of the New Testament. We hail this knowledge as the promise of a purer and more aggressive Christianity. To those who have not given much attention to this subject, we urgently recommend these volumes. If any one is doubtful as to the correctness of our positions, especially if any minister is hesitating about pressing the claims of benevolence on the hearts of his people, we ask him to read the third chapter of Mr. Lawrence's essay, from which we make the subjoined extracts.

"Too much may have been presumed on the knowledge of Christians respecting the use which God requires them to make of their property, and consequently, in the prosecution of their business, they have, through ignorance, been exposed to the growth of a covetous spirit, with the increase of their possessions. From motives of delicacy, religious teachers who receive their support from the voluntary subscriptions of their people, may have shrunk from the same degree of explicitness upon this subject which they have felt to be necessary in respect to other Christian duties. And the difficulty which some pastors have experienced in securing the full amount of their support, or the consciousness that when received it was inadequate for this purpose, has increased the embarrassment.

"And many hearers, who have been ready to applaud the clearest and fullest exposition of dogmatic truth, have sometimes evinced a remarkable sensitiveness to any direct application of the duty of beneficence. They are sound on all points of accredited orthodoxy, and lend their approval to the rebukes of all heresy, except that of believing that their money is their own, and that they may expend it as they please, without let or hindrance. That such has been the feeling of not a few hearers, and such the condition of some pastors, is quite certain; and as a natural consequence, many churches that have been thoroughly taught in respect to other Christian doctrines and duties, have failed to receive due instruction upon the subject of Christian beneficence."—*Systematic Benevolence*, pp. 116, 117.

"The specific for a pastor to *starve* himself away from his people, is to *decline instructing them in the duty of beneficence, and to withhold from them a knowledge of the wants of a perishing world*. By such a course, he injures both them and himself, and dishonors his Master. His people are entitled to

instruction. It is his duty to give it to them. This should enter as an important element into his plan of ministerial labor among them. If they will be covetous, let them know that no "covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." If they refuse to deny themselves, they should understand that self-denial is the condition of discipleship, and that they have turned away from the cross, 'sorrowful,' it may be—yet they HAVE turned away."—*Ib.*, p. 118,

ART. III.—DANA'S WRITINGS.

Poems and Prose Writings. By RICHARD HENRY DANA. In two volumes. New York: Baker and Scribner. 1850.

WE do not propose to write a review of Mr. Dana's works. It were not a hard task to form a theory of poetry or of prose composition, and then quote passages from the author to confirm and illustrate it. We might institute a comparison between his poetry and that of some of his great English contemporaries. But such comparisons and contrasts, though readily made, are unsatisfying. It is easy to put Milton and Wordsworth together, and show how immeasurably superior the Puritan poet is. No poet in the language equals Spenser in certain respects, yet his excellencies are such that they can not serve as a measure by which to try and condemn Mr. Wordsworth, as some seem disposed to do. How unlike, in many points of view, is the poetry of Mr. Bryant from that of Mr. Dana, and how unjust and cramping it would be to both to compare them or contrast them. By forming a theory of poetry, or making a classification of poets, we often do injustice to them, and rob ourselves of the great pleasure to be derived from their works. Every great poet is an individual. He has characteristic peculiarities. His productions make a distinct impression upon us. While reading them, we wish to enjoy the soothing or the animating influences which come from them. We do not wish to have our minds disturbed or fretted, or made uncharitable by unfavorable comparisons between him and others. God has given to each poet his several ability, and each is to be studied, if we would be benefited, from his own point of view, from the peculiar structure and outgoings of his own soul, and not from any of our hard and cold theories. We can enjoy Rubens without undervaluing Raphael. We may feast upon the colors of Titian, without disputing the sovereignty of Michael Angelo. It is wickedness as well as folly to disparage this or that acknowledged poet or painter, because they do not possess certain excellencies, which they made no attempt to reach, or which circumstances put wholly out of their province.

Our object in the following paper is to indicate briefly some of the impressions which a repeated perusal of Mr. Dana's works has made upon us. Our observations will be about equally applicable to the prose and the poetry. Both have qualities which will well repay close study. They are peculiarly fitted for the thoughtful reader. If the youthful scholar could be drawn to them, as he is forming his style of thinking and writing, he would experience a quickening influence and be preserved from many mistakes. The entire spirit and form of Mr. Dana's conceptions and style are such that there would be little danger of anything like a servile imitation. On the contrary, they would strengthen and bring out the peculiar powers of the reader, and enable him to shun the rocks of fastitious sentiment and of an unnatural style.

Our first remark is, that Mr. Dana's language is made up in a great degree of Saxon. It is free, more than that of most authors, from Latinisms, Gallicisms, from modern conventionalisms, and all pert and dainty expressions. He eschews, as by instinct, such words as "emanate," "develop," "position," "responsibility," "elevated," "exposition," etc., unless in cases where they may be absolutely needed to give the sense. It is hardly necessary to say that his pages are never disfigured by "stand-points," "hand-books," "being done," "transpired" in the sense of happen, "governmental," and that large class of words, which, if found in the dictionaries, are not wanted to express any idea, and whose occurrence gives pain to a delicate ear. By making use of this pithy, sturdy old Saxon, Mr. Dana is able to address a larger number of readers. Those who are familiar only with the English language, can feel the full force of his style, can relish what they could not if it were mixed up with elements that are only half naturalized. By this means he can, also, give us more thoughts. More ideas will be crowded into a page, than if the common proportion of words were transplanted from the Latin or French soil. We have thoughts, ideas, beautiful images, instead of two or three dim conceptions on a page, wrapped up in a wordy dress. There is, besides, in the style, a force, a homely, sinewy strength, which are so natural to the Anglo-Saxon, and which he can not possibly have, who goes away from home for a stock of words. To our minds, there is a kind, gentle, home-feeling about these old monosyllables which leads us back to the hearth-stones of our rude ancestors in Kent and Suffolk. How barren of these dear remembrances and associations is such a stilted genius as Dr. Johnson, or his "painful" imitators in our days! The writer who wishes to make the deepest and most abiding impression on our hearts, must clothe his thoughts in the language of Alfred. At the same time, we would not imply that a writer may not, on fitting occasions, and in a becoming

measure, use all the elements of our noble, composite language. How inseparable the Latin terminations are in some of the marvellous passages in *Paradise Lost*, or in that divine prototype and epos, the *Apocalypse*, or in the vision of *Daniel*! No stringing together of Saxon syllables could express the majesty of Him, before whom "thousand thousands ministered."*

Again, Mr. Dana's style and manner of thinking show the utmost familiarity with the early writers in the English language. He dwells among them as with old friends with whom he has often taken sweet counsel. He looks up to them with reverent affection. There is a heart-kindliness beneath their stern looks, a freshness of feeling, an unexpected breaking out of beautiful thoughts from under the crust of their quaint phrases, which no one knows how to relish better than our author, which no one has described in more loving and befitting terms. We recognize this familiarity with the writers of the seventeenth century by the occurrence of such phrases as these: "to do the service of all or any who happened not to be at hand;" "very like to honest out-of-door flowers;" "tangled and by-path overgrowings;" "it is ten to one;" "that love of nature which all the old are so full of and so sincere in;" "we are not making excuses for these givings in," etc. We might copy any number of such phrases, where very expressive little words are joined by hyphens, so common in some of the writers of Elizabeth's time, and which are so contrary to Dr. Blair's rules for forming rotund sentences. Where this love for the old authors is hearty, and is under the control of a pure taste and sound judgment, where it is not carried to an extreme, and is joined to a due appreciation of existing styles of thought and writing, the effect is very happy. It gives an antique richness to the diction. The thoughts come to us with the authority of a well known stamp. They have not the suspicious look of recent coinage. They have somewhat of the golden yellow of the old masters. We pick them out with the same instinct that we go to the corner where a Titian or a Claude hangs among hundreds of lesser lights, and our hearts are drawn to the writer whose thoughts have been fused, as it were, in this antique mould, who throws aside what is uncouth and unsavory in the ancient, and what is ambitious and finical in the modern, and sweetly blends what is true and precious of two generations which are widely apart. If we mistake not, this is characteristic of Mr. Dana's style and thoughts. His works could have been written in no century but the nineteenth, yet they have much of the air and spirit of the seventeenth.

* We have sometimes thought that the translator of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* in our common version was a kind of predecessor of Dr. Johnson. "Confiscation of goods," "frustrate a purpose," "impose toll," "extended mercy," "it is reported," "they read distinctly and gave the sense," etc.

Another characteristic, which we will name, is a musical flow and cadence in many of the prose sentences, as if the author were meditating poetic measures. There is a class of writers, that pay great attention to the structure of their sentences. Possessing a cultivated taste and an ear more or less musical, they elaborate their style and round their periods with the nicest care. That form is chosen, and those words are sought which will be most effective, or which will strike most pleasantly on the ear. But after all their pains, they have not the art to hide the art. They are like men of a managing disposition. The artifice comes to light. The trick is apparent. We see that the author meant to make that sentence emphatic, to set off another with his choicest flowers, to point a third with his sharpest antithesis, and to see how a fourth would awaken admiration by its delicious cadences. But there is another class of authors who have melody in the soul as well as music in the ear. Their memory is a storehouse of beautiful conceptions. Their feelings are attuned to the finest harmonies. They have gazed on truth in its delicate and almost evanescent relations. They are familiar with those subtler elements which the common eye overlooks. To them it has been given to hear voices which others can not hear, to discover harmonies in nature and in the depths of their own souls, to which others are blind. Accordingly, when they put their thoughts into poetry or prose, we are often struck with the outflow of sweet sounds. In the poetry, there is a music besides that of the numbers. In the prose, there is nothing artificial, nothing intended for effect, but the sentence moves along as if self-inspired, as if endowed with an innate melody. There is a most exact fitness between the thought and the expression. Both appear to have come out of the depths of a musical soul. How poetical is much of Milton's prose! How "involuntary," we may say, did his spirit "move harmonious numbers!" We think, also, that this quality strikingly characterizes much of Mr. Dana's prose. Had we space, we could quote many sentences which have a kind of natural music, where there is a sweet accordance between the thought and the form of the sentence.

Leaving the less important matter of style and diction, we may say, that Mr. Dana's works are strikingly characterized by sincerity. This is true alike of the prose and the poetry. They come from the heart. They are not the product of passion, of overwrought sensibility, as much of Lord Byron's poetry is. Neither are they the results of a powerful intellect, working in the absence or in the subjection of the affections. They are not formed according to the rhetoric and logic of the schools. Yet they are better than anything which mere passion or mere intellect can create. They have an order which no formal logic ever taught. The thoughts are unfolded from within outward. To use a term

which we do not like, they are evolved, rather than argued. One grows out of another. They are held together by a natural affinity, or by veins of sentiment or feeling more than by a chain of deductive reasoning. It is for this very reason that Mr. Dana strikes us as one of the most original authors. He writes from a full heart. If we may say it without irreverence, he can not but speak what he has felt. His thoughts appear to be a part of himself, to have grown up with him. They may be like what others have uttered, but in passing through his soul, they have been shaped and colored and stamped with his own individuality. In opening these volumes, we feel that we are reading the author's works, not those of any body else. They are the sincere, honest utterance of a deeply meditative spirit. They are the golden ore in the vein, not the sweepings of some industrious miner, or the casual drift of some wintry torrent. This may account in part for the small number of Mr. Dana's works. Some seem disposed to complain that two not very large volumes contain the whole of them. But heart-work is not very prolific. It will hardly do to call genius prodigal. Original trains of thought are rare. The blended product of sterling thought and a rich experience are rarer still. Some men write several thousand sermons. But how few come from the depths of their own experience! Of how small a number can it be said with truth, they are the transcript of the writer's *own* inward life! A busy observation or a retentive memory are forced to meet most exigencies. It is only at long intervals that thoughts break forth from the soul, fresh and strong, like the plants of spring, bursting into life through an inherent vigor.

We may, again, mention as characteristic of much which Mr. Dana has written, that they have a melancholy or sorrowful tone. They dwell, to a great degree, on the "night side" of nature and providence. We have heard it alleged as a defect, that they make the reader sad if not misanthropic, that they disturb his equanimity with painful pictures of the crimes and wretchedness of man, that some, both of his poems and prose pieces, lead us into the awful depths of man's depraved spirit, where there is nothing but "sights and sounds of woe," and whence we gladly escape into the sweet upper air. This melancholy tone is one cause, we have no doubt, why some readers have been repelled from the author's pages. But is it really a defect? In answer, we may say, that the charge does not apply to all of Mr. Dana's works. There are pieces of a cheerful and hopeful tone. Some of the small poems are animated by a joyous though chastened spirit. The views taken of society as it is, and as it may be hereafter, are not all sombre. Especially is a brightness thrown over the aspect of things, so far as a pure Christian faith shall have sway. Still, it is to be acknowledged, that a sad if not a

despondent tone characterizes much of what Mr. Dana has written. But if this is the honest and genuine result of the author's modes of thought and feeling, would we have it otherwise? Ought he not to preserve his individuality? If his experience has been different from that of most others, if he has looked more profoundly into the mysteries of his own being, if his spirit has been pained by the tricks and hollow conventionalities of much which appears in modern society, if he has gazed with a more thoughtful eye on time, death and eternity, if he has listened oftener than most others "to the still, sad music of humanity," can we blame him for giving utterance to his feelings? Cowper's poetry is regarded by many as dark and cheerless. But would a wise man desire to have it altered? Some of Mr. Wordsworth's admirers think that a profounder apprehension of the mysteries of a Christian faith on his part would have stamped some of his poetry with a more solemn and abiding impress. "The Churchyard among the mountains" is not all which the student of Christianity would desire. A deep thinker, with a poetic temperament, is often necessarily sad. Consider the *Othello* and the *Hamlet*. Homer is the "tearful" poet. His was a sorrowing spirit. At the same time, we must confess, that in some of Mr. Dana's pieces we should have preferred a less sombre hue. We are drawn towards Mr. Wordsworth because he can extract a kindly lesson from all things and all men. The "motherly spirit of humanity" pervades all which he wrote. He can not chastise our "repudiating" countrymen without mingling in a hopeful view. We have great reverence for England, the old home of most of our fathers; we delight to dwell upon her laws, her gentle manners, her integrity. We look with admiration on the great lights of the seventeenth century. Still, we should not carry this reverence quite as far as Mr. Dana does. We should probably see more good than he does in revolutionary and republican France. In looking at her disorders and almost infinite confusion, we are touched with pity. Her masses have been more sinned against than sinning. Notwithstanding the gorgeous church that has had them professedly in charge for ages, they have been like sheep on the mountains without a shepherd. When we look at the atheism of continental Europe, we are angry rather with the degenerate, inefficient churches, both Catholic and Protestant, than with the forsaken, and deluded people.

We find in Mr. Dana's works, both in the poetry and the prose, a true perception of inanimate nature, of the wondrous changes which are going on around us. His descriptions are remarkably clear and distinct. He hits upon the exact expression which is needed. His language is so apposite, that we see the point of the application or the force of the comparison at once. The word itself, or the phrase, is a picture. There is no need of a

long enumeration of particulars. The imagination of the reader is set busily at work. Mr. Dana sees these various objects in their poetic light, freed from their ordinary prosaic dress. They are revealed in true yet fresher and nobler aspects. They are real objects, the same which we every day behold, yet transfigured, as it were, by the light which comes from the poet's imagination. We everywhere see what it is so hard to describe, the difference between what is called a fine description and the magic pen of genius. There are no unmeaning or common-place epithets. Every word is apt, and it seems instinct with a mysterious life. Let us take two stanzas at random :

“ But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently,—
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach.”

“ And where the far-off sand-bars lift
Their backs in long and narrow line,
The breakers shout, and leap, and shift,
And toss the sparkling brine
Into the air; then rush to mimic strife:
Glad creatures of the sea, and full of life!”

In a poet who reflects so profoundly on the great problems of life, death and immortality, it is refreshing to meet with sweet and soothing lessons from outward nature. What a relief are the moon and the waves of the sea amid the terrific stanzas of the *Ancient Mariner*! There is nothing strange, however, in this. Every great poet loves nature. However he may delight in inward meditation, his joy is also to hold communion with visible forms, with all that wondrous panorama which the goodness of God has spread out before us. How transcendently sublime are some of Shakspeare's brief allusions to the starry heavens! How beautiful are some of his images which he seems carelessly to borrow from various objects in nature. These, no less than human passions, come and go at his bidding.

The works of Mr. Dana, in the moral impression which they are fitted to produce, deserve the heartiest praise. It is literature consecrated to the worthiest objects. There is no line, which, the author dying, would wish to blot. It is an offering of genius laid on the altar of heavenly truth. Many things could have been written only by one who had felt the preciousness of the great “Sacrifice,” who knows not where to solve the bitter doubts which harass the human soul except in the message of Him who is the Light of the world. In reading many of these pages, one feels that he is in companionship, not merely with the “sweet singers” of earth, but with those who have attuned their harps in heaven.

We repeat what we said in the beginning of this notice. The productions of Mr. Dana are admirably fitted, both in style and thought, to do good to those who are learning to think and to write. Nothing can be more free from pretence and affectation. The critical remarks, for example those upon the poems of Thomson, are eminently just and considerate. The article suggested by Pollok's Course of Time, we have always regarded as a model of candid, yet profound and discriminating criticism. Such reviews teach how necessary it is to meditate long and feel deeply, before one sits in judgment on a work of genius or of original investigation. We feel thankful that we have in the English language such specimens of reviewing as that of Mr. Dana on Hazlitt's English Poets, and that of Coleridge on Wordsworth's Excursion. In mentioning the works which do honor to American literature, and which are likely to live while the language is spoken, we do not know why the list should begin and end with a few historical writers like Mr. Prescott and Mr. Irving. The poetry of Mr. Dana and Mr. Bryant constitute a solid addition to the treasures of our noble language. They repay in some degree the great debt which we owe to England. They will be read ages hence with delight and profit.

ART. IV.—DR. DAVIDSON ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

An Introduction to the New Testament ; containing an examination of the most important questions relating to the authority, interpretation, and integrity of the Canonical books, with reference to the latest inquiries. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. Volume I. The Four Gospels. Vol. II. The Acts of the Apostles to the second epistle of the Thessalonians. London : Samuel Bagster and Sons.

THE author of these volumes, the Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History in the Lancashire Independent College, is favorably known, not only in Great Britain but on the continent, by his extensive erudition in the department of Biblical Criticism, and by several valuable contributions to sacred learning. As the translator of Gieseler's Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, and the author of "Lectures on Biblical Criticism" and more recently of the "Congregational Lecture" on "the Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament," he has gained a reputation in this country also among those whose studies lie in the same channels. The work announced above is his

latest contribution to Biblical Literature, and will be the most permanent monument of his scholarship and of his diligent and patient research. The first volume procured for him the compliment of a doctorate in divinity from the University of Halle, a compliment which the author gracefully acknowledges by dedicating the second volume to the Theological Faculty of that University.

The design of Dr. Davidson in the preparation of these volumes was to forestall among English scholars and divines, the discussion of that class of critical objections to the New Testament which has marked the rationalistic movement of Germany; to do by way of anticipation for the English student, what Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg and others of the German evangelical school of interpretation have done in the way of controversy, and as in a life-struggle, for the defense of the genuineness and authenticity of the canonical books. This object and the reasons for it are thus set forth by the author in his preface to the first volume. "There are many well meaning men who entirely discourage the reading of such books as contain new researches into the region of theological science, especially those written in the German language. They denounce them as dangerous. They sound the alarm of heresy. They raise the cry of an *infallible anathematizing* ignorance. But in the meantime curiosity is excited. Men's sympathies are drawn in the direction of the accused. The depreciated books are read *in spite of* denouncements, or rather all the more eagerly *because of* them; and their essence is reproduced in English works. On this account, it seems to be the wiser course to prepare for all the objections that may be urged against the New Testament. It is better even to anticipate the diffusion of certain subtle cavils in the field of Christianity than to decry them at a distance, or to be overwhelmed by their novelty when they are fairly imported from other lands.

"It is the writer's belief that the books of the New Testament are destined ere long to pass through a severe ordeal. The translations of various continental works which have recently appeared in England, and the tendency of certain speculations in philosophy, indicate a refined skepticism or a pantheistic spirit which confounds *the objective* and *the subjective*, or *unduly subordinates* the former to the latter. Many are disposed to exalt their *intuitions* too highly, to the detriment of *the historical*, as Kant did in his *Pure Reason*.

"These observations will serve to show why the author has gone with considerable fullness into objections that have been urged in modern times against the New Testament books, and especially against the Gospels. He thinks it highly probable that such objections will appear in one shape or other in this

country. Hence he has partially anticipated their currency. It is true that they are known to a few English scholars even now ; but they are destined to be more widely inculcated. Perhaps most of those who are at present acquainted with them are able to set a right value on them without having their minds injured ; but the circumstances of the case must change in proportion as the skeptical considerations in question are revealed to a wider circle, unless pains be taken to send a sufficient antidote along with them."

In accordance with this plan, Dr. Davidson has entered into the discussion of preliminary and critical questions relative to the books of the New Testament, with more thoroughness and minuteness of detail than any English writer who has preceded him in this department. Indeed one who would follow the intricacies of rationalistic criticism upon this subject can take nothing for granted, unless perhaps it be his own conscious existence. He is in the position of the Protestant minister who was waited upon by a conceited youth—a recent proselyte to Rome—with the request that he would show from the New Testament what was the true Catholic church founded by Christ ; but when he had proved that that church was not the church of Rome, it was demanded that he should prove that the will of Christ is expressed in the New Testament ; and when this was accomplished, evidence was demanded that Christ spoke in the name and by the authority of God ; and thus the questioner retreated step by step until in order to answer the original inquiry as to the teaching of the New Testament on a specific point, it was necessary to prove the existence of God. Dr. Davidson has anticipated this retrogression by beginning at the lowest foundation, and meeting every objection and inquiry which can by any possibility be raised. It is somewhat characteristic of his mind to refine upon a subject to an extent which is tedious to minds not similarly constituted or not equally interested in the topic under discussion. His work on ecclesiastical polity is an example of this, but in the volumes before us the exceedingly critical habit of his mind appears on every page. All that pertains to an *Introduction* in the German use of the term is embodied in this work. There is much here that the ordinary Biblical student will never find occasion to use ; and there is everything here which the most critical student of the New Testament could desire in an armory for the defense of the Gospel. Viewed as a whole, the work is an honor to English scholarship and an invaluable help to Biblical criticism.

The first volume opens with a dissertation on the Gospel of Matthew. After a brief notice of the writer, and of the persons—Jewish converts—for whom in the first instance it was designed, the author enters into a very elaborate and learned investigation of the language in which this Gospel was written, and the result

to which he comes, contrary to the conclusion of Hug and others, is that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, or rather in the Aramæan or Syro-Chaldaic language, at that time the vernacular tongue of the Jews in Palestine. This is in accordance with the most ancient historical testimony and with internal marks in the Gospel itself. A brief enumeration of the characteristic peculiarities of Matthew's Gospel succeeds this disquisition. Among these some of the more important are, the *mode of narration*—in which the order of time is sometimes sacrificed to the highest doctrinal impression—and the *Judaic conception and presentation* of the character and mission of Christ. While Matthew exhibits Jesus as the son of David, the great Teacher and Prophet, "the substance of type and prophecy in the ancient dispensation," he does not rise to those more spiritual views of Christ which abound in the Gospel of John. The phrase *Βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν* is a peculiarity of this Gospel, for which other New Testament writers use *Βασιλεῖα θεοῦ*. The reader who is curious in such investigations will be greatly assisted by Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*.

The next point which Dr. Davidson considers, is the authenticity or Apostolic origin of the Gospel of Matthew, and this is followed by a discussion of its integrity and of the time and place of composition. Under the two former heads the student will find some valuable suggestions for the exposition of difficult passages in the Gospel.

The same general course of inquiry is pursued with reference to the other Gospels; but only the results to which the author comes, can be given here. Mark's Gospel was intended for Gentile converts. Hence it does not partake of the doctrinal character of Matthew's, but is purely historical. Its style is concise and graphic, pictorial rather than didactic, and with little consecutive method. Luke wrote his Gospel primarily for the instruction of Theophilus, who was probably a Gentile believer, but also with the higher design of providing for the church a complete and an authoritative history of the life and doctrines of Christ. In the narration of events, he is more circumstantial and exact than either Matthew or Mark, though his records of the discourses and parables of our Lord are much briefer than Matthew's. The Greek of Luke is more pure and classical than that of either of his predecessors. In discussing the authenticity of Luke's Gospel, Dr. Davidson collates with good judgment the historical facts and allusions of the evangelist with Josephus and other contemporary writers. The result is satisfactory for the sacred historian. But we must protest against the implied concession of the infallibility of Josephus as an historian, whenever there seems to be a discrepancy between him and the evangelist. By the canons of historical criticism Luke is entitled to

stand upon the same ground with Josephus as a simple historian ; and the infidel is as truly bound to harmonize Josephus with Luke as is the Christian to reconcile Luke with Josephus.

The view which Dr. Davidson takes of John's Gospel is, that it was written not for a distinct polemical purpose, nor merely to supplement the three Gospels already extant, but with the general design of extending and establishing the faith as it is in Jesus. His object was didactic ; but at the same time the composition of his Gospel was effected by his own subjective views and experience, while these in turn were influenced by the state of religion and of philosophy in Asia Minor. Dr. Davidson, however, does not allow the same prominence to the reflective idiosyncrasy of John which is given to it by Neander in his History of the Planting and Training of the Churches. In his opinion, "a large proportion of what is termed *John's speculation and mysticism*, should be placed to the account of theologians who view his writings through the false medium of their own capricious philosophy." There is much truth in this remark ; yet we can not regard the fine distinction which Neander makes between Paul and John as altogether fanciful. Indeed Dr. Davidson, in his remarks on the prologue to this Gospel, partly admits the speculative and spiritual tendency of the Apostle John, though he would strip it entirely of an artificial character.

"The prologue of the Gospel obviously presents an allusion to the *gnosis* of John's day. The commencement of it appears to have a class of men in view who, by peculiar speculations, threatened to corrupt pure Christianity. The leading idea of it is therefore antignostic. The ever-existing Logos, the only-begotten of the Father, became incarnate, and sojourned truly among men. In His person, the human and divine are inseparably united. To Him the revelations of Deity in the world must be referred as their source. He has always been the Divine Light, to which the darkness of the world is opposed, and by which it is overcome. If we regard the prologue as giving the *key-note* to the entire Gospel, it may be affirmed that the tendency of the work was to counteract *indirectly* the false *gnosis* then current. But perhaps this is too strong an assertion to apply to the introduction, since a reference to such speculations is only apparent in it. An antignostic spirit pervades the Gospel, not because John's *design* was to furnish a *direct antidote* to it, but because his object was so general as naturally to include it. He purposed to write a Gospel consisting of history and doctrine, which should promote and strengthen faith in Christ as the Son of God, showing the animating principles and consolations of that faith in their holy power of love. In doing so, he did not entirely overlook the speculations which mistook the nature of true faith, and were therefore injurious to Christianity ; but he did not intend to refute them specially. The character of his Gospel, we repeat, is not *polemic*. It is only *apologetic*. All the polemics of it appear in the mild form of narrative and statement—a narrative of great facts, a statement of sublime utterances, that disprove *all* religious error ; though their antithesis to the current error of that day is more discernible. We believe that he had certain mental tendencies in his view in the prologue, and probably in other parts of the Gospel ; but these did not constitute the chief motive for writing it. They were subordinate to a more comprehensive design, and largely absorbed in it."—p. 330.

The distinction thus elaborately drawn appears to be rather a distinction in words than in fact. The motive of Dr. Davidson in insisting upon it at such length is to counteract the tendency of certain German critics to impute to John's Gospel a character of *artificiality* which is inconsistent with the humble origin and the limited acquirements of its author. "The more Alexandrian culture is attributed to him—the more evidence of an artificial disposition of materials can be discovered—the greater is the improbability of a fisherman having composed it. . . . It is quite preposterous to introduce into his work a very high degree of reflectiveness; or the prosecution of an object so formally minute as a highly cultivated rhetorician of modern times would exhibit." But humble as was the origin of most of the Apostles, there were yet in that little company marked differences in personal character and in mental qualities; and why may not the Holy Spirit, in inspiring one and another to prepare a permanent record of the life and doctrines of Christ, have selected them with reference to the varieties of their mental constitution and their personal experience, and with reference also to different phases or developments of Christian doctrine in the church? All that we should be disposed to contend for on this point is conceded by Dr. Davidson in his remarks on the *mode of narration* in John's Gospel, where he seems to drop for a while his special antagonism to the school of Baur. These remarks embody so just and admirable a criticism upon the Gospel that we shall quote them entire.

"The Gospel bears the stamp of originality. Individuality of character belongs to it. The narratives are marked by simplicity, vividness, and life. The descriptions are drawn from the heart of one who had seen and heard what he presents, with no common interest. Without aiming at ornament or effect, the work abounds in story which makes a more striking and durable impression on the mind than the cold manner of one whose soul had not been penetrated by the divine presence of the person delineated. Taken as a whole, the Gospel presents an unity and completeness betokening one author; and although that author possessed little dialectic skill, even had it been required for such a writing, yet the life-like scenes presented are highly graphic because of their truthful simplicity. The leading ideas of the Gospel are among the greatest that can possibly exercise a human spirit; yet they are clothed withal in a plain garb. No attempt to be eloquent in setting them forth, is visible: they are eloquently enunciated just because they are the natural emanation of a heart impregnated with their sanctifying influence. The Apostle appears to have had little talent for vivid description of outward objects; yet his mode of delineating facts in the evangelical history has all the reality and effect of the graphic, because of the subduing artlessness belonging to it. He seems however to have excelled in natural reflectiveness, if we may form a conclusion from the discourses of Jesus, in connection with the ideas appended to them, as elaborated apparently in the mind of the writer. He was not fitted for consecutive reasoning, like Paul; but for calm contemplation. He was not formed by nature for conducting lengthened processes of argumentation, linked together with metaphysical acuteness; but at the same time, his mind was deeply reflective, comprehensive in its range, able to bring

together scattered materials, and to weave them into a web of wonderful, though inartificial texture. In short, his mode of narration is characterized by simplicity and tenderness, combining to produce an impression of power superior to any thing that could have been effected by graphic elaborateness. He is graphic because he is natural.

"Much has been written concerning the *mysticism* of John, as it appears in the Gospel. Without entering at length into a consideration of the point, it may be stated generally, that it has been too largely assigned to the philosophy of the period. Alexandrian theosophy has been investigated to little purpose, in order to account for what is termed the mysticism of John. The ideas respecting Deity developed in the work; the inadequacy of language to describe relations in the Godhead apart from metaphor, the sublimity of the subject being too vast to find a fitting vehicle of human material; those spiritual connections of which the writer speaks which are necessarily obscure to the finite understanding; and a cognate, allegorical spirit pervading many of the Jewish writings, will serve to explain the shadowy dimness encircling some portions of the Gospel. Perhaps the writer's mental temperament led him to adventure occasionally into the region of uncreated spirit, as he meditated on the wondrous person of the Redeemer, and the still more marvelous though partial revealings of His essential nature which he designed to make in the days of his flesh. The abstract spirituality of the leading ideas, as expressed in the prominent terms of the Gospel, must be regarded as the main source of that mystic coloring, which some critics have greatly exaggerated. Who can presume to look into the pavilion of the uncreated glory, without being dazzled and bewildered? Or who may apprehend and lucidly express the secret relations of Father, Son and Spirit?"—pp. 338, 339.

With reference to the *date* of the Gospel of John, Dr. Davidson inclines to the view that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. But if such were the fact, it is almost incredible that there should be no allusion in it to that sublime confirmation of the Savior's prophecy. So striking a proof of his divine mission could not have been passed over in silence by one who was laboring to establish his divinity. Moreover, the oft-quoted expression in Chap. v, v. 2, where the pool of Bethesda is spoken of in the *present* tense (*ἔστι*) just as it was in the time of Christ, *having* (*ἔχουσα*) five porches,—precisely the language to describe a then existing fact,—presents a serious if not an insurmountable objection to this view.

The Gospel of John is destined, we believe, to a much higher appreciation from the church, as the era of polemics shall give place to an era of more elevated spiritual experience. It has always been esteemed above the other Gospels for its spiritual tone and its subjective character. Chrysostom and Augustine extol it as being the very spirit of Christ. Luther speaks of it as "the only real Gospel, the leading, living one, that should be preferred by far to the others. John records mainly the discourses of Christ in his own words, from which we learn truth and life as taught by himself. The rest dwell at length upon his works." Calvin calls it the key to the evangelical history. The writings of the other evangelists abound in the external evidences of the divinity of the Savior. The Gospel of John pre-

sents those spiritual evidences that address themselves to the believer's consciousness and cause him to *know* Christ as his friend and his Redeemer. The writings of Paul partake throughout of the argumentative and polemical character of the epistle to the Romans, and hence these were the most potent weapons in the hands of the Reformers. The writings of John are didactic and spiritual, and hence these will minister to the advancing spiritual life of the church.

Olshausen remarks that "the sententious, parabolical and figurative style prevailing in the first three Gospels, as also the dialectic in the composition of Paul, to a great extent disappear in the language of this evangelist. John's thoughts are characterized by the greatest simplicity, combined with a metaphysical spirituality; they carry in themselves a perspicuity by means of which they are to be apprehended without proceeding from the point of view that reflects the naked idea. Drawn out of the depth of meditation, they are yet far removed from the obscurity and confusion of mysticism; expressed in the simplest language, they unite the profoundness of the genuine mystic element with the clearness and acuteness of the truly scholastic. Where, indeed, the organs of contemplation slumber or are undeveloped, there John's depth, with all his perspicuity, may appear like obscurity; for such a medium of vision, however, the Gospel of John was not written; the synoptical writings are more adapted to it."* As then the believer shall attain to a higher life and enjoy more and more of the inward presence of Christ, and as the church shall approximate more nearly to the unity and the spirituality upon which the Savior dilated in his last discourse and prayer,—will the Gospel of John be understood and felt in its original freshness and power. It is important, therefore, that this Gospel of Gospels should be exalted to its proper place, and should be studied with all the helps which sound criticism and ripe experience can furnish.

The first volume of Dr. Davidson's work closes with a valuable chapter on the "Correspondences of the first three Gospels." Volume second embraces the Acts of the Apostles, and several of the Pauline epistles. In the dissertation on the Acts, the authorship and sources of the book, and its credibility, are discussed in a thorough and masterly manner. The argument of Paley from

* Introduction to the Gospel of John. This distinguished commentator applies to the beloved disciple the following lines:

Volat avis sine meta,
Quo nec vates nec propheta,
Evolavit altius.
Jam implenda, quam impleta,
Nunquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius.

the *undesigned coincidences* between Luke's narrative and the epistles of Paul left nothing to be desired on the score of authenticity. But with regard to the authorship and sources of the book, Dr. Davidson has met the speculations of later German critics with an array of learning and argument entirely conclusive.

The epistles are introduced with an elaborate essay on the life, character and education of the Apostle Paul. This, though it is less philosophical than Neander's analysis of Paul's character, has more warmth and practical power. The epistles are severally considered with respect to the time, place and object of writing, their integrity and authenticity, and the origin and condition of the church to which each was addressed. In connection with each also, an admirable summary of contents is presented, which will be of great service to ministers in their pulpit expositions. The numerous points of doctrine, discipline and polity which thus pass under review, invite us to a wide field of inquiry and discussion. But our limits forbid any thing more than the bare outline of the work which we have now given. The third volume, which is to complete the New Testament, is in course of preparation and will probably be published during the present year. We hope that some American publisher may be induced to issue the entire work for the benefit of Biblical students in this country. It would command a certain and a permanent market, for there is no work like it accessible to students in the English language. It would advance the ministry in Biblical learning, and fit them to contend intelligently and successfully with the modern phases of infidelity imported from the Fatherland. The rising ministry must prepare themselves to refute such forms of error upon critical, historical and exegetical grounds. This we say, to adopt the language of a contemporary whose orthodoxy is above suspicion, "this we say, with full knowledge that there are those among us who regard the mention of a German name as symptomatic of neology; and who think safety consists in not knowing the dangers of those who have fallen, and in shutting the eyes hard at the first steps of downward tottering in our own land. Dangerous as it is to walk the wards of an hospital, it is nevertheless the only means of arriving at a sound pathology and a preventive regimen."* Dr. Davidson has laid us under obligations in this regard, and we would have the whole theological world reap the benefit of his diligent and successful labors.

* Princeton Review, July, 1850.

ART. V.—EVERETT'S ORATIONS AND
SPEECHES.

Orations and Speeches on various occasions. By EDWARD EVERETT. Second edition. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown.

THERE is something in the character of this work, apart from its peculiar merits, that seems to us to have an auspicious bearing on our American literature. We refer to the fact that it is the gathering up in an attractive and enduring form, of the occasional efforts of a great mind, which would otherwise scarcely survive the day in which they were put forth; for pamphlets are so essentially fugitive, that however heavy laden they may be with gems of thought or feeling or expression, we hardly think of looking for them, after a short season, unless it be among the rubbish of the garret or the treasures of the antiquary. If there has been a period in the history of our country, which has been more signalized for the vigorous workings of the human intellect on great and exciting topics, than any other, undoubtedly it was the latter half of the last century. The press had not indeed then its present efficiency; and it had enough to do to chronicle the great events that were occurring, without giving forth the great speeches and orations and discourses of various kinds, with which those events were connected; but unhappily, even the few which were published at the time, though they accomplished a glorious work in their day, have now nearly all passed into oblivion. The same remark holds true in respect to some of the finest efforts of the pulpit: the enthusiasm with which they were received, lasted long enough to secure their publication, but not long enough to protect them permanently from the depredations of the worm. Mayhew and Chauncey and the younger Cooper, who, though not all of them the most orthodox, were certainly among the most influential of the clergy of New England, published many sermons commemorative of great events in their time, and displaying intellectual powers of the highest order, the very titles of which are now almost universally forgotten. President Dwight, at a later period, published a large number of discourses of a similar character, which are well worthy of perpetual preservation; but, although little more than a single lustrum has passed since his death, few of the present generation, have any knowledge of the greater part of these discourses, notwithstanding some of them are decidedly among the most eloquent of the author's productions.

Now we look upon it as among the propitious signs of the times, that there is an increasing disposition to save what is really

worth saving, for posterity, and even to stop many valuable things in their course down the stream of time, which seemed rapidly tending towards the gulf of oblivion. Within the last few years, the fugitive productions of several highly gifted minds, whose names form part of the history of our country, have been brought together (in some instances as the fruit of much antiquarian research,) and embodied in a form which renders them universally accessible, while it secures to them a permanent existence. Very much more of this kind of labour remains to be performed; and we cannot but think that those whose thoughts and efforts are turned in this direction, accomplish the triple end of rendering due honour to the past, and of performing good service for the present and the future. We are happy to observe, however, what we consider a yet more excellent way, and which, if adopted to the extent that is desirable, would supersede the necessity of all efforts to recover the lost treasure of other days;—we refer to that of which we have a noble specimen in these volumes of Mr. Everett,—the collecting and publishing of occasional discourses of various kinds, and delivered at different periods, with the consent and under the supervision of the author. This is far better than to leave the work to be done by others; as it secures to the author the opportunity of selecting and rejecting what he pleases, and to the reader the benefit of the author's careful and mature revision.

A large part of the orations and speeches that compose these volumes, we have had the privilege of reading in their original form, as they have been issued in successive years, during the last quarter of a century. So strong was the impression we received from the perusal of most of them, that we might perhaps have safely enough trusted to our recollections for the materials requisite to the present notice; but that we might have the greater chance of doing some justice to the work, we have chosen to go over anew with what was already somewhat familiar to us, especially as, in doing so, we were treating ourselves to the highest intellectual luxury. We do not propose to attempt any thing like a regular critique upon these volumes, but merely to state some of the most obvious reflections that have occurred to us in reading them, and perhaps to add a few quotations in justification of what we shall say of their extraordinary attractions.

If this work were to fall into the hands of an intelligent foreigner so ignorant of this country as not to have heard of Mr. Everett, (if the case be a supposable one,) he would have no occasion to look beyond the table of contents to arrive at the conclusion that the author must be a remarkable man; for we exceedingly doubt whether there is any other man of the age,—certainly there is no one on this side of the water,—whose labours have been put in requisition on such a variety of great occasions.

One can scarcely imagine a subject, intellectual or moral, sacred or secular, on which he has not been called to speak; and most of the large towns in New England and many out of it have been honoured to be the theatre of his public efforts. Leaving out of view, therefore, the *character* of these discourses, as they are embodied in the present work, we have no hesitation in saying that the occasions which produced them must confer lasting honour upon their author, and that no one who should look over the list of subjects here treated, would require any other evidence that he was about to be brought in contact with one of the master spirits of the day.

We hazard nothing in saying that no expectation would be excited by an examination of the table of contents, that would not be fully met by an examination of the contents themselves. The first thing that strikes us is the extent and variety of the author's knowledge. As he has written on almost every subject that can be imagined, so he seems equally at home upon all; and he always writes with such freedom and fullness, that one would suppose that the particular subject which he is treating, must have constituted the favorite study of his life. No matter whether it is history, or politics, or education, or morals, or science, or agriculture, or commerce, or manufactures, or railroads, or any thing else within the range of human contemplation, to which his attention is directed, he seems to bring out with the utmost facility all the most important facts and speculations in relation to it, and not unfrequently opens up some new field, which perhaps he has been the first to explore. We remember to have heard it said that when he was in college he was not only first in his class on the whole, but first in every thing; and we rather think that this fact furnished a pretty correct index to the history of his life.

But it is not merely the exuberance and variety of his information as exhibited in these volumes, that we so much admire, but the extremely unpretending manner in which it is put forth, and the excellent practical account to which it is turned. Where a writer or speaker is called upon to go out of his ordinary track, and discourse upon matters that are not familiar to his thoughts, we generally feel at least the result of an extraordinary effort; and sometimes we find it is too easy to follow him in his illustrations, through other authors, and recognize material which he has borrowed from them, and incorporated with his own thoughts, without even subjecting it to the process of assimilation. At best he betrays the fact that he is not within his appropriate sphere; and it is well for him, if he does not actually need the apology which this fact suggests. But no one was ever farther from this than Mr. Everett. We never find him saying anything, however extraordinary, with an air of self complacence,

or even with an apparent consciousness that he is rising above the level of ordinary minds. Whether he is dispensing from the treasures of his scientific knowledge, or whether he is uttering words of lofty import concerning the state, in high places, every thing is done with the graceful simplicity of nature; he seems to speak or write the thing that comes first to his thoughts; and we recognize in what he produces rather the easy working of a highly gifted and accomplished mind, than any thing like special elaboration.

The high practical tone of these writings also, as we have intimated, forms another of their attractions. There are writers of the present day of no mean intellectual standing, who accomplish nothing and aspire to nothing beyond mere airy speculations; with whom the matter of utility is of little moment compared with a reputation for originality; who had rather say a novel thing that is untrue than a true and useful thing that bears no stamp of novelty. When we speak of Mr. Everett's writings as eminently practical, we do not mean that they are lacking in the due development of principles, or that they do not teach men how to think as well as how to act; for they always contain enough of philosophy to meet the demands of the subject and the occasion, though they show clearly that they emanate from a mind that has kept back much more of philosophy than it has dispensed; but we mean that the writer has always some end in view beyond mere momentary gratification; that he is always looking diligently at the well being of the race; and that, however much his performance may be admired, it has failed of its intended effect unless it has done something in aid of the great interests of society. As there is a word in season here for all classes, so there is that by which men of all classes may profit: the most accomplished statesman and the humblest citizen, the merchant, the mechanic and the farmer, men of every profession and every occupation, may find in these volumes that which will either constitute an addition to their knowledge, or give a new impulse to their efforts.

There is also a rich vein of moral feeling running through these volumes, which cannot be too highly commended. Unhappily, our English and even American, literature furnishes too many examples of the perversion of high intellectual endowments to purposes of moral depravation; the man of genius has too often been found to be an infidel or a profligate; and when his productions have come to be analyzed, there have been detected the secret germs of false and corrupting thought, which he had intended should develop themselves unsuspected, amidst the bewildering glare of his splendid conceptions. And the cases are still more frequent in which there is observed a rigid neutrality in respect to every thing bearing upon human duty: there is no

positive infusion adverse to the interests of virtue,—nothing on which to found the charge of infidelity or corruption; but yet there is such a careful exclusion of every thing of an opposite character, that the effect can hardly fail to be injurious; not merely because such a silence is always accounted significant of indifference, if not of unbelief, but because the absence of a positively good influence upon the mind always leaves it at least defenceless against contamination. Mr. Everett has, in the uniform tone of these orations and speeches, administered an exemplary rebuke to both these classes of authors. He always moves not only on the high ground of honour, but on the yet higher ground of a pure, evangelical morality. There is not a sentence in either of these volumes in respect to the moral influence of which any Christian parent would wish to put a child upon his guard; while there is a spirit diffused through the whole, that every one feels must have been imbibed from the New Testament, and is fitted to minister to the growth of whatsoever is pure, lovely and of good report, in human conduct. No matter what may be the subject of which he treats; he rarely, if ever, dismisses it, without having left the decided stamp of high moral feeling; and there are not a few of these addresses that were called forth by the great moral or charitable or religious enterprises of the day. Temperance, prison discipline, the famine in Ireland, the claims of various charitable institutions, and above all the Bible, have furnished themes for his eloquent and stirring appeals. The last mentioned effort particularly,—his address before the Massachusetts Bible society,—not only breathes the purest moral sentiment, but is one of the most fitting and beautiful tributes to our common Christianity that we remember to have met with. We would venture to suggest whether it might not be an important service rendered to the cause of religious truth, to send forth this address in the form of a tract, especially among the higher classes; for unless we greatly mistake, its eloquent and persuasive tone in connection with its sound and enlightened views, would be far more likely to recover one who had gone astray, or to establish one who was doubtful, than many of the more formal and elaborate vindications of Christianity which seem to have become the accredited and standard antidotes to skepticism.

We like these works of Mr. Everett for another reason: they breathe throughout the spirit of reform, and yet they are essentially conservative. We live in a day when men cannot be contented with the past or even the present, but are incessantly reaching forward to some hitherto unattained advantage. Progress, progress, is emphatically the law of the age; and it were as vain to think of stopping the onward march of things in the intellectual and moral world, as it would be to change the ordinance of Heaven in respect to the revolutions of the planets. So

far is well. God evidently did not intend that things should always remain stationary; and men are only co-operating with God for the accomplishment of his purposes, when they labour earnestly in the cause of human improvement. But neither, on the other hand, was it any part of the divine intention that men in their haste to witness results, should turn scornfully or carelessly away from the appropriate means of bringing them about; and should thus actually mock the divine wisdom in the honour which they render to their own. Now, unfortunately, the spirit of activity which is so extensively abroad, is too often erratic, sometimes even fierce and bitter; and sober men are constrained to feel that many who claim to be the most earnest and efficient reformers, are actually the most legitimate subjects for reformation. And more than this—it cannot be doubted that one extreme often begets the other; that some men who are disinclined to effort, justify themselves in doing nothing by ringing perpetual changes on the extravagances of the day, while others who are well enough disposed, still keep aloof from various good enterprises from a reluctance to be found in bad company. Mr. Everett has shown himself superior to all these mistakes. He is a thorough going, whole souled reformer, in the best sense of that word; and yet he is never above being controlled by principles of reason or maxims of prudence. He is ready with a helping hand, whenever his services are demanded for any object that looks towards the melioration of society; but he is never the abettor, but always the opposer, of any thing like fanatical excitement. He brings to every good work which he espouses a calm, dignified, yet earnest spirit, which is fitted at once to disarm or soften hostility, to check the workings of intemperate zeal, and to secure ultimately the happiest result.

It may seem almost superfluous to speak of these productions as models of graceful and eloquent composition. They are marked by a simplicity that seems like the breathings of childhood; by a perspicuity that might challenge the most stupid reader to mistake their meaning; by a dignified elegance that bespeaks the most cultivated taste; and to crown all, by a vigour and often an originality of thought, that forms the staple of all fine writing. Here again we may say that they are well fitted to act as an antidote to some of the prevailing evil tendencies of our literature;—particularly to that silly affectation that has become so common, of saying trite or unmeaning things with an air of oracular assurance, or of conjuring up a dense mist to hide the nakedness of the land. Some really gifted minds on both sides of the water have exerted a powerful influence in corrupting the public taste by interlarding their productions with all manner of quaint phrases, so that we have seemed to realize the resurrection of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not a

few of our young men, we are sorry to see, have fallen into this literary snare; and instead of being satisfied to convey their thoughts in a simple, natural and graceful manner, they have followed these wandering stars into the regions of perpetual mist. Even the pulpit itself, unless we greatly mistake, has not altogether escaped this evil; for we have now and then listened to a sermon so splendidly unintelligible, that though there was a world of admiration lavished upon it, no one wished to be interrogated as to what he had been hearing. We would recommend to all preachers and writers who are ambitious of this ignoble distinction, to throw away their favorite authors, and take up these volumes of Mr. Everett as a regular study, with a view to bring themselves back to truth and nature. This is a kind of writing that will always endure, because it is conformed to the principles of a correct taste; whereas the other will live through its little hour, and then be remembered only as the monument of a miserable affectation.

It must be acknowledged that Mr. Everett's taste in writing has undergone some change during the lapse of twenty five years. He himself recognizes this fact in his preface; and passes a severer judgment on his earlier productions, we think, than would be sustained by any impartial critic. That his literary efforts have been growing more simple as well as more classical, we do not doubt; nevertheless we must be permitted to say, his own judgment to the contrary notwithstanding, that we have seen nothing from his pen that rivals in glowing and effective eloquence some passages in his Phi Beta Kappa Oration, delivered at Cambridge on occasion of the memorable visit of Lafayette in eighteen hundred and twenty-four.

There is moreover an admirable fitness displayed throughout these productions—the orator always catches the spirit of the occasion; and while he seems to know every thing that pertains to it, he brings out only that which is most important and most impressive. We never feel that he is treading upon dubious ground; that he is uttering a sentiment which delicacy would have required him to suppress; or that he has passed over something that would have rendered his performance more complete as well as more symmetrical: on the contrary, the impression is irresistible that he has done full justice to his subject, as well in what he has omitted to say as in what he has said; and though we may feel that the subject admitted of amplification, we can hardly imagine how it could have been treated more skilfully or more effectively within the same limits.

Mr. Everett, quite unnecessarily, as we think, apologizes for the occasional repetition of facts and the recurrence of the same thoughts, in different parts of these volumes. Several of the orations are so nearly upon the same subject, that it would have

been impossible to avoid all repetition in consistency with doing justice to the occasion ; but it is, after all, so inconsiderable as not in the least to diminish the general interest ; and even where it occurs, the reader is constrained to feel that it results from the fitness of the case, and not from any circumscribed view of the subject. Besides, Mr. Everett has the faculty of repeating a thing in substance, so that it is scarcely recognized as repetition ; of introducing it in such new combinations and throwing around it so much rhetorical beauty, that the reader forgets that the same thought or the same fact had been before him in another form.

The only remark that we will add as illustrative of our impressions in reading these works, is that they form indirectly an important contribution to the history of the country. Not a small part of them have respect to events which are incorporated not only with our national well being, but with our national existence. The Plymouth oration, for instance, is a choice piece of history covering the period to which it relates : it presents to us in a series of events of which the world has seen no parallel, the germ of all our greatness. The various orations delivered on the Fourth of July, and those on other special occasions looking back to the revolution, are full not only of the general but of the local history of that day ; and we doubt whether the bloody scenes of Lexington and Concord and Charlestown, are delineated any where else with more historic fidelity or more graphic power. Then there is much that is historical in the list of occasions which called forth these various efforts. A large part of them are new to the present age, and may be regarded as indexes to the general progress of society. Most of these addresses could never have been written until within the last quarter of a century, because either the events which called them forth had not then occurred, or else they had not been recognized as matter for public celebration. It is striking to notice how almost every important change in society that has taken place during Mr. Everett's public life, is here chronicled, and most of them in the form of an occasion for a public effort. In this way, he has, beyond any other man, linked himself in with the history of his time, while yet, he has never set himself, in form, to do the work of an historian. He has, however, performed a much more important part than that of a mere chronicler of events ; he has held up the events in their high practical bearings, and has exhibited not more of the enlightened philosopher than of the earnest patriot, in the use that he has made of them. We recommend these works, therefore, not merely as a faithful record of many of the changes of society and the causes of these changes, but as being thoroughly imbued with the patriotic spirit, and well fitted to aid in the extinction of those national feuds and jealousies which seem multiplying among us in such portentous profusion.

We intimated our intention, at the commencement of this article, to illustrate our opinion of these orations and speeches by some appropriate extracts. But in looking through the volumes, we find ourselves embarrassed, to a degree which we did not anticipate, in making the selection. The truth is, they are of such uniform excellence, that we should be in little danger of doing the author injustice, if we were to open at random and copy from any page on which our eye might chance to rest. Some writers give us occasionally a gem,—apparently the effect of an uncommon gathering up of the faculties,—while, in the main, they are only tolerably interesting; and we are sustained in our passage through many indifferent and barren pages, by the reflection that by and by there will come a green spot, where we can repose with delight. It is otherwise with Mr. Everett: we read his productions with a sustained and uninterrupted interest; and his fine thoughts, instead of being rendered prominent by being few and far between, succeed each other with so much rapidity, that one rather feels that he is constantly breathing a pure atmosphere, and gazing on a beautiful sky, than only coming occasionally in contact with some invigorating or elevating influence. We shall confine ourselves to three brief extracts, being the close of three different addresses that were pronounced at periods about equidistant from each other.

The first is from the address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College; and it is the first in point of time, as well as the first in the order of publication in these volumes. The occasion, always one of great interest, as bringing together a larger amount of the intelligence and literary refinement of the country than almost any other, was at this time invested with peculiar attractions, from being honoured with the presence of General Lafayette. We cannot imagine that this grateful circumstance could have been more beautifully and impressively noticed than in the last of the following paragraphs which conclude the discourse. The effect upon the audience is still remembered by many, as forming one of the most splendid illustrations of the power of eloquence.

"Here, then, a mighty work is to be performed, or never, by mortals. The *man*, who looks with tenderness on the sufferings of good men in other times; the *descendant of the Pilgrims*, who cherishes the memory of his fathers; the *patriot*, who feels an honest glow at the majesty of the system of which he is a member; the *scholar*, who beholds, with rapture, the long-sealed book of truth opened for all to read without prejudice;—these are they, by whom these auspices are to be accomplished. Yes, brethren, it is by the intellect of the country that the mighty mass is to be inspired; that its parts are to communicate and sympathize with each other; its natural progress to be adorned with becoming refinements; its principles asserted and its feelings interpreted to its own children, to other regions, and to after ages.

"Meantime, the years are rapidly passing away, and gathering importance in their course. With the present year (1824) will be completed the half-

century from that most important era in human history—the commencement of our revolutionary war. The jubilee of our national existence is at hand. The space of time that has elapsed since that momentous date has laid down in the dust, which the blood of many of them had already hallowed, most of the great men to whom, under Providence, we owe our national existence and privileges. A few still survive among us, to reap the rich fruits of their labors and sufferings; and one has yielded himself to the united voice of a people, and returned in his age to receive the gratitude of the nation to whom he devoted his youth. It is recorded on the pages of American history, that when this friend of our country applied to our commissioners at Paris, in 1776, for a passage in the first ship they should dispatch to America, they were obliged to answer him, (so low and abject was then our dear native land,) that they possessed not the means, nor the credit, sufficient for providing a single vessel, in all the ports of France. ‘Then,’ exclaimed the youthful hero, ‘I will provide my own.’ And it is a literal fact that, when all America was too poor to offer him so much as a passage to her shores, he left, in his tender youth, the bosom of home, of domestic happiness, of wealth, of rank, to plunge in the dust and blood of our inauspicious struggle!

“Welcome, friend of our fathers, to our shores! Happy are our eyes, that behold those venerable features! Enjoy a triumph such as never conqueror nor monarch enjoyed—the assurance that, throughout America, there is not a bosom which does not beat with joy and gratitude at the sound of your name! You have already met and saluted, or will soon meet, the few that remain of the ardent patriots, prudent counsellors, and brave warriors, with whom you were associated in achieving our liberty. But you have looked round in vain for the faces of many, who would have lived years of pleasure, on a day like this, with their old companion in arms and brother in peril. Lincoln, and Greene, and Knox, and Hamilton, are gone; the heroes of Saratoga and Yorktown have fallen before the enemy that conquers all. Above all, the first of heroes and of men, the friend of your youth, the more than friend of his country, rests in the bosom of the soil he redeemed. On the banks of his Potomac he lies in glory and in peace. You will re-visit the hospitable shades of Mount Vernon, but him, whom you venerated as we did, you will not meet at its door. His voice of consolation, which reached you in the dungeons of Olmütz, cannot now break its silence to bid you welcome to his own roof. But the grateful children of America will bid you welcome in his name. Welcome! thrice welcome to our shores! And whithersoever your course shall take you, throughout the limits of the continent, the ear that hears you shall bless you, the eye that sees you shall give witness to you, and every tongue exclaim with heart felt joy, Welcome, welcome, La Fayette!”

Our second extract shall be from a speech delivered by Mr. Everett in 1838, at a festival celebrated at Exeter, in honour of the venerable Dr. Abbot, who, on that day resigned the place of Principal of Phillip’s Exeter Academy, which he had filled for fifty years. Mr. Everett had been, for a while, a pupil of Dr. Abbot, in fitting for college; and it seemed alike filial and beautiful that he should go up with all his honours, to bear testimony to the high qualities of his revered teacher, and welcome him, after such a life of useful service, to the dignity of retirement. The following passage shows how entirely he caught the spirit of the occasion:—

“Lastly, Sir, as we assemble under the influence of an association which invites us all, however otherwise disconnected, in one kind feeling; as we meet together for the first and the last time in life, many of us to take a last

farewell of our revered preceptor,—it has seemed meet that we should break the noontide bread together, and invite him also to meet us at the social board, there to pass the last hour that we shall ever all pass together on earth, in the interchange of kind feeling with each other and with him. There, Sir, whether we pledge his health in the rosy or the limpid cup, the dews of Castalia I am sure will sweeten its brim, and the balm of good-fellowship give a flavor to the draught. The occasion will there also be taken of offering to our respected teacher a slight but permanent token of respect, of a domestic character, which will preserve at the fireside of his family, in aftertimes, the recollection of this day's transactions.

“Here, Sir, I might with prudence pause; but emotions crowd upon my mind, which I find it equally difficult to suppress and to utter. I have read of an individual who was released from the Bastille after a confinement of more than thirty years. He sought for his family and the friends of his youth, and they were gone. The house in which he had lived had passed into the possession of strangers, and he desired to go back to the prison in which he had so long been immured. I can catch a glimpse of his feelings, as I wander about these scenes, familiar to me in boyhood, and which I have but once or twice re-visited, and that long ago, in the interval of more than thirty years since I was a pupil at the Academy. It was my good fortune to pass here but a portion of the year before I entered college; but I can truly say that even in that short time I contracted a debt of gratitude, which I have felt throughout my life. I return to these endeared scenes with mingled emotion. I find them changed; dwelling-places are no more on the same spots; old edifices have disappeared; new ones, both public and private, have been erected. Some of the respected heads of society whom I knew, though as a child, are gone. The seats in the Academy-room are otherwise arranged than formerly, and even there the places that once knew me know me no more. Where the objects themselves are unaltered, the changed eye and the changed mind see them differently. The streets seem narrower and shorter, the distances less considerable; this play-ground before us, which I remember as most spacious, seems sadly contracted. But all, Sir, is not changed, either in appearance or reality. The countenance of our revered preceptor has undergone no change to my eye. It still expresses that *suaviter in modo* mentioned by the gentleman last up, (Rev. Professor Ware, Jun.,) with nothing of the sternness of the other principle. It is thus I remember it; it was always sunshine to me. Nature, in the larger features of the landscape, is unchanged; the river still flows; the woods yield their shade as pleasantly as they did thirty years ago, doubly grateful for the contrast they afford to the dusty walks of active life; for the solace they yield in an escape, however brief, from its burdens and cares. As I stood in the hall of the Academy, last evening, and saw from its windows the river winding through the valley, and the gentle slope rising from its opposite bank, and caught the cool breeze that was scattering freshness after the sultry summer's day, I could *feel* the poetry of Gray, on revisiting, in a like manner, the scenes of his school-boy days—

‘Ah, happy hills! ah, pleasing shade!
 Ah, fields beloved in vain!
 Where once my careless childhood strayed,
 A stranger yet to pain!
 I feel the gales that from ye blow
 A momentary bliss below,
 As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
 My weary soul they seem to soothe,
 And, redolent of joy and youth,
 To breathe a sacred spring.’”

The remaining extract is from the address before the Massachusetts Bible society already referred to. Not only the address

itself, but the example which was set in delivering it, is well worthy of being contemplated by men in high places. The efforts of clergymen on such occasions lose no small part of the influence to which they are entitled, by being regarded as official; but when a distinguished layman steps forward, as Mr. Everett has here done, in defence of the Bible, all suspicion of self interest, in any form, ceases; and many a mind which would, at best, have opened reluctantly to the teachings of the pulpit or the voice of a clergyman, now finds itself in an unsuspecting, docile and attentive attitude. We do not wish to see laymen doing the appropriate and peculiar work of clergymen; but there is some ground on which intelligent laymen may render most important service to the cause of truth and righteousness, and still keep within their own sphere. Of this we think Mr. Everett has, in this address, shown himself a fine example.

"There is another consideration of a practical nature, which I should be glad to offer to the meeting, if I have not exceeded my allowance of time. We all have pretty strong, and as I think, just impressions of the superiority of Christendom over the Mahometan, Hindoo and Pagan countries. Our civilization, I know, is still very imperfect, impaired by many a vice which disgrace our Christian nurture,—by many a woe which

‘Appears a spot upon a vestal’s robe,
The worse for what it soils.’

But when we compare the condition of things in Christendom with that which prevails in the countries just named, we find that all the evils which exist among us prevail there in a greater degree, while they are subject to innumerable others, so dreadful as to make us almost ready to think it were better for the mass of population, humanly speaking, if they had never been born. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, what maketh us to differ? I know of no final and sufficient cause but the different character of Christianity, and the religions which prevail in Turkey, Persia, India, China and the other semi-civilized or barbarous countries; and this difference, as far as I know, is accurately reflected in their sacred books respectively. I mean, Sir, that the Bible stands to the Koran and the Vedas in the same relation as that in which Christianity stands to Mahometanism, or Brahmanism, or Buddhism; or Christendom to Turkey, Hindoostan, or China.

"We should all, I believe, more fully appreciate the value of the Scriptures, if we compared them with other books assuming the character of sacred. I have not done it so much as I wish I had; but one reason—a main one—has been, the extreme repulsiveness of those books which I have tried to read. I have several times in my life attempted to read the Koran. I have done so lately. I have approached it with a highly excited literary curiosity. I have felt a strong desire to penetrate this great mystery of the Arabian desert. As I have, in some quiet Turkish town, (for in the provincial Turkish towns there is little of the bustle of our western life,) listened at the close of day to the clear, calm voice of the muezzin, from the top of the graceful minaret, calling the faithful to evening prayer,—as I have mused on the vicissitudes of all human things beneath the venerable dome of St. Sophia's,—I have, I may say, longed to find some rational ground of sympathy between Christianity and Islam; but any thing more repulsive and uninviting than the Koran I have seldom attempted to peruse, even when taken up with these kindly feelings. And yet, Sir, you are well aware that it is not conceived in a spirit of hostility to the Old and New Testament, but recognizes them both as a divine revela-

tion. With such portions of the sacred books of the Hindoos as have fallen in my way, the case is far worse. They contain, it is true, some elevated moral sentiments of an ascetic cast, and some strains inspired by a sense of the beauties of nature. But the mythological system contained in them is a tissue of monstrosities and absurdities, by turns so revolting and nauseous as to defy perusal, except from some strong motive of duty or of literary curiosity, which would prompt the investigation. I really believe that few things would do more to raise the Scriptures in our estimation, than to compare the Bible with the Koran and the Vedas. It is not a course of reading to be generally recommended. A portion of the books are scarce, and, as I have said, their contents eminently repulsive; but I will venture to say to those whose professional duty it is to maintain the sacred character of the Christian Scriptures, that I know of scarce any line of reading which might be taken up with greater advantage, for the purpose of fair comparison, than that of the sacred books, as they are called, of the Mahometans and Hindoos.

"One word more, Sir, and I have done. It is sometimes objected to an indiscriminate distribution of the Bible, that it may be perverted, misunderstood, neglected and abused. And what means of improvement, what instrument of Christian benevolence, is not subject to the same drawback? The fault is in the mind of man, subject to error, to the blinding effect of passion, to the debasement of vice, in all that he does, and in all that is done for him. There are things in the Bible hard to be understood. And what is there, if we strive to go beyond the mere outside, which does not contain things hard to be understood? Even our exact sciences, constructed upon ideas which are the creation of our own minds, are full of difficulties. When we turn from revealed truth to the teachings of human speculators on duty and morals, do we not encounter on the threshold those terrible problems of

‘Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate—
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,’

problems that have tasked the unaided understanding of man ever since he began to think and to reason? For myself, Sir, I am more and more inclined to believe that the truth is presented to us in the Bible in the form best adapted to the infinite variety of the character and talent, intellectual and moral, to which it is addressed. It is not such a Bible as the wit of man would have conceived; but it is such a one as the nature and wants of man called for. The acceptance it has found, alike in ancient and modern times, with the learned and the ignorant, the old and the young, the high and the low, the prosperous and the wretched, shows that it is really adapted in itself, not to one country, age, or class, but to man; that it speaks to the unchanging wants, and sorrows, and frailties, and aspirations of the human heart."

We cannot omit to say in concluding this article that these volumes exhibit Mr. Everett as a model, we had almost said a prodigy, of industry. If these various speeches and orations had come from some individual whose life had been a scene of literary leisure, we should have considered them less remarkable; though even then, we should have said that the author had done enough to secure to himself imperishable honour. But when we remember that they are the productions of one, who has, during the whole time, occupied most important civil stations, having been charged with his country's highest interests both at home and abroad, we are constrained to think that they indicate a degree of industry and facility at labour, of which there is scarcely an example in a generation. We meet Mr. Everett here as the

accomplished scholar and the eloquent orator; but we meet him also in all his various public relations. It is Professor Everett, and Governor Everett, and President Everett, Mr. Everett the member of Congress and Mr. Everett the ambassador to the court of St. James, with whose literary productions we are so much delighted and edified; and we remember almost with amazement that, in connection with these splendid efforts, he has fulfilled with most scrupulous fidelity the duties connected with the several posts of honour and influence which have been assigned to him. Herein he is an illustrious model for all young men who desire to work out for themselves an honourable destiny; for though they may not possess his vigour or versatility of talent, and may not aspire to his measure of usefulness or of fame, yet they may imitate him in the economical use of his time and the diligent culture of his powers, and thereby become the benefactors, if not the greater lights, of their generation.

ART. VI.—DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

The Architecture of Country Houses; including Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas, with remarks on Interiors, Furniture, and the best modes of Warming and Ventilating. With three hundred and twenty Illustrations. By A. J. DOWNING, author of "Designs for Cottage Residences," "Hints to persons about building," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease. 8vo. pp. 484.

It is only within comparatively a short period of time that the term *Architecture* has obtained a foothold in our general American vocabulary. Formerly we used to hear of house *building* and church *building*; now we hear of domestic and ecclesiastical *architecture*. What our fathers knew no other name for than 'meeting-houses' we speak of in these days as 'church edifices;' and the old 'homestead' is fast becoming supplanted by the 'villa' and the 'country seat.' The word *buildings* now refers to nothing but barns and shops and like structures. All else is *Architecture*.

This change of phraseology is not, however, the result of accident or caprice. It betokens a change of ideas and the uprising of new convictions in the community at large. It indicates an advance in thought and feeling from a lower to a higher stage of development. It signifies that as a people we are rising above the physical condition of infancy and crudeness, that we are growing older and acquiring with increasing age increasing cul-

ture and worth. And especially is it a thing of welcome significance, when we find the term in question applied so generally as it now is to the domestic in distinction from the more public structures of a people. It shows that the many are inclined to think, as never before, that the body is more than meat, and that a human being needs something in a residence besides the facilities for eating and sleep, and a shelter from the heat and cold. It indicates that the notion is becoming more widely and practically accepted that man is not a mere animal endowed with five senses, but that he has also intellectual and spiritual faculties, in the due education and culture of which, life really consists as much as in the satisfaction of physical wants. It gives assurance that the domestic affections, the tastes, the pleasures of society, are getting a higher place in the estimation of men; in short that the home feeling, that anchor to all that is good and virtuous, has a deeper hold upon the hearts of the multitude. And it is because the home feeling is worth so much, because it is a tie so strong and lasting, to bind us to what is loveliest and best, that we deem it a good omen when a changing nomenclature indicates such a change in ideas and feelings as we have just alluded to.

We rejoice, therefore, at the multiplying evidence afforded that our people in this country are thinking more and thinking better of their dwellings, the structures within which so much of their life is passed and upon which the character and worth of that life so much depend. We are not disposed to magnify the importance of material things, much less to set them above or before things spiritual. Man is a spiritual being, and his spiritual wants and enjoyments are of the first and highest consequence, and if these are not recognized and provided for, it matters very little what are the wants or delights dependent upon his physical structure or the material world in which he has his being. Nevertheless, inasmuch as his spiritual nature is linked to a material structure, he is dependent upon it and upon the material universe with which it brings him into connection for the culture and development of his higher and spiritual part. The world of ideas, thoughts and feelings, is most intimately connected with the world of matter, and the former world will take its tone and shape very much from the latter. And as this is different in the case of every individual, so each one may be said to form to himself his ideal or spiritual world from the particular physical world in which he lives. While, therefore, the outward and material, influences from the beginning of existence the inward and immaterial, man has it also in his power to determine, in a measure certainly, what this influence shall be. The time comes when the spiritual reacts upon the material and asserts its inherent superiority. The time arrives when the mind instead of lying in a state of mere mechanical reception assumes an active

and voluntary condition in which it chooses, to some extent at least, what it will receive from the material world around it. By its own creative power, too, it begins to reëstablish its own ideas, modified and cultured by reflection and experience, upon the world without. It lays hold of the earth and its material forms and substances, and shapes them at its will. It bridges the mighty streams; it tunnels the mountains; it levels the hills and lifts up the valleys; it raises everywhere the structures which minister to its will and convenience and happiness; and so, really creates the physical world anew. Thus, mankind come to live in a better world from time to time. This world as a whole is now only in the lowest sense the same world that it was at the opening of the present century. It has indeed the same geological strata; it has the same great rivers and bays and oceans; the same Alpine peaks, the same wide deserts and the same enveloping atmosphere. But in respect to its bearing upon human life, in the large and general view, it is as if another world had come to take its place. And so, too, men have it in their power to change and are changing that smaller material world in which the domestic life of each one is led. From caves in the mountain side, and tents and huts of the rudest construction, they have come to dwell in structures better calculated to satisfy and cultivate the advancing ideas and tastes of advancing civilization and those inspired by the influence of religion. The importance of this home world is probably felt at the present day more deeply than ever before. The more enlightened portion of mankind are recognizing too, as never before, the value of that portion of life which is comprehended within the limits of infancy and childhood. They are discovering how much it has to do with all the after life, whether considered in its material and social relations to the present world or in its spiritual relations to the world to come. And they are seeing as they never have seen until now, how much the place of a child's residence has to do with a child's character. They are discovering herein the possibility of a better life even from the outset of existence than was once acknowledged or even suspected. Still, however, there is room for improvement and further progress. Few have yet fathomed the great problem of human life. Few understand it whether restricted to early or more mature age, whether in its connection with this world or a world to come. We are at best but making advances toward the full and complete truth. We are experimenting in the great laboratory of existence, and as the result of many failures and a partial success, are settling gradually the basis of a more perfect knowledge. Every discovery, therefore, should be welcomed, and every instrument of progress be laid hold of as a help to the grand ultimate attainment.

It is in this view a hopeful sign that attention has of late been turned as it has, particularly in this country, to the subject of Domestic Architecture. For some years now there have been occasional signs of rebellion against the old stereotyped ideas and habits that have so long prevailed on this subject, and already a very perceptible change is beginning to be wrought in the style and character of our domestic edifices. Our dwellings hitherto, with exceptions of course, have not been what human dwellings should be. They have not been the fittest places by any means for the birth and nurture of human beings, of beings endowed with faculties which lift them so high above the range of the animal races around them. They have been too exclusively calculated to satisfy the wants of the animal part of man's compound nature, and have had far too little adaptation to supply the necessities and provide for the comfort and growth of his social and spiritual nature. They have been great eating and sleeping places, barns for human beings; and too often indeed the difference between the places occupied by the quadrupeds and the bipeds has not been as manifest as it should have been. The home affections and the more refined feelings and tastes which belong to our nature have flourished in such cases, if at all, in spite of circumstances most adverse and repressing. And even in many dwellings where all has not borne the stamp of an animal nature, how little has there been oftentimes in the structure of the dwelling and in its furnishing and surroundings, to call forth and cultivate the better feelings and faculties of the inmates. Where have been the visible material signs of taste and refinement? Where, the manifest indications of a proper understanding of the true aim and character of life, and wherein its real importance and happiness consist? How much has been lavished upon the body, and how little provided for the mind and soul. How little has there been to bind the children to the ancestral hearth. How little has there been to make their eyes kindle with delight as they have rested upon the paternal mansion, because in its every aspect it has borne the look of comfort which was but the proper outward expression of the real comfort, and means of comfort also, abounding within. How little has there been to make the home more attractive than the tavern. Now we are not so wild as to think but that a dwelling constructed with even the most consummate architectural skill and propriety, may be as destitute of the proper attractions and good influences which belong to a true home as the meanest hovel to be found. And yet we do not think it could long remain so. We believe it would educate its inhabitants, generation by generation, until in process of time it would be found to have begotten in them in a good degree the appropriate refinements and tastes, in short the home feelings which rightfully belong in such a place and are in keeping with

it. We claim, therefore, every architectural improvement as a means of social culture. We think a tastefully constructed house tends to call forth tasteful feelings in its inmates, and in those also who see it more casually and from a distance. Those material forms which it bears, patterned after the choicest forms which God has set forth in nature, and expressive of human wants and purposes and aspirations, we believe to be permanent instructors to man. It may be difficult to trace by exact lines or in precise and definite results their teachings, but we think no reflecting person will deny their power to this end. No man, we think, could live just the life in a well proportioned and truly beautiful dwelling that he would in a mud shanty or a rude log cabin. Certain elevating influences would steal into him unawares, and from a hundred different sources, that would lift his life above its otherwise lower level. It would be made, unconsciously perhaps, more human, more dignified and tasteful, more receptive of high and hallowed thoughts, and more open to good influences elsewhere and of another kind. And so, too, this power of the tasteful is seen very often in the influence which a single dwelling will exert upon almost all in its neighborhood. How often, for instance, may you trace the better features in the houses of a whole street, or village even, to the grounds and dwellings of a single tasteful proprietor. Nor do we allude in this to the mere copying of things from a love of imitation or from a weak ambition to keep pace with others in show or gentility, but we refer to the well known fact that where there is such an exhibition of genuine taste, men will be impressed by it. It will waken new thoughts and feelings within them, and they will sooner or later be found embodying them in their own mode and outward manifestation of life. They may do it imperfectly, they may do it clumsily and grotesquely. But what they do even thus has a true basis to start from, and that which is true will exert a lasting power. The false will in due time be seen to be false, while it will prove as important a means of instruction perhaps as what is better. Between the imperfectly tasteful instincts and the ambition of display and notoriety, we must of course expect many extravagances. But if some one imports a Turkish mosque with its lancet windows and minarets and domes into a New England town, the probability is that his very extravagance will operate to check the budding eccentricities of those who see it, and so save us many an eye sore. Ambition, the love of display, the very common unwillingness to be outdone by others, will probably build many paste-board castles for country seats. These we must expect; these we must for a while suffer. But even these will do good. It will not be long before their inappropriateness will be seen and their lack of propriety in style felt, and then they will be used as so many beacons to warn against the repeti-

tion of their errors. Meanwhile every structure which is conformed to the laws of tasteful propriety and which stands forth as a symbol of domestic comfort, will be an acquisition to the common stock of knowledge and happiness. Every good house, therefore, every house which is what a house should be, is a public good. It is the embodiment and expression of ideas which the mass of men need to have set before them, and ideas which have a direct bearing upon human welfare. The tendencies in our depraved condition are so strong toward mere animalism of feeling and habit, that every influence which tends to lift us above such feelings and habits deserves to be welcomed, and while therefore we would not set forth architecture as a 'means of grace,' in the ordinary acceptance of that term, we do nevertheless believe it to be no unimportant auxiliary to those peculiarly gracious influences which God has provided for human redemption. While knowledge may be perverted, and the most consummate cultivation which education can bestow will not suffice to regenerate a sinful man, still as a general truth it will hold that whatever tends to elevate and refine, tends also to make the heart accessible to the regenerative power of the Divine Spirit. We trust, therefore, that we shall not seem to be overestimating a matter when, as those who profess to be concerned for the highest and truest welfare of man, we advocate the claims of Architecture upon the attention of men.

In this view of the matter, also, we rejoice to see architecture gaining the place of a profession. This is as it should be. There is as good reason why every man should be his own lawyer as why every man should be his own builder. It seems to many no doubt that the administration of justice between man and man is not necessarily other than a plain and simple matter, but the long experience of the world has found it to be quite otherwise, and no one whose observation fits him to judge in the case would be willing to dispense with the Bench or the Bar. So to most men it seems a very simple business to build a house. And yet few probably ever contrived even a barn without discovering by the time it was finished that it might have been constructed more economically and with a better regard to convenience and usefulness than as they had planned it. Much more is it true that few, who have not made the matter their special study, are qualified to design a dwelling house. You may go into any of our large cities for instance, where the high price of land compels men to build upon a comparatively small surface area, and where there is of necessity a general similarity of internal arrangement in the dwellings erected, and yet you will hear it as the almost unanimous declaration of those who have engaged in building, either for their own family occupation or for the purpose of renting to others, that one needs to build at least three times in

order to secure a tolerably satisfactory result. Indeed, nothing is more common, in country or city, than the expression of disappointment on the part of those who have made the experiment of building a house after their own contrivance. There are a hundred if not a thousand matters of detail to be attended to; and while no one of them is all important to the finished result, yet every one of them contributes its part to form the perfect whole, and even a few of them, neglected or overlooked, may rob all the rest of their value and seriously mar the completed structure. These mistakes, too, in wood and brick and stone, are not to be remedied, like a blunder in manners, by an apology. Once committed, they abide and perpetuate their discomfort and annoyance. And no man can hope to avoid making blunders of this lasting and mortifying character, who does not make building his study. As a matter of pecuniary economy also, it is desirable that we should have a class of men whose profession it is to design and superintend the erection of dwellings and other buildings. They are the ones of all to secure the greatest amount of conveniences within a given space, and making the whole matter of building their daily care, they are the best fitted to decide upon the character and quality of materials to be used for any particular purpose. In short, it is from such a class of men only that we can expect the most judicious and truly economical expenditure of money, for the purpose of accomplishing a desired result. Here and there, indeed, a person will arise with a genius capable of mastering the requisite details and applying the general principles of science and taste in the construction of buildings, without any preliminary course of study and in spite of occupations which may confine his attention for the most part to very different matters. So there sometimes comes along a 'Natural Bone-setter' who is *supposed* at least to understand the laws of anatomy by intuition. But who on this account thinks of abolishing colleges of Surgery or of dispensing with the Medical Profession?

We are glad, therefore, that the growing taste of our people is giving employment to a class of men who make Architecture a profession, as truly such as Law or Medicine. We hope the public will so appreciate their work as to make their profession a field wide enough to employ many more than are now engaged in it, and important enough to warrant those who enter it to go deeply into the history and philosophy of architecture, and so provide for coming generations models of domestic, as well as civil structures, which will do much for the true welfare and happiness of the multitudes whose eyes are to rest upon them, and whose tastes and habits are to be sensibly affected by them.

Closely allied to the work of the architect, if it may not be considered a branch of it, is that of the writer upon the subject,

when he has mastered the principles of the matter upon which he treats. Indeed, he has one advantage over the mere practical architect, in being able to express his opinions with more care and deliberation, and in being able to convey them, by means of the press, to many who would otherwise be deprived of access to him and be prevented from availing themselves of his knowledge.

This leads us to the consideration of a volume, the title of which is at the head of this article, and which, with its kindred volumes from the same author, has marked an era in the bibliographic history of our country. What further remarks we have to make in regard to the general subject, we shall throw into the form of a notice of this book. Mr. Downing has here given us a work which would much more appropriately appear as a volume of the 'Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge' than that thin quarto of Robert Dale Owen, the chief value of which appears to be in its showing what book makers can do with clean cut type and fine paper, and in giving, by means of its engravings, to those who are not likely to visit the city of Washington, some idea of a structure which has arisen there as a monument to the generous liberality of a foreigner. In the volume now before us, on the contrary, we have something of a different sort, a book not to be laid away upon the shelves of public libraries, or to be distributed according to the judgment or caprice of a publishing or executive committee, but to be had and studied by all, from Maine to Oregon, who are willing to pay a reasonable price for it. It is not either, as many perhaps would judge from its title, a book designed for the comparatively few who are about to engage in the work of building, but it is a book for the many, for all indeed, whether in city or country, who have a house to live in. It is an attempt to set forth the architectural principles, and, to no small extent, the laws of taste which are applicable to domestic life. Aside from its mere designs, which constitute by no means its chief value, its principles and suggestions are alike adapted to domestic life everywhere. The book is eminently a 'contribution to knowledge,' a contribution of just such knowledge as is wanted, and the general communication of which to the minds of our wide spread population would accomplish an inestimable service. We thank the author for this, his most recent work, and accept it gratefully as another gift to his countrymen from one whom they have reason to account a public benefactor. If he had lived in old Rome and done as important a service as he has done for us, the Senate would have honored him with a vote, "that he had deserved well of the Republic."

Mr. Downing has sent forth his book bearing the very modest title, "Country Houses," and those who have not made themselves acquainted with the volume will be likely to gather from

its name that it has to do chiefly, if not exclusively, with the abodes of our mere farmers, and is occupied with suggestions in regard to the construction of farm houses and barns, dairy-rooms and cattle-stalls. This is far from being the case. Mr. Downing is one of those who accept the saying, "God made the country and man made the town;" and who consequently regards the open fields, in distinction from the narrow closes of the city, as the place for true living, and where Domestic Architecture is to have the theater of her labors and the full realization of her blessed accomplishments. Accordingly, when our author treats of Country Houses, he treats of all dwellings which have their location without the range of the inspectors of streets and sewers. From the humblest home of the cottager upon some scarcely known hill-side to the baronial mansion that flanks the majestic Hudson nor suffers by any want of keeping there, the book now under consideration has something appropriate to every site and to every structure pertaining to the dwelling-place of man. Nor is the author's attention confined to the mere architecture of these various edifices. Beginning with the principles which should guide in the selection of a site, and embracing not only the general style of architecture, but the more particular arrangements both of the grounds without and the furniture within, his attention is directed to all that pertains to the material comforts of home.

No one, indeed, who is conversant with the previous writings of the author would expect anything less than such a work as this from him. He has made Rural Architecture and Landscape Gardening, or the proper disposal and embellishment of the surroundings of home, his own peculiar province; and where he leads, the many may follow without hesitation. His book is all the more valuable and trustworthy also, inasmuch as Mr. Downing is not a professional architect nor a practical builder, and so does not advertise his own wares or offer his services to the building public for hire. He simply comes forward, after much study and experience in regard to the subject of domestic life and dwelling-places, to present certain practical suggestions in regard to it. Having no theory to advance, and no particular order of architecture to defend or glorify, he comes as the general adviser of his fellow men in regard to that which intimately concerns their comfort.

He begins his book with a preface assigning "Three excellent reasons why my country-men should have good houses." The first is, "Because a good house (and by this I mean a fitting, tasteful, and significant dwelling) is a powerful means of civilization." The second is, "Because the *individual home* has a great social value for a people." In assigning this reason, he makes the following declaration which is well worth considera-

tion. "It is the solitude and freedom of the family home in the country which constantly preserves the purity of the nation, and invigorates its intellectual powers. The battle of life, carried on in cities, gives a sharper edge to the weapon of character, but its temper is, for the most part, fixed amid those communings with nature and the family, where individuality takes its most natural and strongest development." The third reason offered is, "Because there is a moral influence in a country home—when, among an educated, truthful and refined people, it is an echo of their character—which is more powerful than any mere oral teachings of virtue and morality." Our author proceeds to remark farther, "That family, whose religion lies away from its threshold, will show but slender results from the best teachings, compared with another where the family hearth is made a central point of the Beautiful and the Good. And much of that feverish unrest and want of balance between the desire and the fulfillment of life, is calmed and adjusted by the pursuit of tastes which result in making a little world of the family home, where truthfulness, beauty and order have the largest dominion. The mere sentiment of home, with its thousand associations, has, like a strong anchor, saved many a man from shipwreck in the storms of life. For this reason, the condition of the family home—in this country where every man may have a home—should be raised, till it shall symbolize the best character and pursuits, and the dearest affections and enjoyments of social life."

Our readers will see from these liberal extracts from a preface of but moderate length, the drift and aim of the author without the necessity of further explanation on our part. Passing then at once to his subject, Mr. Downing enters upon an inquiry into "The real meaning of Architecture." In the prosecution of this, he discusses at some length the philosophy of the art, the relation which it has to beauty, utility and truth, and other points which naturally arise. Want of space alone induces us to refrain from giving our readers a specimen of the author's treatment of this part of his subject.

After this general disquisition, Mr. Downing divides the various styles of houses of which he proposes to treat more specifically, into three; Cottages, Farm-houses, and Villas. He defines a cottage to be "A dwelling of small size, intended for the occupation of a family, either wholly managing the household cares itself, or, at the most, with the assistance of one or two servants." Very properly, therefore, he insists that the cottage shall not ape the villa, but shall be kept within its just limits, and that it shall express the simple tastes and habits, and the limited means of the class by whom it is occupied. The disposition, not uncommon in our aspiring and sanguine countrymen, to go beyond their means in the construction of their dwellings, is here as else-

where throughout the volume before us, strongly and justly rebuked. Indeed, our author deserves no little credit for refusing, as he constantly does, to encourage even tasteful extravagancies. His principle is: first count the cost; then consider your ability; then obtain as much as possible of convenience or utility in your dwelling; then, and not till then, procure whatsoever of beauty and embellishment is warranted by your means and will be in harmony with your tastes. Every discriminating person will admit without hesitation that this is the proper principle. No one has a right on the plea of style or taste, or on any other plea, to live beyond his means. And if our mechanics and tradesmen just beginning life, as it is termed, or any in moderate, that is, ordinary, circumstances as to pecuniary ability, will consult Mr. Downing and those like him, they will find that very limited pecuniary resources are sufficient to secure a dwelling that will satisfy their necessities and minister to their comfort as no paste-board villa or gingerbread castle ever could. We can not of course enter upon the criticism of particular designs in the work before us. But we should like to point the industrious day-laborer, who seeks with the setting sun his humble dwelling in the suburbs of some city, to the cottage plan for instance, on the 129th page of this book, and show him how, with hardly the additional expense of a dollar, a little good taste would give him, with even his slender means, a house which for convenience and simple beauty might vie with any that wealth could erect, and which would be as the bright evening star of his daily life of toil to light him to the cheering and elevating comforts of a true home.

Our author very naturally has a chapter devoted to the consideration of "Materials and Modes of construction;" in which he insists upon the superior value and propriety of the more solid materials in the construction of houses of whatever class. And we can not but think that the time has come when our people should adopt a more solid material for building purposes than they have generally used hitherto. In a newly settled country, where the timber is actually in the way of the most necessary agricultural labor, it is to be expected that the dwellings of a people will be constructed of this material. But with us this necessity, as it may almost be called, exists no longer, and it is well worth considering whether it is not best for us to give our dwellings a look of more substantial and enduring comfort, by the use of a more substantial material in their construction. The consideration of permanence is no unimportant element in the true idea of home. A true economy also, we think, would lead to the adoption of a more solid material than wood for the walls of our dwellings. But we can not enlarge upon this point.

Following the author's remarks upon cottages we find a chapter of "Miscellaneous Details," which, to any one who is about to undertake the work of building, though in ever so humble a style, is worth more than the cost of the book. What Mr. Downing has to say in regard to the other classes of dwellings—the farm-houses and the villas—it will not be important for us to consider at length after the notice we have already taken of his general scope.

In his chapters on the furnishing of houses, however, he has opened a new subject to general consideration. Treatises upon furniture and its arrangement, have not been uncommon on the other side of the Atlantic, but, so far as we know, this is the first attempt to set forth the matter in this country. It is no unimportant subject, however, nor is a treatise upon it undeserving our attention. On the contrary, we are sure that a perusal of our author's remarks would be of service to almost any housekeeper. As Mr. Downing has shown the man of slender means how he may have a tasteful cottage, architecturally considered, so here he shows him that he can furnish it properly and even attractively without any outlay of money beyond his ability. The book closes with some extended remarks upon "Warming and Ventilating;" and we know not where to find the same amount of valuable information upon these subjects in an equal space. The question of the best mode of warming dwellings is one which has great interest to the mass of our people. We may safely say in regard to our country as a whole, that, for at least six months of the year, we are under the necessity of resorting to artificial warmth, in order to make our dwellings comfortable. Of course the question how this warmth shall be obtained is one of prime importance to every housekeeper. Nor is it to most persons, a question of less importance, considered economically, than it is in its bearing upon comfort. But this question is not simply that of obtaining the greatest amount of heat at the smallest cost. Many have seemed to consider it so, and their mistake has been a most injurious one. They have left out an element, and that a most important one, in the real question presented for solution. That question, a question set before us for solution by our Creator himself, is how to secure at the least cost the requisite warmth in consistency with the physiological laws of our being. Leaving out this latter part of the question, we have had men, making some pretensions even to a knowledge of the laws of natural philosophy, who have undertaken to warm human beings as they would bake biscuit in a tin oven at the cost of only three cents worth of charcoal! *Air tight* stoves have been made, by which it is professed that two sticks of wood will be almost as serviceable as a quarter of a cord under the old arrangement of things. You have only to shut the damper after

the fuel is once ignited, and have the windows carefully caulked so as to be air-tight too, and then you may sit and swell and toast and grow delightfully brown and all at the cost of only a few cents a day. Yes, and what is more, you may become air-tight yourself also, getting bronchitis, asthma, an unpleasant stagnation of the blood in the lungs and divers other equally agreeable affections! No wonder that hydropathy and all the other *pathies* are in demand and that drug shops are multiplying.

But seriously, we are beginning to find that we may warm ourselves at the expense of health though at a saving of the pocket. Yet that saving is only for the present. Better far to pay a few dollars extra for fuel now than to be obliged to pay many extra dollars by-and-by for doctors, nurses, plasters and pills. Those open fire-places and Franklin stoves of former days, with the bright shining fire and the family drawn up around it, were a source of comfort and of real social profit too, which we already have but in memory, and which our children will know hardly otherwise than as a matter of history. The open grate, however, is still left us, and the furnace is now brought within the means of almost all. These, with a proper care, provide the requisite heat without violating the laws of life; but as for stoves, we feel little disposed to thank more than one or two of all the inventors of them. The fondness of our aged people for an open fire-place, where they can see the glowing coals and the leaping flame, is a most amiable fondness, and we trust their sons will inherit it, and indulge it so long as any thing of our forests remains. At any rate, we hope they will abjure ovens and biscuit baking except in the kitchen. We commend Mr. Downing's concluding chapter as an admirable treatise upon the whole subject of warming and ventilation, and hope that it will not be without profit to the public that he has written as he has.

Our readers can not fail to conclude, even from our desultory and imperfect notice of the book before us, that it is a valuable addition to the stock of reading, and promises to do much for the social welfare of those who may come in contact with it. Mr. Downing has here aimed to show how much of genuine comfort can be had within the compass of a very humble dwelling as to cost and pretension, such a dwelling as alone it is within the means of the many to command. At the same time he has undertaken to set forth the principles of taste and truth which have their application to the most costly and elaborate structures. He has given advice suited to the circumstances and wants of almost all who are, or are likely to be, concerned with the important business of house building. And we feel bound to say that this advice is eminently sensible throughout. We are glad that such a man as Mr. Downing has been moved to take the subject of architecture in hand and bring it before the public in its practical

relations to human comfort. There is in all his writings a simplicity, a regard for sterling truth and honesty, a love of the beautiful in nature and an earnest desire to promote the welfare of his fellow men, which entitle him to the regard of all, and make him a valuable counsellor. The book which he has now given us, the professional builders will of course possess. It is also set forth with such beauty of paper, type, and illustrations, as make it a proper ornament of the parlor table, and fit it to claim a place on any book-shelf. We would suggest whether a cheaper edition would not get into the hands of a larger class of readers than the present one is likely to reach, and that class who most need and would be most benefited by its instructions. Meanwhile, we will conclude by expressing the hope that when Mr. Downing returns from his visit to Europe, enriched as he will be by the observation of its architectural beauty, he will give us a volume upon the proper structure of school houses and churches, a class of buildings in which we are more defective if possible than in our dwellings.

ART. VII.—STEAMSHIPS TO LIBERIA.—AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Report of the Naval Committee to the House of Representatives, August, 1850, in favor of the establishment of a line of Mail Steamships to the western coast of Africa, and thence via the Mediterranean to London; designed to promote the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to Liberia: also to increase the Steam Navy, and to extend the Commerce of the United States. With an Appendix added by the American Colonization Society. Washington: printed by Gideon & Co., 1850.

Letter of Hon. T. Butler King to Hon. F. P. Stanton, in relation to the proposed line of Steamers to the Coast of Africa.

THIS report originated in a memorial by Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, for himself and his associates, George Nicholas Sanders and others, praying for aid from the government of the United States in establishing and maintaining a line of steamships from this country to the coast of Africa, with the design to promote the colonization of free persons of color, to suppress the African slave trade, to carry the mails, and to extend our commerce. That memorial was referred by the House of Representatives to the committee on naval affairs, consisting of Hon. Messrs. Fred. P. Stanton, of Tenn., Thomas S. Bocock, of Va.,

Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, Emile La Sère, of La., Hugh White, of New York, Elbridge Gerry, of Maine, E. Carrington Cabell, of Florida, John McQueen, of South Carolina, and Lewis C. Levin, of Pa. The report which they presented, and the bill founded thereon which they proposed, evince the wisdom and benevolence of enlightened and philanthropic statesmen. The report recommends the acceptance of the proposal of the memorialists or contractors, though with some important modifications, to which they assented. The committee propose that the contractors shall build three steamships of the largest class (each of not less burden than 4,000 tons, and at an expense of not more than \$900,000) in accordance with plans to be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of the Navy, and under the superintendence of an officer appointed by him, and in such a manner that they can be converted at the least possible expense into the best of war steamers; and moreover that they shall make such alterations, additions and repairs in them, as in the judgment of the Secretary of the Navy will render them adequate to all the exigencies of the stipulated service—the government advancing two-thirds the cost of construction as it proceeds, in the form of five per cent. stocks payable at the end of thirty years, and repayable by the contractors in equal annual installments, beginning and ending with the service. The ships are to be commanded by officers of the Navy, who will each have four midshipmen to serve as watch officers; they are to be under such control of the Secretary of the Navy as may not be inconsistent with the terms of the contract; who will have the right, at all times, to place on board each two guns of heavy calibre, and the men necessary to serve them, to be accommodated and provided for at the expense of the contractors, and the right also, in case of war, to take any or all of them for the exclusive use and service of the United States, on paying such a price, not exceeding the cost, as shall be determined by appraisers mutually chosen by the Secretary and the contractors. The plan of ordinary service for the ships—two of which are to be built within two and a half years, and the third within three years, after the execution of the contract—is this. One will leave New York every three months, touching at Savannah for freight and mails; one will leave Baltimore every three months, touching at Norfolk and Charleston for passengers, freight and mails; and the third will leave New Orleans every three months, with liberty to touch at any of the West India islands. They will proceed directly to Liberia, with liberty to touch at any of the islands or ports of the coast of Africa; thence to Gibraltar, carrying the Mediterranean mails; thence to Cadiz, or some other port of Spain, to be designated by the government; thence to Lisbon; thence to Brest or such other port of France as the government may designate; and thence to London—bringing mails

from all these points to the United States. The contractors stipulate, on their part, to carry on each and every voyage as many free colored emigrants as the American Colonization Society may send not exceeding however two thousand five hundred, at the price, to be paid by that Society in advance, of \$10 for each emigrant over twelve years of age, and of \$5 for each one under that age—this price securing not only passage for each person, but the transportation of his baggage, and a daily supply of sailor's rations. And, on its part, the government is to pay \$40,000 for each voyage, taking a lien on the ships for the repayment of sums advanced for their construction, and also ample security for the faithful fulfillment of the contract, which is to continue fifteen years after the completion of all the ships.

To afford the means of judging as to the fairness of the compensation offered, the committee present an estimate of the expenses and profits of reducing this plan to practice. We can not enter into its details but present it summarily. Interest at 6 per cent. on the \$2,700,000, the cost of three steamships at \$900,000 each; depreciation and repairs at 10 per cent.; insurance at 7 per cent.; and the cost of running the ships twelve voyages in a year at \$50,000 per voyage; make an annual expense amounting to \$1,221,000. On the other hand estimating the number of passengers at 1500 for each of the twelve voyages, the whole number during a year will be 18,000; which, at the rate of \$10 for adults and \$5 for children, may average a profit of \$3 each, making \$54,000. This, added to the \$40,000 of government pay for each of the twelve voyages, makes an aggregate of \$534,000 of annual profits; which subtracted from the preceding aggregate of estimated annual expenses, leaves a balance of \$687,000, that must be made by commerce and passengers, over and above the government pay and the profit from emigrants sent by the Colonization Society, in order to save the contractors from loss. This, and enough more to remunerate them in the enterprise, they expect to realize. And this expectation, in the judgment of the committee, is well founded.

Such is the plan. It reflects honor upon the committee who proposed it. We wish we could add that the House of Representatives have honored themselves by passing the bill which embodied it. The bill if we remember rightly was not brought to a direct vote, but was either laid on the table or postponed to the next session. We hope it will soon be resumed or offered anew, and be made the law of the land.

The letter of the Hon. T. Butler King, which we have also prefixed to this article, was written to Mr. Stanton, in reply to a letter from that gentleman requesting Mr. King, as his predecessor in the position as chairman of the naval committee in the House of Representatives, to give his view of the policy of the

THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. XXXV.

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AUGUST, 1851.  
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ART. I.—THE RAILROAD ENTERPRISE, ITS PROGRESS, MANAGEMENT AND UTILITY.

The Annual Reports of the Directors of the Railroads in New England for 1849 and 1850.

Report of the Committee of Investigation appointed by the Stockholders of the Boston and Maine Railroad, May 28, 1849.

Report of the Investigating Committee of the Old Colony Railroad, December 26, 1849.

A Brief Reply to the Report of the Investigating Committee of the Old Colony Railroad Corporation, by the President of the Company, April 12, 1850.

Report of the Investigating Committee of the Northern Railroad to the Stockholders, May, 1850.

Railroad from St. Louis to San Francisco. Boston Plan, 1849.

Plan of shortening the time of passage between New York and London. Printed by order of the Legislature of Maine, 1850.

Annual Reports of the Railroad Corporations in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for 1850.

Railway Economy in Europe and America. DR. LARDNER.

THE brevity of human life is forcibly illustrated in the rapidity with which man becomes accustomed to every great revolution, either in civil order, in commerce, or in the economy of the household. The wonder of this generation will in a few years be so familiar, that a change to the old customs would be as astonishing as the original revolution. This is exemplified by the

recent application of steam to locomotion. We are in the transition period, when traveling thirty miles in an hour is ceasing to excite surprise, and although the young man recollects before a railroad was opened, for the conveyance of passengers in this country, yet the children of the present day will never appreciate the improvement. A lady remarked in a recent conversation, that she always pointed out a stage coach to her children, so that they might not forget how it appeared. Not a few however can remember the condition of the roads in Connecticut, before the turnpike system was fairly undertaken, when the ox-wagon was almost the only wheeled carriage employed in the interior of the State. The anecdote is related of a divine, now in the midst of usefulness and honors, that on coming to be examined for admission to Yale College from a town some forty miles distant, he requested of his relative, a venerable minister, the loan of his ambling nag for the journey. The old gentleman, shocked at the effeminacy of the youth, and alarmed at the thought of the general degeneracy, exclaimed, "Can you not ride a trotting horse forty miles? If we go on at this rate, people will by and by suppose, that they cannot go to New Haven, except in a *spring* cart." That prediction has long ago been fulfilled, and the spring cart is yielding to the carriage which performs in an hour, the journey which then required an entire day. The unsettled portion of Maine affords the only fair example in New England, of the roads generally used at the close of the Revolutionary War, and even at the conclusion of the eighteenth century; yet the traveler must hasten, or those districts will no longer give him the opportunity of learning experimentally, how poor a track may be called a highway. Five years ago, the writer passed through the Dixville Notch, on the borders of Canada, wading the streams, tumbling over or around rocks whose weight could only be measured by tons, regarding a swamp, with the mud not over a foot in depth, where the carriage did not need to be held up, a great improvement. About midway of this execrable road, we found a woman at work before her washing tubs, which with Yankee shrewdness she had arranged, so that a little stream trickled down from one to the other and saved the trouble of changing the water. After a pleasant word of greeting, she told us that she had come to that lonely spot some six months before, but never expected to leave, as her great wonder was how she ever reached the place. We left the poor woman evidently considering herself hopelessly imprisoned, but now a railroad is in progress of construction before her door, over which she may glide in a few months without fatigue to every corner of these United States. The real ex-

tent of the revolution in traveling, was well exemplified by the surprise of a venerable clergyman, upon trying the new mode of conveyance. This father in Israel had clung to his private carriage, in his annual journey from the neighborhood of New Haven to Boston, until the line of railroad was completed between the two cities and in successful operation. He was then persuaded, on a bright May morning to seat himself in the cars, and in a few hours was whirled to his destination. He landed at our father's doorstep in apparent bewilderment, and when we gathered around the white-haired saint, to ask after his health, replied, "Thanks to a kind providence, my children, I am well, except the feeling of one, who has been shot out of a cannon."

These anecdotes demonstrate the greatness of the revolution effected by the railroad and steamboat, and also the propriety of noticing its progress, and of tracing its influence.

We do not propose to write a scientific treatise on this subject, but simply to express those views, and state those facts, which should interest every intelligent mind, in respect to the origin, construction, and management of the railroad. This is becoming a matter of great practical importance to the community, since more than one hundred millions of dollars have been already expended upon this enterprise in New England, and about three thousand miles of railroad are in operation, while a vast amount of capital has been invested in these works throughout the United States. The great number of stockholders, and the fact, recently ascertained by numerous experiments, that every railroad is not profitable, through a natural necessity, has suggested the inquiry into the proper management of such enterprises, for the permanent benefit of the stockholders, and the convenience of the public. We purpose to give the result of a somewhat careful examination into the publications at the head of this article, for the benefit both of stockholders, and of all who take an interest in this work, which is changing the domestic habits of our people, reorganizing trade, and binding the different sections of the country with clamps of iron. Our views will certainly be unprejudiced, as we do not possess a single share of railroad stock, and of their soundness, others must judge.

The ordinary progress of a railroad enterprise in its projection, construction, and operation, suggests the natural arrangement of topics, and harmonizes with our simple and unscientific plan.

The obtaining of a charter, from the legislature of the State in which the railroad is to be located, is the first step toward an organization of the company which is to carry the work forward.

The charter, as the nucleus which contains the guiding principles of the whole enterprise, holds somewhat the position which certain modern philosophers would assign to the forces of light and motion in the formation of the universe. But we suspect that the parallel is more accurate than would accord with the notions of those philosophers, since unless there had been a further expenditure of creative power and skill, the light and motion would have resembled very much several railroad charters which have been obtained, and yet not a shovel has been lifted on the track designated, but the sod retains its pristine verdure.

In England, a great outlay of money is essential to procure from the legislature the passage of a bill for incorporating a railroad company, but our legislatures have usually proceeded on the principle of permitting all who desired the privilege to invest their money in building these highways.

Since, however, railroad companies have themselves become interested in preventing the construction of rival roads, it has been somewhat more difficult to procure a charter, and the powerful influence, vulgarly denominated the third house, has to be regarded and employed. Yet we are disposed to believe, that unless it is clear that the enterprise is intended to defraud others of their just rights, or is merely devised to promote gambling in stocks, those who are ready to build a railroad should be allowed the privilege under suitable restrictions.

The charter usually specifies the amount of stock which must be subscribed before the company can be organized, and the filling up of this list is the next step in the process. It is procuring fuel to set the engine in motion, and enable it to act successfully. It is an interesting fact in the history of railroads in this country, that the majority of shares were originally taken, not by capitalists, but by men in active business: farmers, mechanics, and merchants, who were the least able to spare the funds, and commonly borrowed the money they subscribed. Thus, the world over, we must in the main look to the working classes for our helpers in starting and carrying forward any great enterprise in the church or the State. Capitalists wait to purchase the stock, while the road is building, at from ten to fifty per cent discount. The transfer book of almost any railroad in New England would prove the truth of this statement. Yet we are not to suppose that the original subscribers are necessarily losers.

The farmer in Berkshire county who originally took five shares in the stock of the Western railroad, and was shortly after frightened into selling out at a discount of fifty per cent, did not find himself two hundred and fifty dollars out of pocket,

for the two or three hundred acres of land, which he owned on the line of the road, had risen in value to treble the amount of his sacrifice. So the mechanic is remunerated by the increased demand for labor, and thus reaps abundantly for the scattered seed. We know a merchant who subscribed some two thousand dollars in the stock of the Western railroad, and sold out a year or two after for sixteen hundred dollars, because he needed the money in his business ; but he lost nothing, since he had at that time received more than four hundred dollars net, from the new business brought him by the road.

The payment of interest to the stockholders on the amount they invest, until the road is in operation, has become a vexed question. The majority of those who engage in these enterprises are not able to wait for a return until the road is built, since they have to borrow the money which they invest, and it is argued that this loss of interest should be fairly charged to the cost of the road. Thus, a landlord, in estimating the cost of a building, would not merely add the expense of the material and labor, but also the interest of the outlay before the completion of the structure to the day that it was finished. This argument is correct when the funds for building a road are procured by original stock subscriptions ; but when, as commonly happens, the amount necessary must be made up by preferred stock, by bonds and mortgages, or worse yet, by a floating debt of some hundred thousand dollars, then the case is altered. The question then is, whether it is wise to take the funds obtained by these means for the payment of interest to the stockholders, when it is merely taking a dollar from one pocket to put it in the other ?

But the question becomes one not of prudence but of *justice*, when, as in 1848-1850, money is scarce, and the rate of interest high, and the directors of unfinished roads are greatly embarrassed in procuring the funds requisite to complete their undertakings. If, under such circumstances, a part of the stockholders advance the means for finishing and sustaining the enterprise, shall their sacrifice be expended in the payment of interest to those who would not make the sacrifice, or in building the road by which all parties are to be benefited ?

The directors of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, in their report, submitted June 19, 1850, reason thus on this subject :

" There is due to stockholders for interest upon assessments up to January 1, 1850, the sum of \$90,400. It becomes an important question for you to determine in what manner, and when, this interest shall be paid. The amount cannot be paid in *cash* from any means at present in the treasury ; nor can it be paid in *cash* without obtaining a *loan* for this purpose, thereby increasing to an equal amount the debt you already owe. The result of such an operation would be

to withdraw an equal amount of capital on which your creditors have a right to rely, and appropriate the same by an interest dividend to your own use. The wisdom of such a proceeding has never been discovered. It likens itself to the practice with which some corporations have been charged—borrowing money at exorbitant rates to pay to shareholders a dividend of earnings! How then shall this interest debt be paid? In reply, the board unhesitatingly recommend an issue of the capital stock of the company at its par value, bearing date January 1, 1850. This recommendation, if adopted, furnishes a substantial fulfillment of our obligation in this particular, and at the same time relieves the treasury from a burden from which it cannot otherwise easily relieve itself."

Even this expedient is not an actual payment of the interest when the stock is below par, and becomes cumbersome through the necessary division of shares, and the complication of accounts. Apparently, the most honest and simplest method, when the capital required cannot be procured by original stock subscriptions, consists in not paying this interest at all, thus diminishing by so much the cost of the road, and increasing the value of the stock.

In regard to the methods usually employed for raising additional funds, no security can be safer than the bonds secured by mortgage, of a road economically built, wisely located, and prudently managed, when the aggregate amount of the bonds does not exceed half the cost of the enterprise.

Yet, besides this, there generally rests as an incubus on the more recent railroads, a balance charged in the accounts to floating debt. This term has become such a bugbear, that it suggests the direst imaginings on the part of stockholders and investigating committees. It would be fairly symbolized by a huge alligator, whose capacious jaws of usury were fast receiving profits and investment never to be disgorged, and whose scales were impregnable. Yet, with our system of credit, a floating debt is often an absolute necessity, and involves the salvation of the road, and consequently of the capital invested. The report of the directors of the Eastern Railroad, for the year ending June 30, 1850, contains some remarks on this point, which we quote, both for their intrinsic worth, and also as high authority in all matters connected with railroad management, from the acknowledged experience and ability of their author.

"On the subject of the indebtedness of railroad companies there is but little investigation, and consequently much misapprehension. The inquiry is—How much do they owe? but this question is seldom followed up with the equally important one—What have they got to pay with? It is however with corporate bodies, as with individuals, that the richest and the strongest may still have the greatest amount of liabilities. It seems however to be taken for granted in relation to railroad corporations that it *must* be good policy to liquidate their debts, or at least *fund* the floating portion of them *at any sacrifice as soon as it can by any possibility be done*. But this should depend on the circumstances of each

particular case. It is undoubtedly more easy and more satisfactory to those having the management of corporate institutions to be free from all liabilities, and nobody will dispute that it is desirable to be so. But it may notwithstanding not always be for the interest of the stockholders that their agents should divest themselves of the trouble and responsibility of sustaining a debt, at all events, and at every sacrifice. There are cases in which a funded debt is beneficial rather than injurious to the company owing it, and which the directors should not pay off if they could. In the case of the Western Railroad, the payment of its debt to the State would, the last year, have reduced the profit on each share from \$9 18-100 to \$7 61-100. The same is true to a less extent with the Eastern. A floating debt is less manageable and generally much more expensive to carry than one that is funded, yet this it may not always be good policy to pay by the issue of new shares, or even to put it in the form of a funded debt, at a very great discount. It may be better to pay a large rate of interest for a short time, than to force on unwilling holders a new issue of stock, thereby reducing the value of the whole, or on the public a large amount of bonds at a rate that insures for a long time a greater amount of interest than need be paid in sustaining a current loan for a short period. Some labor and perplexity may be saved, but money may be lost by such an operation. It is better sometimes to gain less reputation for the officers, and save more money for the stockholders. Again, little or no distinction is made in the public estimation between those companies that have property to meet their debts, and those who must depend on the creation of new stock, or the issue of new bonds to cover their engagements. A railroad company in the former position may be said to have no debt at all upon it as such, while the latter must depend on its income to sustain its credit, and thus enable it to extinguish one liability by the creation of another."

This summary of the methods, necessary to provide ways and means, for carrying forward a railroad enterprise to a successful issue, must convince every intelligent mind that rare qualifications are demanded in the financial agents. There must be a thorough understanding of financial transactions, great skill in their management, the utmost accuracy in the detail of accounts, personal commercial credit, sterling honesty, and a devotion to the interests of the enterprise, as truly as to a matter of private business. We see not how any one of these qualifications can be spared without loss, and it may be well for stockholders and directors to reflect upon this necessity, before attempting to economise, by setting up this office at auction, to be taken by the lowest bidder who can find friends to sign his bonds of security against fraud. A railroad company may suffer to the amount of many thousands, while saving a few hundred dollars in the salary of their agent, merely through his incapacity. It will be new to some that the personal credit of a financier is of advantage to the company for whom he manages; but the directors of our banks, and our money brokers will affirm that there is "much in a name." The directors of the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad, July, 1850, thus speak of an officer who had resigned:—"As the financial agent of the company his services

have been invaluable, having given his individual acceptances for large amounts, through months and years of great stringency in the money market, until the affairs of the Company had assumed a shape and condition no longer to require such aid."

It is likewise true, on the other side, that the management of the finances of a railroad gives great insight into the state and prospects of the market, which may be lawfully used for personal profit, and thus in some respects affords an equivalent for a small salary. This can no more be prevented than could Talleyrand hinder his barber from judging of the market by the appearance of his countenance in the morning, and thus making a fortune by speculating in stocks. This fact, however, shows more conclusively the wisdom of employing an agent who is competent and upright, at whatever expense.

We come naturally, after considering the providing of the capital, to the actual construction of the road. The selection of routes, the elevation of the grades, the best form of rail, and the other minutiae connected with the building, belong to the department of the practical engineer, upon which we are not anxious to intrude, especially as no general principles will avail, when every question must be decided by the particular circumstances. It is an instructive and interesting fact, that with the increase of wealth in our country, the railroad improves proportionally, and the Englishman's slur at our flat rails in our new territory would soon cease, if he were compelled to travel over the corduroy road, of which this is the best substitute that the inhabitants of a sparsely settled region can afford. We will, however, venture on behalf of passengers to advise the State legislatures in New England to grant no charter for any railroad, without the express stipulation, that said road shall be covered with a topping of coarse sifted gravel, not less than four inches deep. A railroad which cannot afford this expenditure should not be permitted in New England. Should this article be fortunate enough to meet the eye of a director in the New York and New Haven railroad corporation, we would suggest for their especial consideration the policy of sodding the embankments, and by this outlay entitling themselves to the rich remuneration which they are receiving from the public. At present a ride over many of our railroads recalls the fable of Jupiter's journey in a cloud, except alas! that we have dirt instead of vapor for our draperies.

Unless some responsible capitalist, who can lose a half million of dollars if necessary, is willing to contract for building the entire road, experience has shown it best to procure a competent engineer, and make full and explicit bargains for *small* sections and particular portions of the work; since the larger the con-

tract, the larger in an increasing ratio has proved the demand for an extra allowance at the settlement. This is easily explained, since he who makes a survey of twenty miles will not calculate so accurately as he who examines a few hundred feet; and if he makes a profitable guess, will not surely care for the welfare of the company, while if mistaken, he can easily move the pity of a jury by the story of his adversity. Besides, the large contractor must underlet, and thus the railroad has to pay a double profit, while the practice of requiring the builders of the road to take part of their pay in stock, or in bonds, always occasions difficulty in the settlement, and gluts the market with shares, which must be turned into money at any sacrifice, to pay the wages of the laborers.

Another occasion of perplexity frequently occurs in the settlement of land damages, and we take pleasure in giving publicity to the experience of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad Company, which is thus kindly narrated in the report of their directors, February, 1850, for the benefit of other corporations. "These suits for land damages have given us much trouble; and we are fully satisfied that, in the construction of a railroad, it is best to settle such matters before a spade is put into the ground. Men, who would freely give their lands to induce you to locate your road through their premises, will afterwards maintain that they are greatly injured by it, and seek to obtain enormous damages. In some cases, however, we ought to say, that owners of land have deported themselves like honest men." The directors of a railroad, running out of Boston, located their track around an old man's farm, in order to avoid an altercation, and supposing that this would be the best punishment they could inflict on him for his obstinacy; but as it happened they were outwitted. In a short time the business of the road increased so much that it was essential to have it straightened at this point, which was near a dangerous crossing. But this could not be done without either obtaining the right from the legislature, or buying the farm at a most exorbitant price, which they wisely concluded to do, as on the whole the least expensive and troublesome alternative.

The expense of building and equipping a railroad constitutes the Construction Account, and it is a frequent, though great mistake, to suppose that this account is closed, and the road is finished when it is opened for travel. Years often elapse before the road is completed and its cost settled; for the opening is but a test of what equipment is needed; and the labor of months is required to bring the track up to grade, and to give the embankments solidity. The directors of the Boston and Providence

Railroad, one of the oldest railroad corporations in the country, in their report to the stockholders, June, 1850, remark: "During the past year no extraordinary expenditures have been made, and in the opinion of the directors, the interests of the corporation will, hereafter, require none on construction account. In their judgment everything has now been done which it was necessary to do to complete the road, and everything which can be done to protect it from further injurious competition." The statement of the directors of the Eastern Railroad Company in their report is very instructive.

"When an increase of business takes place, an increased outlay is necessary and proper to accommodate it. Otherwise it will show either that an expense disproportionate to the actual requirements of the road had been incurred, or that the income belonging to present stockholders had been taken to furnish capital to those who may hereafter become so. There are practical objections to both. It is evident, however, that such increase should not be in proportion to the enlargement of the traffic, because the great expenditures for obtaining the rights of way, making the road bed, establishing the stations, &c., must generally have been incurred for any amount of business, however small. In our case, however, this is not entirely true. In 1843, although the road was sufficient for its actual business, it was nevertheless far from complete. It had a double track only eight miles; its station-houses were of the most fragile character; the arrangements at East Boston were inconvenient; and, in fact, but little more was done than to render the road passable. Since that time, the road has been graded, and the bridges widened for a second track, which has been completed between Boston and Salem, a new and heavy rail laid on the Marblehead Branch, new machine-shop, engine, car and freight-houses erected at East Boston, and new and enlarged depots at Salem, Lynn, and Hampton. The expensive branches to Gloucester and Salisbury have been constructed, and a new rail been substituted over the whole length of the trunk road (a small portion not yet completed), of one-third greater weight than that originally laid down. The equipment has been increased by more than doubling the car accommodations for passengers, quadrupling those for freight, and by the purchase of thirteen engines, tripling the motive power."

We thus perceive that a railroad is not completed until a long time after it is opened for travel, and consequently its construction account cannot then be closed. We should, therefore, in the natural order, next take up the actual working of the railroad, and afterward refer again to this account, which is the problem at which railroad managers and railroad investigators stumble, and are not unfrequently entirely baffled. The first question which presents itself on the opening of a railroad is the tariff of fare for passengers and freight. A few years since, the theory was broached that the lower the price on a railroad, the more would be the profits by the increase of business. There is undoubtedly a measure of truth in the proposition, but, of course, it must be limited, for a railroad could hardly declare a dividend,

which should carry for *nothing*, although the world should become its customers. The minimum point of charge to produce the maximum amount of revenue is a delicate problem which can hardly be settled in any case without actual experiment, since competition, amount of travel, expense of operating, and other facts which vary with each road, must be ascertained and considered. The directors of the railroads in the vicinity of Boston raised their fare half a cent on the mile a year since, from the conviction that this was due to the stockholders.

The directors of the Northern Railroad, in New Hampshire, give the following sensible view of this subject, in their fifth annual report, rendered May, 1850:—

“During the past year, the fare for passengers has been advanced to about three cents per mile, and that for freight to about what it was previous to its reduction in 1848. Such fares we consider reasonable for any road—doubly so for one passing, as does ours, by high grades, (in comparison with those of lower roads,) through a country sparsely inhabited, and whose inhabitants have, until recently, paid about treble the present rates of fare for freight, and about one-half more for passengers. We have full confidence in the willingness of a liberal public to pay stockholders a reasonable remuneration for their outlay of capital for the public good and accommodation, and we believe the directors, for the time being, will gladly reduce fares as soon as a just regard for the interests of stockholders will permit.”

Another matter which has attracted considerable notice in the reports of railroad directors, and of investigating committees, refers to the building of engines and cars by a corporation for their own use, in preference to purchasing their equipment. The fact is well substantiated, that the expense, when built by the railroad corporation, is very greatly enhanced, although it is claimed that the work is stronger and safer, a fact which is not fully established. The almost unanimous decision appears to have been, that enough men should be employed in the machine shop to perform the ordinary repairs on the road, and that their leisure should be occupied in building a new car or engine, while the principal equipment is purchased elsewhere.

Much discussion has also been had on the expediency of building or sustaining branch roads, and the views expressed in the article on Plank Roads in our last number, are obtaining almost universally. These branches are sometimes necessary, and a source of profit; but, unless self-supporting, generally do more harm than good to the trunk whence they derive nourishment, instead of imparting strength. Strong, and often imperative, inducements urge to the construction of a branch, to prevent a competing main line from being organized. When, also, the stock of a railroad is twenty per cent. above par, the di-

rectors are tempted to enlarge it as much as possible by the building of branch roads, under the impression that the increase of income will be proportioned to the outlay. But the experience of the Boston and Worcester Railroad would not justify this conclusion.

Rare qualifications are demanded in those who manage the practical working of the railroad, as in those who control its financial operations. The superintendent or other officer who has this business in charge, should be a thorough civil engineer, a good practical mechanic, and an accurate mathematician. These qualifications are essential to the preservation of the road and its equipment, and to a safe running of the different trains. Moreover, the business arrangements, the settlement of the rates of fare, the agreement with other roads, require great tact and wisdom, so that the affairs of the road shall be conducted with the utmost economy, consistent with necessary convenience and the highest return of profit. It is comparatively easy to manage a well equipped road, possessing an ample capital and abundant custom, as it is easy for a rich householder to procure domestic conveniences; but to make much of little is an art as difficult, but as essential to most of the railroad superintendents in this country, as to a somewhat straitened house-keeper.

For example, a large freight may be readily taken with a full supply of locomotives and cars, but where economy is requisite, the secret of success consists in making each engine do all the work of which it is capable, and keeping every man in the employ of the road laboring to the best advantage. An interesting fact is stated by Lardner, in respect to the Belgian railways, which are among the best managed roads in the world. From the official statistics he derives the following result: "The daily service of an engine, therefore, expressed in time, would be nearly *two hours working*, and *three and three quarters waiting* with steam up." A child can see that the reduction of the time spent in *waiting*, and an increase in the *working time*, would add greatly to the income of the road, by reducing the number of engines and laborers required, and the amount of fuel consumed.

When connections are to be made with other roads, or with other modes of conveyance, not the easiest, but on the whole the most profitable, arrangement is to be consummated, and this requires great prudence and foresight on the part of the managers. Every business man understands the advantage of skillfully using a small capital, and this is the talent which is demanded by our railroad corporations. Moreover, a company cannot manage but a certain amount of business, and if they undertake too much, and, besides performing their regular

duties, strive to become car builders or steamboat proprietors, they will undoubtedly find themselves losers by the operation, as the man who attempts to carry on several distinct kinds of business will probably soon become bankrupt, though in any one of the occupations he might readily acquire a fortune. The income, and what is of more importance, the profits and honest dividends of a railroad, depend on wise management; and if a manufacturing corporation, or a house-builder, find it for their interest to pay double wages to an overseer who has the talent of making others work to advantage, this faculty should not be overlooked in a railroad superintendent.

The mention of dividends brings us again to the accounts of the corporation. The problem which puzzles many railroad managers consists in deciding what expenses shall be charged to *income*, and what to *construction*, during the time that elapses between the opening and the completion of the railway.

Suppose, for illustration, that a locomotive employed on a gravel train, in bringing the road up to grade, runs off the track, and damages itself and the cars to the amount of some thousand dollars, or carelessly comes in collision with a regular passenger train, shall the repairs be charged to the regular expenses and be deducted from the *income*, or to the construction and increase the *capital*? The case becomes more complicated, when, as in some railroads, the construction account is charged with the freight and labor, according to the general tariff, of all work performed after the road is in operation. The temptation is very strong at this critical period in the history of a railroad to make the best show of income possible, and thus increase the facility of procuring capital to complete the enterprise, and fund the floating debt. We are not inclined to dispute the propriety of the directors in a railroad corporation putting the best phase on its affairs, which can be presented without fraud, instead of taking an opposite course, and presenting unprincipled speculators a weapon to injure and plunder. The same rules which would apply to the equitable transaction of private business are equally proper in the management of these affairs.

These remarks will show why an able railroad report is to be received with some qualification, and is sometimes an exception to the musty proverb, "Figures cannot lie." Indeed, these documents not unfrequently exemplify Talleyrand's definition of words as a "device to conceal facts." But while the reports of railroad directors are not necessarily infallible, let no stockholder be so deluded as to imagine the reports of investigating committees any more trustworthy. We should in most cases prefer to take the former than the latter as data upon which to

reason, if we were forced to the alternative. When a committee, prejudiced in any way against the management of a railroad, engage in the scrutiny, it is very easy to discover gross mistakes and publish them, although these apparent mistakes may have been the most prudent devices, and may have saved the corporation from ruin. Could the writer of this article have free access to the books of any railroad company in New England, with authority to examine witnesses, and then publish a report, he has no doubt that, with his ignorance of the detail of railroad management, and of finance, which would be all in his favor, he could honestly impose on himself and on others, a distrust of the officers, and perhaps effect a change at the next annual meeting. Yet, the expediency of appointing from time to time investigating committees is undoubted, and they have accomplished much that is good, but they should not be deemed infallible.

Few public documents will compare, for neatness of style, precision of thought, and clear arrangement, with the annual reports of our railroad directors throughout New England. An improvement, however, might be made in the presentation of statistics if some general outline could be agreed upon, not by a *legislative* committee, the majority of whom know as little of practical railroad management as a sailor of cavalry evolutions, but by the acting railroad superintendents. This might readily be arranged for those roads which have closed their construction accounts, and would greatly assist the inexperienced.

Roads which are completed should yearly withdraw from their income a sum to be reserved as a fund for renewing the road, and for meeting any extraordinary expenses, but the amount to be reserved annually can only be ascertained by experiment. Seven years of trial has led to the following estimate by the directors of the Eastern Railroad :

"It may therefore be assumed, that before the net profits can be stated, there should be deducted, besides the current expenses and interest, about 13 cents per mile run, to be carried to renewal and contingent funds, to which accounts, and not to construction or to current expenses, should be charged all materials and labor used in substituting new for old, and all losses by fire, collision, or other accidents. If at any one period these exceed the fund that has been thus appropriated, the excess will become a charge to be liquidated by the appropriations of subsequent and more fortunate years. On the contrary, if they are less, there will be an accumulation to meet future expenses and disasters. In fact, these funds will represent and cover the actual depreciation of the road and equipment, and provide against those extraordinary perils to which all roads are subject."

The only wise method on the part of stockholders, is to make

the reports, both of directors and of investigating committees, secondary to the careful selection of honest, competent, and responsible men for offices of trust, and while giving them the control, still guarding against the possibility of long continued abuse, by intrusting the oversight, though not the actual direction, to others. Either the president or superintendent should have supreme authority in the management, or each should have a clearly defined jurisdiction, while both are held strictly accountable to the board of directors. We quote, on this subject, the report of the investigating committee of the Old Colony Railroad, printed 1850 :

“It is a waste of time and energy for seven men to come together from the different walks of life, and attempt to decide, and act upon the various questions which arise in conducting a railroad. Frequently, when honest and intelligent men feel themselves oppressed by the necessity of speedy action, they will, from being imperfectly informed upon the subject, decide wrongly; or, if they decide rightly, and with promptness, it must be by chance, or under the influence of a controlling mind; and, in the latter case, they but act the farce of pretending to judge, when they are not permitted to do so. The directors should always be vigilant guardians of the property intrusted to their protection, but they should not attempt to manage, in detail, the business of a railroad. There should be, in the opinion of your committee, but one man at the head of a railroad corporation. He should be competent for that office, and should be amply remunerated for his services; all the subordinate officers should be under his supervision, and immediately accountable to him; and he should be held strictly responsible to the directors and stockholders for the result. He should have the privilege of calling upon his directors, as a board of consultation, if he desires their advice and support; but they should not impede his action, provided he is, in their opinion, zealously and judiciously striving to discharge his duties.”

We find in the *New York Tribune* the following evidence of the good management in our railroads: “From a list in the *Boston Advertiser* of thirteen railroads and their branches in Massachusetts, with 238 miles of double track, 375½ of single, costing in the whole \$33,810,689, it appears that more than half the companies paid dividends in 1850, from the net profits of the year, 8 per cent.; and the average dividend on the whole exceeded 7 per cent.; each having retained a greater or less reserve. While in England, the past year, no company paid more than 5 per cent., with the exception of four, which paid respectively £7 14s. per cent., 6 per cent., 5½ per cent. and 5¼ per cent. Six other companies paid 3 per cent.; several from 1 to 3; and a number nothing. The Great Western, with a capital of nearly £14,000,000, 264 miles long, paid 4 per cent.; the London and South-Western, capital £8,390,000, 4 per cent.; the South-Eastern and Greenwich, capital £9,460,000, 3½ per cent.; the Midland and Bristol, 496 miles, capital £15,540,000, 2½

per cent.; the Lancashire and Yorkshire, 260 miles, capital £11,488,000, 2 per cent." But there happens to be another mode of presenting the facts even in respect to the railroads in Massachusetts. Of the thirty-three railroads included in the annual reports to the last session of the legislature in that State, which are mentioned as having been in operation during the entire year, *fourteen* declared no dividends, and the average dividend of the whole was but $3\frac{61}{100}$ per cent, showing just the contrary result, and yet both of these statements, though accurate, present an exaggerated view of the case. In the last instance, we have included the branch roads, which is certainly just, as many of them are leased by the main line at a fixed rent, thus receiving an income which they do not earn; but, on the other hand, as the cost of these roads is small, their dividends should not be thus classified without respect to the amount invested in each road. It should also be remembered, that many of the roads now paying no dividend, have fairly earned a handsome profit above their expenses, which they have used for the liquidation of their floating debt, thus increasing the value of the stock. It is another important circumstance that the older and well established roads are the most profitable.

We see no reason to doubt the ultimate success of almost all those railroads which are now either in operation or building, especially since the difficulties of procuring funds have prevented the execution of many foolish schemes, which were formed amid the excitement on this subject a few years since, when a railroad was apparently believed capable of not only transporting passengers and freight, but of cultivating the land and of erecting cities. We close this part of our subject by quoting from the annual report of the directors of the Eastern Railroad Company, June, 1850, written by D. A. Neal, Esq., to which we have been already much indebted in this article:—

"The per centage profit on the amount paid in by the stockholders, in the year 1849, of the seven principal railroads in Massachusetts, as appears by the legislative reports, have been on each \$100 as follows:—

Boston and Providence,	5.836,	and on the total cost of the road,	5.66
Boston and Worcester,	6.086,	" " " "	6.07
Boston and Maine,	6.715,	" " " "	6.71
Boston and Lowell,	8.330,	" " " "	8.00
Fitchburgh,	8.979,	" " " "	6.90
Western,	9.187,	" " " "	7.61
Eastern,	9.494,	" " " "	8.40

"This statement is not made to show the relative value of the stocks of these several roads. A single year's work affords no adequate criterion of their capabilities. There are many considerations beside an immediate income that enter into a correct estimate of their value. There probably are many circumstances,

that if known, would qualify materially the impression that these annual reports may give. Such comparisons may tend to bring them out, and are here introduced with that view. If we can thus elicit a more critical analysis of the expenditure, and a more definite return of all the facts, which it is, or should be, the object of these reports to furnish, they would, in a series of years, afford both to officers and stockholders, a mass of valuable and reliable information to direct the former in their management, and the latter in their investments. On examining them, however, as they are, one fact will be discovered, viz., that those roads which have cost the most per mile, pay, as a general rule, the largest per centage on that cost. This is readily accounted for. The most expensive railroads are those that were first built, partly owing to want of knowledge, and partly to the very high prices paid for labor and material. But those that were first in the field had their choice of locations, and of course selected those that were likely to prove the most profitable, and this gives them an intrinsic value that more than offsets the cheaper construction of the more modern roads. The locality of a railroad is as important a consideration as that of an estate; and there is as much difference in this respect as in a lot in State-street, and one on the Lynn Marshes. There is then no reason for their depreciation from this cause, nor would there be any for taking the course that has been very properly adopted in some well-conducted manufacturing corporations, of availing of a prosperous season to reduce their construction account to the same proportionate amount as their younger rivals. The cases are not similar. The business of railroads is local, and it can seldom be found profitable to build a new road to take it away. The expense of operating a road is nearly the same, whether the whole or half the traffic of a section is carried upon it. Consequently, where one might derive a great profit, two would render both a total loss. Not so with manufactories. Each may take its share of the whole trade of the world of its kind, and the value of all must be determined by the lowest price at which a new one can be constructed and operated. But in railroads their location is the great element of value, and the market price of their stock will be determined by the extent and permanency of their income, and not by their relative cost of construction."

We would now notice briefly, in closing, what most would probably anticipate as the leading purpose of this article, the commercial, civil, and moral results attendant upon this new mode of transportation. Lardner makes some instructive observations in his book on this subject, especially in the relation of the railway enterprise to the reduction of prices. The following is a summary of his statements:—"Among the advantages which attend improved means of transport, one of the most prominent is that of lowering the price of all commodities whatever in the market of consumption, and thereby stimulating production. The price paid for an article by its consumer consists of two elements: 1st. The price paid for the article to its producer at the place of its production. 2d. The expense of conveying it from that place to the consumer. In many cases, these expenses incidental to transport, amount to considerably more than half the real price of the article; in some, they amount to three-fourths, or four-fifths, or even a larger proportion. In the case of many animal and vegetable productions of agriculture, speed of transport is as essential as cheapness, for they will deteriorate and be

destroyed by the operation of time alone. In some cases the price of an article at the place of consumption consists exclusively of the cost of transport. Cases even occur in which the cost of transport is actually greater than the price paid for an article by the consumer. This, which would seem a paradox, is nevertheless easily explained. An article in a given place may be a nuisance, and its possessor may be willing to pay something for its removal. This article, however, transported to another place, may become eminently useful, and even be the means of stimulating profitable production. The cleansing the common sewers of a city affords a striking example of this. Every improvement in the art of transport having a tendency to diminish cost, and augment speed and safety, operates in a variety of ways to stimulate consumption and production, and thereby advance national wealth and prosperity. When the price of an article, in the market of consumption, is reduced by this cause, the demand for it is increased: 1st, by enabling former consumers to use it more freely and largely; and, 2dly, by placing it within the reach of consumers who were before compelled to abstain from it by its dearness. The increase of consumption from this cause is generally in a larger ratio than the diminution of price. The number of consumers, able and willing to pay one shilling for any proposed article, is much more than twice the number who are able and willing to pay two shillings for the same article. But consumption is also augmented in another way by this diminution of price. The saving effected by consumers who, before the reduction, purchased at the higher price, will now be appropriated to the purchase of other articles of use or enjoyment, and thus other branches of industry are stimulated."

These views are undoubtedly correct, and might, if we had room, be sustained by many examples. It is interesting, in this connection, to notice the difference between the canal and the railroad in point of success, and we have the result summed up in "An Account of the Farmington Canal Company, of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company, and of the New Haven and Northampton Company, till the suspension of its canals in 1847." Published in New Haven, 1850.

"It is a fact somewhat remarkable, that canals in New England have failed of being profitable to the proprietors, while the railroads, which have taken the place of them, earn fair dividends upon the investments. The Blackstone canal passed through a region of country which abounds in manufactures, and was built in the best manner, yet it was never remunerative. The same is true of the Middlesex canal. But the Boston and Lowell railroad, and the Providence and Worcester railroad, are each successful. The most enterprising and sagacious men of New England were engaged in projecting and founding these canals. If it be possible to explain the causes why their expectations concerning them were not realized,

it is only by means of an experience which they did not have. The canals of New England were never able to control the lines of travel, or to carry passengers to any great extent; this of course deprived them of one great source of revenue possessed by railroads. The canal companies were not transportation companies, but derived their income entirely from tolls: they required, therefore, several times the amount of freight which railroads do, in order to make the same net profits. Judging from the results in the case, it may be doubted whether there is any region in New England which would furnish business enough to make a canal a source of profit to its owners. Besides the streams and lakes of New England were becoming more and more needed for propelling machinery."

Yet while these enterprises failed in their direct object, they were not without their benefit, as the author of this pamphlet shows most clearly in a few sentences.

"We have given this brief account of these various efforts to carry on these works of internal improvement, because it seemed due to the distinguished men who were concerned in them, that there should be some record of their labors. It may be thought, perhaps, by some, that they labored in vain. This conclusion, however, would be far from well founded. The Farmington canal opened a channel of business for this city (New Haven), which has never been closed from that time to the present. The annual amount of business was not inconsiderable, and the income from it, if done on a railroad, would of itself demonstrate its importance. But it was not merely in the direct trade it brought into the city—the very effort to construct these works called forth the energies of our citizens, which displayed themselves in other directions. Nor ought we to overlook the greatness of this effort. The citizens, undismayed by one of the most disastrous bank failures which ever occurred in New England, and which swept through the city at the very time they were engaging in this enterprise, steadily carried it forward against almost insurmountable obstacles. Almost every one took part in it, and indirectly we believe almost every one has received equivalent benefits from it, while at the same time there were but few who suffered materially in their fortunes."

Similar benefits are derived by a community from the projection and execution of a railroad enterprise. The very construction of the road is a great advantage to the districts through which it passes, by creating a market for produce, and affording occupation to the laborers.

This revolution, in the rapidity and ease of transport, has of necessity changed the method of transacting business. The country merchant, instead of collecting a large stock by his purchases in the spring and autumn, now buys according to the demand every month, and thus requires less capital, while his stock is more frequently turned, and thus trade is equalized, and rendered more safe and remunerative. But it is often said, that a railroad injures the business of the small towns through which it passes, and tends to concentrate trade in large centers. A measure of truth is undoubtedly included in this argument, but not that which is commonly understood by the statement,

and the same charge might be made against any improvement in the means of transportation. The construction of turnpikes in Connecticut destroyed the large produce stores in the country, by which many had accumulated wealth, since the farmers were thus enabled to carry their own produce to the largest market. The railroad accomplishes the same result, only on a larger scale, and while changing the channels of trade to the possible injury of a few, benefits the vast majority by diminishing at least one profit in the exchange of productions. Nor is it at all settled, that while a few customers may forsake the store of the country merchant for a neighboring city, the decrease in their purchases is not more than compensated by the large increase in the number of those who trade and by the advantages which he himself derives from the facility of intercommunication.

Another source of profit to the community is the time saved in traveling, which fairly estimated in regard to those who are carried over any railroad in the country, would probably exceed the entire income of the road. Should this seem an exaggeration to any, let the reader calculate the value to a business man of being able to go from Boston to New York in a night or an afternoon, instead of spending a week in the transit, and he will perceive the justice of the estimate.

The increased safety of this mode of transport not only for goods but for persons, is another fact to be taken into account. We have no statistics which will enable us to compare the railroad with the stage coach in this respect, but the simple statement of the facts ascertained by the reports of the several railroads in Massachusetts for last year is enough to convince any mind of the truth.

Thirty-one railroads, which have been in operation during the last year, report an aggregate of 157,389,296 passengers carried one mile, and of these nine have been killed, four of whom were intoxicated at the time, and ten injured more or less seriously, though none of them mortally. The danger to each passenger in traveling one mile on these railroads, of receiving a mortal injury, is as one to seventeen million four hundred and eighty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-nine—and of being injured at all as one to eight million two hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and forty-seven. But this is greatly lessened by the exercise of prudence, since most of these accidents have happened through the gross carelessness of the passengers themselves. The directors of the Boston and Maine Railroad, in their report, June, 1850, remark :

“ In the management of a concern of so many ramifications, the utmost care and caution will not always protect the public against accidents, occasioned by

the misplacing of a switch, or by a collision. Scarcely a man lives that is not off his guard at times, and although negligence and inattention are chargeable upon the servants of the road sometimes, still it is believed that carelessness, thoughtlessness, or foolhardiness of passengers, or of persons traveling on the line or across the road, are the fruitful causes of injury, for which the officers of the road are often unjustly censured. And the fact is especially verified by a review of the accidents, which have occurred on the road since the time to which the last annual report was prepared. In every case, a want of care and attention on the part of the injured, has been the primary cause of disaster."

The employees of the road, and those attempting to cross the track, have suffered much more severely, especially when we consider their relatively small number; twenty of those employed on the railroads are reported as having been killed or mortally wounded, and eighteen injured, while of those not connected with the roads, thirteen have been killed and eleven wounded.

Another advantage of the railroad enterprise consists in its furnishing, when successful, a convenient savings-bank for all classes. The mechanic is not only benefited in his own avocation to more than the amount of stock which he subscribes, but is induced to lay by earnings to pay for his investment, which he might otherwise have been tempted to squander.

We are disposed to overlook the moral advantages which result from this enterprise, in our thirst for gain, and yet few schemes of reform are so full of promise, as this, which is regarded merely as an aid to commerce.

The railroad educates a class of operatives, who are among the most useful and intelligent members of society. The mere question of profit determines the necessity of employing sober and industrious men, when the lives of hundreds and thousands are to be intrusted to their charge. The regulations of a well conducted road aid greatly in the maintenance of general order, producing respect for law, and showing its propriety.

Apart from these considerations, the single fact that a mechanic can procure a home in the country with a small patch of land, and live as cheaply and work as easily as formerly, when hiring a single room in a crowded house in the midst of a filthy city, is an incalculable good, beyond all the theories of Socialism.

Strange as it may appear, these facilities for moving about also benefit the community, by making the majority more contented with their homes. Nor is this merely a deduction from that principle of human nature, which induces a desire for what is difficult and declines what is easy. A few years since no young man of enterprise was satisfied to remain in the country; but was eager to engage in the turmoil of the city, and the nation began to suffer from the centralization of the masses in the commercial marts. The railroad and the electric telegraph are

however removing this evil by enabling the farmer, not only to exchange his products readily, but also by affording him the advantages of the commercial emporium in the early receipt of the newspaper, and in extending to his home the pulsations from the busy stirring heart. The railroad makes every village on its line a suburb of the city whence it starts. The cluster of cottages nestled amid the foliage of the green mountains, is no longer a secluded spot, where every day is a Sunday, whose inhabitants have few subjects to discuss, except the gossip of the neighborhood, and the qualifications of the schoolmaster, or the defects of the minister. The rumbling train that disturbs the pastoral quiet with its short, sharp yells, leaves during its momentary pause messages from the civilized world, and the boys of the village know the votes of Congress, or the revolutions in Europe, as soon as the merchant in his counting-room. They do not therefore need to go abroad, that they may break away from dullness and inactivity, or if they go, are soon satisfied on discovering that the only change is the increase of brick and mortar. The railroad also increases the opportunity of labor in different departments at each station, and thus diminishes the necessity for emigration. Therefore, paradoxical as it may seem, the facilities for going away induce people to stay at home.

These influences can scarcely be too highly estimated, for they affect not single individuals, but whole communities. Familiar intercourse destroys national prejudice, and thus banishes hostility. The cliffs may still seem pale with envy across the Straits of Dover, but the passing of an hourly ferry, and the pulsations of the electric wire beneath those waves, is fast demolishing the barrier which for centuries insulated the inhabitants of Great Britain. Commerce creates mutual dependencies, and that which facilitates trade accomplishes more for the prevention of war, by making it unprofitable and therefore unpopular, than the diplomacy of statesmen or even a congress of non-resistants. Intercourse imparts knowledge, while the mental energy required to construct these highways for nations, educates, and invigorates, and purifies. What would be the effect on the Hindoos, of building and operating a railroad through India? Would it not be one of the most feasible measures for upturning their ancient systems of belief, and of engrafting the popular mind anew? In these United States, the railroad, by affording the opportunity of comparing the benefits of servitude and freedom, by furnishing in the Southern States employment for white laborers, and rendering their position honorable, is doing more, in our opinion, for the removal of the curse entailed upon us, from the time of British supremacy, than the formation of political parties, or the resolu-

tions of ecclesiastical bodies. Every rail laid along our mountain ridges, every steamboat wheel which disturbs our mighty streams, is adding a rivet to the union of these States, which the intrigues and bluster of neither Northern nor Southern demagogues can sever.

Prophecy intimates that the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom is to be associated with the progress of art, and with nothing more clearly than the increased facility of traveling, as is seen in its description of millennial blessedness, and in its commands and its promises. God compels every invention to subserve His own great purpose, and He has placed these mighty agencies in the hands of those who will employ them to advance His designs. Neither the Brahmin nor the Mussulman are intrusted with this powerful enginery, not even Papacy with all its vaunting can claim to have the direction of these inventions, which are revolutionizing society. We commend to Archbishop Hughes the inspection of the table on page 417 of Lardner's volume, where if ciphering is not beneath the attention of one who aspires to be a Cardinal, or unless the science of figures savors too much of the exercise of private judgment, he will find that in 1848 four-fifths of the railroads in the world, whether valued by length of miles, or amount of capital, were in the hands of Protestants; and since that day this decaying sect, as he declares it, has vastly increased its supremacy in this particular.

In the fullness of time, when man had been elevated by Christianity to a position which allowed him to receive the blessing, God committed these inventions to those who would employ them for His glory, and thus enabled them to cope more successfully with the tyranny of ancient superstitions, which would crush everything that seeks for the education and ennobling of the individual mind, after the example of the teacher of Galilee. We are standing only at the head waters, and this revolution so mighty in our eyes, is but the trickling rill which shall swell into a torrent—a river—until it pours its deep current into the infinite ocean. As the apostles saw but the dawning of the gospel, so every generation of Christians has been watching the rosy tints of morning, and many centuries may pass ere it is noon—and yet we are not wrong in anticipating a more and more rapid spread of light and love. We are led to these thoughts by a glance at the projects which are already conceived and gravely discussed, and which the most prudent men believe will ere long be carried into execution.

Here, is a plan of shortening the time of passage between New York and London, published by order of a state legislature, which proposes by a railroad of 850 miles, half of which is already com-

pleted, to reduce the passage from New York to London to seven days' time, and probably to six. We have no question but the experiment will be tried in a few years at farthest. We have moreover a proposition for immediately constructing a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, and this, called "the Boston Plan," is but one scheme claiming superiority over others, because it can be built most rapidly. We allude to this simply to show how far-reaching are the projects which would bring Boston and San Francisco within ten days of each other. The mere mention of these projects, and their grave discussion, is enough to disclose the revolution which is now progressing on the earth.

We must not forget that the railroad is but one step in the ascending staircase, on which the race are mounting, guided and cheered by heavenly voices. The resources of infinite grace and wisdom are not exhausted, and we only mark the beginning of wonders which shall co-operate with the divine purpose in the redemption of man, and the restoration of a ruined world.

The procession of heavy cars, winding among the hills after the panting engine, a seeming realization of the dragon, fabled in the middle ages, whose breath was flame, and whose course was as a rushing tempest, always interests and quickens by its illustration of power and skill. The eye never wearies of watching a railroad train as it whirls on its appointed track, seemingly instinct with life, running in merry wantonness its matchless race unwearied, and screaming madly in the pride of its power. But when we remember that it is the product of human intelligence, and a token of the divine love, and reflect on its promise for the future, the spectacle is invested with moral grandeur, giving us courage for the conflict to-day, and prophesying of a good time to come, when creation shall rejoice in the liberty of the sons of God. "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

ART. II.—AMUSEMENTS.

A Plea for Amusements. By FREDERIC W. SAWYER. New York: APPLETON & Co., 1847.

ALTHOUGH the work before us is somewhat out of date, the subject of it is one of perpetual interest; and although we cannot plead for amusements precisely after the manner of Mr. Sawyer, we shall hope to speak in accordance with the Scriptures, and with the views of enlightened and serious Christians.

In the life of our Savior, we have an example entirely to our purpose; and with a consideration of it, we commence the discussion. When he had called and charged his twelve apostles, he sent them forth to teach and preach in the villages of Judea and Galilee. "And they went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."

Their mission accomplished, the apostles returned unto Jesus, and made report. "They told him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught. And he said unto them, Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and *rest awhile*; for there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat."

Christ called his disciples originally, and he calls them now, to *labor* in his service. His language to them is: "Go, *work* in my vineyard." But when they *have* worked, until the necessities of nature require relaxation, he then permits and commands them to rest. It is as much their duty to rest, under such circumstances, as it is to work, under others. It is as really a sin to over-work in the service of Christ, as to under-work. It may not be so common a sin. It may not be one into which, in this lazy, trifling world, we are so likely to fall. Still, we have no more right to violate the laws of our being (which are the laws of God) one way than the other; and the violation of them in either way is sure to bring its penalty along with it.

In the example above quoted, we have the authority of our Savior for seasonable *rest*. And his teachings on this subject are in strict accordance with those of the Scriptures generally, and with those of nature. The God of Nature has not only made *work* an indispensable condition of living comfortably in this world, but he has made abundant provision also for *rest*. Every morning has its evening, and every day its night, when weary

mortals are constrained, by the very necessities of their nature, to repose, to rest.

Rest may be total, as in quiet sleep ; or only partial, as in gentle, agreeable relaxation, diversion, or recreation. We use these three terms, not because they are of precisely the same import, but because, in their several imports, they are all equally to our purpose. Relaxation implies continuance of labor, but with less of vigor, with less intensity of application. And this constitutes a species of rest. It is often all the rest we need.

Diversion implies, not a total suspension of effort, but the withdrawing of the jaded mind or the weary body from some particular kind of effort, which has become wasting and injurious, to some other kind which is lighter, easier, more agreeable. Thus the student, wearied in the investigation of a difficult subject, *diverts* his mind by light reading, or by some easy and pleasant occupation. And the tired laborer diverts himself by some agreeable change of employment.

Diversion is a relief and blessing to us, in every period of our lives. The secret of managing peevish, crying children is, not to scold them, but to divert them. Turn off the little troubled mind from the worrying thought, or the painful object, and fix it upon something else. This is the only mode of relieving a certain class of diseased minds. The monomaniac, for example, has occupied himself so constantly with some engrossing subject ; he has thought so much of it, and talked so much, and felt so deeply, that he can now think of nothing else. He has dwelt upon the one idea till he has become absorbed in it, and cannot rid himself of it. He has no longer the control of his own thoughts and feelings. Now the only way to relieve such a person is, to *divert him*. Change the scene ; introduce him to new and diverting objects ; draw his thoughts and his sensibilities, if possible, out of the deep channels in which they have been running ; and the diseased mind will soon recover, a normal, healthy action will ere long be restored.

We used the term *recreation* in this connection. This is of more general import than either of those above defined. It denotes primarily an *end*, a *result*, but more commonly the means of producing such result. A recreation is literally a restoring of the exhausted mind or body to that state of health and vigor which had been temporarily lost. But the term is more commonly used to denote some pleasing, invigorating, health-giving exercise, by which such restoration is effected. It may be a walk, a sail, a journey, a song, a cheerful conversation, a change of scene or employment. A diversion generally operates as a recreation, though every recreation is not a diversion. And the

same remark may be made with respect to relaxation. Recreation, as we said, is the more general term, including under it the other two.

With this necessary definition of terms, we come back to the example of our Savior. When he directed his disciples to turn aside, and rest a while, he did not intend, probably, a total rest. He did not wish them to lie down and go to sleep. Certainly, he did not limit them to such a rest as this. What he intended was, that they should take time, after their severe labor, to recreate, to recruit, to invigorate and strengthen their wasted powers, and thus prepare for greater usefulness. How he would have them spend their season of recreation, we cannot now say. Perhaps in agreeable conversation, in recounting past experience and adventure, in prayer, in praise, in seeking and receiving new lessons of instruction. In some way, he would have them recreate and refresh themselves, and prepare for new scenes of labor and usefulness.

Recreations, then, of the right kinds, and within proper limits, are not only permitted to us, but enjoined upon us. They are enjoined by the very necessities of our nature. They are enjoined by the authority of our Savior. They are as really our duty as prayer, or praise, or study, or preaching, or anything else. Thus much, we think, may be safely said in behalf of needful recreations.

We now advance a step, and inquire whether the same can be said in behalf of amusements. *What are amusements?* Much depends on the idea attached to this term. Some writers (among whom is Mr. Sawyer) regard amusements and recreations as the same. They use the words interchangeably. And if this be correct, then the same authority may be pleaded for them both. But is this a proper use of terms? Are the two things the same? We think not. There seems to us to be a wide difference between them—a difference indicated both in the etymology of the words, and in their more general and respectable use. We know not indeed, that any *full* line of distinction can be drawn between *external acts*, leaving all amusements on the one side, and recreations on the other. Such a line might be drawn, we think, a certain way; but whether it could be carried entirely through, it is not material to inquire. The distinction on which we would chiefly insist, is *internal*. It lies not so much in the outward act, as in the *motive*, the *object*, the *end* in view. A recreation, from the very structure and meaning of the word, is something which recruits, restores, and prepares the man for better service, and should be engaged in, always, with this end in view. But an amusement, in its *motive*, is quite another thing. This is to pursue

pleasure for *pleasure's sake*. It is to engage in pleasurable occupation, not so much to be invigorated and benefited, as to be amused—to be gratified, in other words, for the mere pleasure of it. Such is amusement, in the strict and proper acceptation of the term; *amusement*, as distinct from needful *recreation*. And such it is confessed to be, by those, in general, who pursue it. Ask that young man who was out almost the whole of the last night at the ball-room, or the bowling-alley, or at some other place of amusement, and who got up late this morning, with parched lips, and an aching head, and a fluttering pulse, whether he went there for the purpose of recruiting and restoring exhausted nature, and whether such has been the effect of his debauch upon him. He will tell you, if he is honest, that the powers of nature, so far from being recruited, have been wasted, and that he had good reason to expect beforehand that it would be so. He went to his amusements, not to be recruited and strengthened, but to be pleased. He went for the enjoyment of it, from motives of personal gratification. And the young lady who danced till four o'clock this morning, will, if she is honest, confess the same. Her amusement, she knows did not recruit nature, but exhausted it. It did her no real good, either physically or morally, nor did she expect beforehand that it would. But she went to be pleased. She went from motives of personal gratification.

Such, then, are amusements; and such is the manner in which they differ from needful, laudable recreations. In *external act*, they differ frequently; there being many amusements which can never be resorted to for purposes of recreation. In *purpose*, in *motive*, they differ always; the motive of the latter being to recruit and restore, and thus prepare for greater usefulness; the motive of the former being a love of pleasure, or the desire of personal gratification.*

With these explanations, we come back to the question: Are amusements authorized in the Scriptures? There *is* authority, we have seen, for recreations. Is there like authority for amusements? And if so, where are we to look for it? You will say, perhaps, in the Old Testament; and in proof of it will refer us to the annual festivals of the Israelites; and to other great and joyful occasions, in which they were accustomed to sing and to dance.

* Very frequently, the same external acts or courses of action change their character with a change of motive, and from being recreations, become amusements. Thus a student participates in a game of ball, or of quoits, as a recreation. It is needful for him, and he has no other object or end in view. But he soon becomes attached to the game, and pursues it far beyond what the purposes of recreation require. He pursues it for the mere pleasure of it. It has now ceased to be a recreation, and become an amusement.

The annual festivals of the Israelites were seasons of pleasant recreation, and of devout religious worship and instruction. They drew the people together from all parts of the land, and were well calculated to render them not only pious, but social and happy. But there was nothing in them, so far as we have been able to discover, of the nature of amusements, properly so called. Certainly there was not, as they were instituted, and before they had been perverted and abused.

On occasions of great rejoicing, the Israelites were accustomed to sing and to dance; but then their dances were not for amusement. On the contrary, they were a part of their religious worship. Such was the dancing of Miriam and her associates, on the shore of the Red Sea.* Such was the dancing of David, when he brought home the ark of God. Such is the dancing referred to by the Psalmist, when he says: "Praise God with the timbrel and the dance." "Let them praise his name in the dance." This dancing was evidently a part of religious worship—"praising God;" and is no authority whatever for dancing as an amusement.

It is remarkable, that wherever dancing is spoken of in the Bible, except as a religious exercise, some mark of reprobation is usually put upon it. Witness the following passage from Job: "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. . . . Therefore, they say unto God, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways." Witness the dancing of the daughter of Herodias, which pleased Herod, and resulted in the murder of John the Baptist.

But to return to the subject: Where, we ask again, are *amusements*, in the proper sense of the term, authorized in the Scriptures? If any one can tell us, we will gladly listen to him; for we do not know where. Let him give us the chapter and verse.

But we go farther, and insist that amusements, as they have been defined, are virtually *forbidden* in the Scriptures. In spirit, in motive, they are contrary to some of the cardinal requisitions of the Bible. They are so, in that they are *selfish*. Amusement, we have said, is the pursuit of pleasure, for pleasure's sake, or it is the plunging into pleasurable courses, for the mere sake of personal enjoyment. And is not this selfish? We regard avarice and covetousness as selfish, in that they are the love of gain, for the personal gratification which gain affords; and ambition is accounted selfish, in that it is the love of power, for the same reason; must not amusements then be accounted

* Miriam, at this time, could not have been much less than ninety years old;—rather too far advanced to dance for amusement.

selfish, in that they are the love and pursuit of pleasure, for the same reason? Personal gratification lies at the bottom of all alike. This is the ruling motive in all alike, and how shall the conclusion be resisted, that this motive constitutes them all alike selfish? But selfishness, if not the very essence of sin, is, in all its forms and degrees, sinful. It is in direct opposition to that cardinal and universal law, which requires us to love God, and not ourselves, with a supreme affection.

Besides, how are amusements, *in the sense explained*, to be reconciled with Scriptures such as these? "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as *unto the Lord*." "Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all *to the glory of God*." "Wherefore, glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." Amusements are the pursuit of pleasurable courses for *personal gratification*—for *pleasure's sake*. But the Scriptures forbid us to do anything from such a motive. Whatever we do, we are to do it as *unto the Lord*. Whether we eat, or drink, or whatsoever we do, we are to do all *to the glory of God*.

And as amusements are in spirit and motive sinful, so their tendencies, it is believed, are always evil. The tendency of recreation, when engaged in from the right motive and under proper limitations, is good, and only good. It is essential to health, happiness, usefulness, we had almost said to life itself. But amusements being of another nature, their fruits are of another kind. They are of the opposite kind, as their history abundantly shows.

The expense of amusements—their pecuniary expense—is enormous. We will not undertake to compute it; it is more than the world can well bear. But great as this expense may be, it is not the heaviest bill incurred. The expense to reputation, to usefulness, to health, to life, is much greater. How many fair characters have been forfeited, how many bright prospects have been clouded and blasted, how many good constitutions have been ruined, how many valuable lives have been thrown away, in the pursuit of fashionable amusements.

And then the effect of amusements upon the *spiritual* interests of those who engage in them is to be taken into the account; withdrawing the thoughts from God and things divine, dissipating serious impressions, unfitting the soul for devotional exercises, and grieving away the Holy Spirit.

The amusements of men, at some periods, have been characterized by the utmost *barbarity* and *cruelty*. The gladiatorial shows of the ancients, where men mangled and butchered each other for the gratification of thousands and tens of thousands of spectators,—these were choice amusements in their day. And

bull-baitings, and bear-baitings, and horse-racings, and cock-fightings, involving the greatest cruelty to animals, and resulting often in broils and murders,—these are choice amusements now. The excitement, the interest of them is intense. They so fire the soul and stir the blood, as to render all other amusements worthless.

But it will be said that no one pleads for amusements such as these, but only for such as are decent and harmless. And yet if you plead for amusement, in the proper sense of the word, at all, you plead for that which is of the same essential nature as these. You plead for that which, if left to its natural, appropriate influence, will lead right on to these, or to that which is worse. The natural tendency of amusements, as of every other form of sin, is downward. You engage in what you call a decent amusement now, for the mere pleasure of it, or from motives of self-gratification. But soon you are cloyed with that; it ceases to gratify. And now you must have something else, and something of a little stronger and more stirring character; and when you are cloyed with that, you must have something a little more stirring still, and thus you go on, and go down from one thing to another, till very soon, if not restrained, you reach the bottom. You become a pleasure-hunter of the lowest class.

Much labor has been expended in endeavoring to show what amusements are innocent, and what injurious; what should be tolerated, and what condemned. But no clear line of distinction has ever been drawn, or ever can be; and for the very good reason that none exists. There *is* a distinction between recreation and amusement; a deep, thorough, radical distinction; reaching to the *end*, the *motive*, the *object* of each; making the former, under the proper conditions, not only harmless but useful, and consigning the latter to selfishness and sin. This is the distinction which we have endeavored to set forth and illustrate, and of the validity of which our readers will judge.

There will be objections undoubtedly to the views which have been presented, some of which it is proposed now to consider.

It will be said, perhaps, that if the God of the Bible prohibits amusements, the God of nature tolerates and encourages them, and thus natural and revealed religion are set at variance. But how shall it be made to appear that the God of nature tolerates and encourages what we have defined as amusements? That the God of nature has not shown himself indifferent to the happiness of his creatures, but has made provision for their happiness in a thousand ways, we rejoice to believe; and that it is lawful for us to partake in moderation of that happiness which he so liberally imparts, we as fully believe. But all this comes vastly short of

our entering on the direct pursuit of pleasure, for the mere sake of personal enjoyment.

God has kindly made the gratification of our appetites a source of pleasure to us, and we are bound thankfully to accept the pleasure which is thus afforded. We may do this, and yet eat and drink to the glory of God. But when we indulge our appetites for the mere sake of indulgence, then we stand on a different footing, we become epicures at once. God has also endowed us with external and internal senses, and he has so ordered things in the worlds of matter and of mind, that these become to us sources of high enjoyment, and we are not to be afraid of the happiness thus afforded us. We are to accept and enjoy it with all thankfulness; this we may do, and should do, from a supreme love to God, and with a heart of benevolence. But when we give ourselves up to pleasures of this sort, and pursue them, as many do, from motives of mere personal indulgence and gratification; then, as before, we stand on a different footing, we become epicures of a higher sort, we are "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God."

It will be further objected, that if amusements are interdicted to grown people, they surely cannot be to children and youth. These love amusements, they crave them, they must and will have them; and, as Mr. Sawyer argues in the work before us, if they cannot have them openly and decently, they will plunge into them secretly, and perhaps shamefully. We hardly need assure our readers that we feel a deep interest in children and youth, and should be unwilling to deny or to grudge them one lawful pleasure—one innocent enjoyment. The amusements of the young naturally divide themselves into two classes; those which are appropriate to little children, and those which are indulged in, in maturer years. The first, in many instances, can hardly be said to possess a moral character. They are the mere outbursts of animal feeling, and are no more praise or blame-worthy, in a moral point of view, than the frolic of a kitten or a lamb. So far as the amusements of children at this period can be said to possess a moral character, we suppose they are in general sinful, and that for two reasons: first, because all the moral acts of unrenewed souls are sinful; and secondly, because they often *show* themselves to be sinful. They partake evidently of the nature of pride, envy, revenge, selfishness, malice, and even of cruelty.

With regard to the pleasures of those who have passed the season of childhood, and arrived at maturer years, while we admit that certain courses of action belong appropriately to them, and that they may require more of recreation and diversion than

persons advanced in life, we deny that they have any more right than older persons to forget God, and live unto themselves, and pursue pleasure for pleasure's sake; in other words, to indulge in amusements, as they have been before defined. We hold that the same great law of love which binds the man of sixty, has been constantly upon him from his childhood and youth. He was as truly under obligations to love God supremely, and do all things to his glory, at the age of ten, or of twenty, as he is now.

It is undoubtedly true, that every age and condition in life has its appropriate employments and enjoyments. When Paul was a child, it was proper for him to speak as a child, to understand as a child, to think as a child; and when he became a man, it was proper for him to put away childish things. But let children be taught in their earliest years to love God, and not themselves, with a supreme affection; to receive and enjoy everything as from him; and to do everything with a view to his glory, and not to their own personal gratification, and whatever they cannot do to the glory of God, it is quite certain they should not do at all. But it will be said that we, like Israel of old, have our *festal occasions*—days of rejoicing—our annual thanksgivings and anniversaries of American Independence, when it is proper, surely, to indulge in amusements. We have, indeed, our annual festal days—days of cheerful, grateful remembrance, which may well be devoted to sacred song, to devout thanksgiving, and to other demonstrations of holy joy. But can it be proper, under pretense of honoring God on such occasions, to break his laws, and to sin against him with a higher and bolder hand than at any other time? Yet such, undoubtedly, is the manner in which these days are often spent, more especially by the votaries and advocates of amusements. There can be no question that more sin is committed on our festal days, we fear vastly more, than on almost any other days of the year. These are the seasons, emphatically, for giddy frivolity, for uproarious mirth, for sensual gratification, and with many for the lowest forms of vice; and all this under pretense of amusement, and the proper observance of a joyful day,—a strange way this of expressing our gratitude to God for mercies past, and propitiating his favor for the time to come! It is as if we should hope to please and honor him by insulting him to his face!

But it is asked by Mr. Sawyer and those who think with him: Why cannot amusements be reformed? Instead of being placed under the ban of religion and of social morality, why may they not be incorporated into them, and be regulated by them? Let Christians participate freely in the amusements of the age, give

them a character, and keep them from running out into dangerous excesses, and all will be well. To this we answer, first of all, that the course here recommended has been often attempted, and has always failed; a reformed theater—a reformed bowling-alley—a reformed gaming-table—a reformed ball-room—these are not new ideas just now started and recommended to our notice for the first time. The experiment has been tried often—tried under the most favoring circumstances—and we have no hesitation in saying that it has always failed. The patrons of amusements do not wish them reformed. Reformed so as to be acceptable to serious Christians, they would no longer be amusements for them. There is but one way of reforming sin, and that is to abandon it. To gloss it over under false appearances, and cling to it, and persist in it, is of all paths the most certain to ruin and to death.

It is admitted by those with whom we argue, that amusements, placed as they now are under the restraints of Christian example and influence, are peculiarly liable to excess. Those who love them plunge recklessly into them, and indulge them to their hurt. What then, we ask them to consider, would be the result, if the restraints of Christian example and influence were taken off? In that case, where would the lovers of pleasure go? And where would the better portion of society be likely to go with them? Not only would the excesses of the wicked be increased, but they would no longer think it strange (as they did in Peter's time) that Christians did not "run to the same excess of riot with them." They would run to the same excess of riot, and serious, evangelical religion would disappear from the earth.

The distinction which we have endeavored to illustrate between recreations and amusements is, in our view, a very important one. It is radical. The former are required of us both by reason and the word of God; the latter are discountenanced and prohibited by both. The consequences of the former, when kept within the proper limits, are only good; while those of the latter are hurtful and disastrous. So they have shown themselves in all past ages; so they will be in the ages to come. "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit." "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

An important part of our subject still remains, viz.: the *laws*, the *conditions* by which recreation is to be regulated; so that it shall be not injurious, but salutary; not offensive to God, but well pleasing in his sight. We cannot promise to notice all these laws, but will mention some of them.

1. In choosing our recreations, we must be guided, in part, by our circumstances and necessities. All persons do not require

the same. What would be a relief to some, would be a weariness to others. For example, the person of sedentary habits and pursuits requires physical exertion, strong muscular exercise, such as is furnished by athletic sports, or some kinds of manual labor; while the weary husbandman needs no such thing. He can be best recreated in some more quiet way. The tired student requires to have his mind diverted, as well as his body exercised. He must engage in something which shall withdraw his thoughts from the exhausting subject, and fix them upon something else. While he whose muscles are more wearied than his head may recreate, and refresh himself with those very things which the tired student should avoid. As to the *kind* of our recreations, therefore, every one must be guided very much by his own particular circumstances and necessities.

2. The same rule may be extended to the *measure* of our recreations. Some persons require more, and some less. Some kinds of labor are so agreeably diversified, that they carry their own recreation with them; while others are so monotonous and fatiguing, that no one can bear them continuously for any great length of time. The poor laborer of this class *must* recreate, or he must die.

In estimating the needed amount of recreation, the great *object* of it should be kept constantly in view; not personal gratification merely or chiefly, but renewed health, strength, and vigor, and so a preparation for increased usefulness. Recreation may be lawfully pursued until the object of it is gained, that is, if it is likely ever to be gained in this way; but no farther. Indulged farther, it is very likely to change its character. It is no longer recreation, but amusement.

3. Our recreations must be such, both as to their nature and circumstances, as not to violate any plain and positive command of God. This is a very obvious rule, and one of importance. For example, the law of God requires that we love our neighbor, and seek his good. If then, under pretense of recreation, we contrive to injure our neighbor in any way; or expose him to personal inconvenience or suffering, we are no longer excusable, but criminal. The law of God requires that we use all suitable means to preserve our own life, health, and reputation. If then we indulge in recreations which go to expose life, or health, or reputation; if we are out at unseasonable hours, and in the company of evil men; our recreations are no longer innocent and salutary, but injurious. Again; the law of God requires that we remember the Sabbath day, and keep it holy; and this cuts off at a stroke all Sabbath recreations, except such as are found in the delightful duties and services of religion.

4. Our recreations must not be allowed to interfere with more important duties. This is a kindred rule to the one last considered ; and yet it is sufficiently distinct to require a separate consideration. Recreation, we have already said, is a duty ; and yet it is not one of the more important and indispensable duties. At least, it is not so in all circumstances, and at all times. What we mean to say, therefore, is, that we are so to regulate our recreations, both as to their nature, their amount, and the times in which to indulge them, as not to interfere with *more important* duties. If we find, at any time, that our recreations are encroaching upon the more necessary duties of life, or go to make these duties irksome ; or if we find that they interfere with our religious duties—the devotions of the family, the closet, or the social circle, giving us a disrelish for such duties, or crowding them out of place ; if such is the result of our recreations we may know that they have passed the prescribed limit somewhere. The great object and end of recreation is to make our duties *more* pleasant, not *less* so ; to prepare us to engage in them with a greater zest, and to better account, and not the more to trifle with and neglect them. Hence, when we find that our recreations are having this latter effect upon us, we may know that they are out of place or proportion somewhere, and that they require to be examined and regulated anew.

5. In choosing our recreations, we are to avoid such as are peculiarly liable to *abuse* ; and more especially such as *have been abused* to such a degree as to become scandalous. We hold this to be a very important rule, and one which cannot be safely disregarded. Some kinds of recreation are so captivating, so engrossing, that if indulged in at all, they are very likely to be indulged to a ruinous excess. They will be pursued beyond what the purposes of recreation require—pursued for the mere pleasure of it ; and then they change their character, and become sinful amusements. Now such recreations should either be avoided altogether, or should be indulged in with great caution, and with a vigorous and prayerful self-control.

There are also recreations which are not only liable to abuse, but which actually have been and are *abused*, to such a degree as to become scandalous. The devil and his agents are in full possession of them, and will not give them up. Sober people cannot engage in them without disgrace, and without countenancing their multiform abuses and evils. We need not stop to name these dangerous recreations. A moment's thought will enable any intelligent person to fix upon them, or at least upon some of them, and less than a moment's thought will satisfy every serious Christian, that all such indulgences are to be scrupulously

avoided. If we would not be identified with their guilty votaries; if we would not be accessory to their ruinous results; if we would not be partakers of other men's sins; they are to be scrupulously avoided.

6. Our recreations, as a general thing, ought not to involve any very considerable expense. In these times, when there are so many ways in which property can be turned to good account, not only for the relief of poverty and suffering, but for advancing the interests of Christ's Kingdom in the world, no considerate person, and certainly no Christian, will think of expending large sums for the mere purpose of recreation. He will contrive to recreate himself in some cheaper way.

Finally, our recreations should all be pursued for the proper end, or which is the same, from the right motive. This rule is important on more accounts than one. A due observance of it will aid us in *choosing* our recreations. There are some courses of pleasure which *cannot* be indulged in from proper motives. We might as well think of stealing or lying for the glory of God. Of course, all such are to be avoided. The rule is also important, because every thing, in a moral view, depends upon its observance. In judging of our actions, God looks primarily at the end, the motive; and where this is wrong, nothing merely external can be right.

The proper end of recreation we have stated more than once. It is not self-gratification, but increased health, vigor, and usefulness. It is to rest and refresh the tired spirit, or the weary body, and thus prepare for renewed and increased exertion in that work of life which God has given us to do. In all our recreations, then, let this great end and aim of them be kept constantly in view;* let them be selected and pursued with reference to this end; let them be pursued so far as they really conduce to this end, and no further; let this be the guiding, controlling motive in them all; and God will approve of them; our own consciences will approve; and the results, it may be hoped, will be continually happy. There is no danger in recreations, when pursued from the motives, and under the limitations, here prescribed. But if these rules are transcended or neglected, and we venture upon courses of self-indulgence for the mere pleasure of it, our pleasures then become sordid and selfish, offensive in the sight of God, and destructive to the best interests of the soul.

* We do not mean that, in their seasons of relaxation and diversion, persons should be constantly watching and scrutinizing their motives. This might defeat the very object of diversion. But let the end and aim of life be *habitually, consciously*, such as has been indicated; so *consciously*, that any considerable deviation from it shall be instantly noticed.

We close this discussion with two remarks.

1. In cutting off sinful amusements, let no one charge us with indifference to the happiness of our fellow men. So far from being indifferent, we seek and prize their happiness; and it is because we prize it, that we have made the distinctions, and engaged in the discussion which has been presented. What source of enjoyment has our heavenly Father opened to us, in his works, or in his word, which we have not left open? What sources of enjoyment, but such as he has prohibited, have we closed up? In the enjoyment of friends and of social intercourse; in the enjoyment of all that variety of good which is set before us in the outer world; in the enjoyment of appetite and sense even, so far as they can be indulged in to the glory of God; in the possession of those higher enjoyments, resulting from the pursuit and the acquisition of knowledge, and the right performance of duty—peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost; indulged, also, with the multiform diversions and recreations of life—all that the necessities of nature and our own best good require; with such sources of happiness spread out before us, and urged upon us; what ought we, as rational beings, to desire, or to ask for, more? And why should we complain of religion, or its ministers, because they interdict to us a class of pleasures, which are in their nature sinful, and whose influence can only be to degrade and injure us? What do those who rely so much on their amusements expect to do with themselves in heaven? Cut off from all their favorite sources of happiness; having no pleasures but such as are social, intellectual, and spiritual; will not heaven be to them a dull and gloomy place, where they will find little to enjoy, and from which they will desire, if possible, to escape?

2. Let our readers, one and all, remember, that we were sent into this world, not for sport and amusement, but for *labor*; not to enjoy and please ourselves, but to serve and glorify God, and be useful to our fellow men. This is the great object and end of life. This is that for which life was given us. In pursuing this end, God has indeed permitted us all needful diversion and recreation. He has consulted our happiness in a thousand ways. He has so connected our *duty* with our happiness, that there is no such thing as being solidly, permanently happy, but in obedience to his will. But the great end of life after all is *work*—work, for God—work for the advancement of his kingdom, and the best good of our fellow men. The Christian fathers have a tradition that John Baptist, when a boy—being requested by some other boys to join them in play—replied, “*I came into this world, not for sport.*” Whether the Baptist ever said this, we are unable to decide. But whether he did or not, it is a remarkable saying.

It is a *true* saying—however cutting may be the reproof which it carries to not a few of our fellow men. It is a saying which we may all with propriety adopt: "*We came into this world, not for sport.*" We were sent here for a higher and nobler object. Let us not, then, forget this object. Let us live and act in accordance with it. Thus, when summoned to meet our final Judge, we may hope to hear him say: "Well done, good and faithful servants; ye have been faithful over a few things, I will make you rulers over many things: enter ye into the joy of your Lord."

ART. III.—JAMES H. PERKINS.

The Memoir and Writings of James Handasyd Perkins.
Edited by WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. In two volumes.
Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. Cincinnati: Truman & Spofford, 1851. 12mo., pp. 527 and 502.

A FEW weeks since, we took up these volumes in a book-store, from mere curiosity, having been previously ignorant of the name and the history of Mr. Perkins. We had not turned over many pages before we discovered that the subject of the memoir had what is so rare to find, a character of his own, and that he was indeed a living and earnest man. After reading still further, we were constrained to present to our readers some account of a character so peculiar, and a history so full of interest. We regret that our limits are so narrow, for such a character can best speak for itself, by extended quotations from its own written records. We shall do the utmost in our power, within the limits which we can command.

Mr. Perkins was born at Boston, July 31, 1810, of a family of wealth and influence. The scenes and history of his boyhood are depicted at length, and with great interest by his biographer, his cousin and most intimate associate from the first, between whom and himself there was, from the beginning to the end, the most confiding friendship and earnest sympathy. His education was carefully attended to, and his mind and character were developed early. It would seem that from the first he was a boy of high spirit, of enthusiastic feelings, stern integrity, and chivalrous regard to truth, and high sense of personal honor. He must have been singularly free from that animalism and selfishness which break out so often in the "boy-nature," and

cross the purposes and mortify the pride of teachers and friends. At the same time, he was alive to the active sports of boyhood, particularly to all those adventures for which a country life only furnishes the opportunity. Such a life he largely enjoyed. His early summers were spent in liberty at Brookline and Nahant, his winters only at Boston, while entire years of his boyhood and youth were passed at Lancaster, Exeter and Northampton, at the best schools of the time. The school studies which he preferred, and in which he made great proficiency, were the modern languages and certain branches of natural history. Above all, he early learned to appreciate and delight in the best English writers, in prose and poetry. His reading of, and his delight in, these writers were far before his years. His own powers of composition, both in prose and poetry, at and before the age of eighteen, evince an early development in correct and manly thought, in delicacy of feeling, and in a command of easy and pure English, which is rarely attained at school, and rarely even by men who have received what is called a liberal education. Latin he never liked, and he confesses that it was disgust with Latin which prevented him from receiving a college education.

An extract from a confidential letter, written at the age of seventeen, shows that he had already a character of his own. He had been speaking of the loss of favor among the boys, which he had incurred by his fondness for his master, and adds, "Then I apparently left the master and took to my playmates, for 'you cannot serve God and mammon,' you know. I made friends with those who persecuted me, and became in turn head of the persecutors. I gained my revenge, but I was feared. Before, when I was hated, I was weak; now I was strong, and the strong were on my side. Still I was unhappy. Then I let all persecution drop; treated everybody well, and appeared to love all. But by this time I had become disgusted. I could gain peace only by deceit, and deceit I loathed. So now I grew desirous of living alone. I could trust none, did trust none, and ceased to show that I had any affection at all. Thus, unsociability is my nature, my habit, my fancy, and I fear I shall never be cured."

At the age of eighteen, he entered the counting-house of his uncle, where he remained for two years, punctually discharging the duties of a clerk; but the profession, though opening to him the most flattering prospects, did not suit his temperament and his tastes, which were averse to the formal ways of moneyed men, and offended by the absorbing passion for money making. It would seem also that his moral nature was displeased at much

that he witnessed. "That men, seemingly sound-hearted in the circles of family and friendship, and nowise devoid of moral and religious principle, confided in by fellow-citizens for wisdom, integrity, and public spirit, 'the ancient and honorable' of the land, should, as a matter of course, cheat in trade, use superior information to outwit the unwary, avail themselves of the mischances of the poor, weave webs of speculation to control markets for their own gain by others' losses, and all for the sake of a few dollars, filled him at first with dismay and then with disgust." "But this question brought up others. What was the meaning of this tyranny of wealth, that *led* men to barter their very manhood for gain? And, as for the first time he opened his eyes on conventional customs, the prevalence of ambition, and maneuvering, the cringing concessions of the needy, the ostentatious pride of the opulent, and the fawning flattery that vitiates to the core the courtesies of fashionable life, it cannot be denied that a sad contempt took possession of his heart, and made him for a time a cynic. He grew plain to bluntness in his speech, careless to extreme in dress, utterly disregarding of etiquette, reserved, almost morose in manner, and solitary in his ways."

Our readers will bear in mind, that Mr. Channing is reputed to be somewhat of a leveler and radical in his views, and they are at liberty to make all the needful abatements when he takes occasion to amplify his description of the mental state of his friend into an "improvement" of "doctrine." These were not the only conflicts which beset Mr. Perkins. Moral and religious doubts broke in upon him—doubts concerning God and man, concerning the benevolence of God and the duties of man. "Whence came prevalent inhumanity and injustice? Was this Christian religion so pompously professed, yet practically so violated, a superstitious farce or a solemn reality?" "In this mood he read all the philosophers, Christian or Infidel, whose works he could obtain, and found solace in the poems of Shelley." He studied phrenology earnestly, but his wants were not satisfied; "the diseases of the will" could only be cured by faith. "Then it was that James turned, as so many an inquiring spirit has done, to Coleridge, and not in vain. In the 'Friend,' and yet more in the 'Aids to Reflection,' he found glimpses of a new world, offering welcome from afar to the storm-driven and becalmed voyager; but as yet glimpses only, for time and a change of scene were needed to bring him to a haven." It would seem from hints which we find, at a later period of the biography, that the earlier education of Mr. Perkins was not decidedly religious, that the Unitarian Christianity in which he

was educated did not lay a strong grasp upon his feelings, that it neither woke the energies of his soul, nor satisfied his struggling inquiries, nor gave peace to his mind when disturbed by conflicts of doubt. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that from the earliest childhood he exhibited great uprightness of spirit, and was animated with an earnest desire to know and act the truth.

As a means of breaking up these morbid trains of feeling and rousing him to a healthier view of life, young Perkins was sent to England, and thence to the West Indies. The copious extracts which are given from his letters during this absence, reveal the actings of an earnest mind in the right direction. His opinions respecting all that he saw, show a mind too that was just in its judgments, that was genial in its love for what was innocent, and that was intensely moved with loathing at moral deformity. After his return, in 1831, he informed his friends of his resolution to abandon the mercantile profession. He immediately turned his eyes to the West, and an extract from a letter to his former teacher, Timothy Walker, Esq., at that time a resident of Cincinnati, will show the bent and resolution of his mind. "My intention is to purchase land somewhere in Ohio, and undertake the care of an estate; but I wish to get some employment which will give me a bare sustenance, while I am gaining some insight into the matter of farming, of which at present I know nothing, being one of that amphibious species, half merchant, half scholar, with a strong inclination to become either a cobbler or a blacksmith."

In February, 1832, he reached Cincinnati with the views and expectations just expressed, but as the season was too early to select a farm, he laid his hands upon the books in the office of his friend which first presented themselves, and is at once fascinated with the science of the law to the study of which he immediately devotes all his energies. To this he was "drawn in part by the exhilarating pleasure of the study, and in part by the counsels of Mr. Walker, and of young friends whom he met at the office, who all admired his commanding intellect." The social life which he found at Cincinnati, into the choicest circles of which he was at once introduced, seemed to have softened his heart, and to have released his spirit from the disturbed, morose moodiness in which he had indulged. What he found there is forcibly described by Mr. Channing, whatever may be the view which we may have of the other circles, with which he sets off the contrast. "In place of fashionable coldness, aristocratic hauteur, purse-pride ostentation, reserve, non-committalism, the tyranny of cliques and the fear of leaders, he found himself

moving among a pleasant company of hospitable, easy, confiding, plain-spoken, cheerful friends, gathered from all parts of the Union, and loosed at once by choice and promiscuous intercourse from trammels of bigotry and conventional prejudice. He breathed for once freely, and felt with joy the blood flowing quick and warm throughout his spiritual frame. He caught too the buoyant hopefulness that animates a young, vigorous and growing community, and mingled delightfully with groups of high-hearted, enterprising men, just entering on new careers, and impelled by the hope of generous service in literary, professional or commercial life. Above all, happiest good fortune brought him at once under the influence of woman, serenely wise, pure as lovely, spreading around her the verdure and bloom of goodness, through daily charities of life." He was soon brought "into daily intercourse with one who, by her sunny temper, sound judgment, and ready good-will, formed the very complement he needed for harmonious growth." To the lady who is thus beautifully characterized, and also as "a gay girl in manners, yet wise-hearted woman," he was married in December, 1834. He had the previous spring been admitted to the bar, and was also employed as an editor. His prospects in his profession were brilliant, but the law, which had attracted him as a science, disgusted him in practice, partly from the petty and insignificant character of much of the business which falls to a young lawyer, and principally from the fact that "he could not conscientiously do all that was required of a lawyer in order to secure success." The reasons which led him to renounce the profession are thus stated by himself: "1st, because in a city it is too sedentary and adverse to firm health; 2d, because the drudgery of it is too injurious to the intellect; 3d, because the devotion which it requires is greater than I am willing to give to any merely worldly concern, which either does not affect my higher powers or impairs them; and 4th, because the rules of morality by which lawyers are governed do not, in many points, coincide with my own views, and I am not independent enough of my daily labor to enable me to oppose the ways of the profession." For a brief period he devoted himself to literature. He had previously edited the *Western Monthly Magazine*, and was now the editor of the *Evening Chronicle*. This paper he purchased in 1835, and united it with the *Cincinnati Mirror*, of which, in connection with two other gentlemen, he was joint-editor for six months. But pecuniary embarrassments, and the failure of health, compelled him to turn to a country life. In the summer of 1835, he joined some friends in forming an establishment for mining, milling and manufacturing, at Pomeroy, on

the Ohio. The experiment occupied him some two years, during which he devoted himself to his long-cherished idea of uniting manual labor with intelligent self-cultivation. As a source of pecuniary profit, the experiment failed, and he returned to Cincinnati, in 1837, where he bought a few acres of ground to cultivate as a nursery, proposing to live in a log cabin on an income of one hundred and fifty dollars per annum. He spent a short interval at Brookline, for the purpose of publishing a compilation from the constitutional opinions of Judge Marshall, and of obtaining instruction from his father in horticulture. In November, 1838, he returned to Cincinnati, at which time Mr. Channing renewed their boyish intimacy,—Mr. Channing, at his solicitations, having accepted the charge of the Unitarian congregation in that city. We quote a few extracts, describing his appearance and manners. "Nothing could have been more unpretending than his manner, as in slouched cap, carelessly-tied neckcloth, loose, rough frock, Kentucky jean pantaloons, and stout boots, which bore traces of long excursions through mud or dust, he exchanged off-hand greetings as he swept along the street, or, with the slight alterations in attire demanded by merest neatness, entered with gracious demureness the crowded circles of society, or the quiet houses of friends." "A spirit of earnest intelligence, of downright good sense, of interest in great aims, and indifference to trifles, seemed to spread out from him and clothe him with an air of quiet power. He took naturally, and as of right, the attitude of brotherly kindness towards high and low, learned and ignorant, men and women, young and old, and met all on the broad table-land of manly truth. This unaffected integrity, and characteristic single-mindedness, it plainly was that gave him such a hold over others."

While he was on the eve of leaving Cincinnati, an opening was made for him in the ministry at large which had been recently established by members of the First Congregational or Unitarian Society, and which, being vacant, was offered to Mr. Perkins. It was felt that he was the man who of all others was fit for the place, and that the place was, of all others, fitted for him. He entered upon the work with his whole soul, and the opinion is confidently expressed, that what he did for Cincinnati has been "the means of quickening there a spirit of humanity that can never die." Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a man better qualified in all respects to discharge with success the duties of such a station. He had already resided in the city, and had won the confidence of the most wealthy of its citizens. He was a man of method and energy, qualities which he brought with him from his early training for business. He was a man of

genius, not merely in the use of his pen, but in the use of his tongue, and this not only in moving with irresistible persuasion large assemblies, not only in charming every social circle by his winning and ethereal conversation, but in stealing upon the hearts of the morose among the poor, and in softening down their hard and stubborn prejudices. Above all, he was a man who gave himself to this work as being the divinest and noblest object to which his high gifts could be consecrated, delighting in it as work which he accounted as noble of itself, and a good work, as it was labor directly for his brother man.

As minister at large and the friend of the poor, he naturally was inclined to take an interest in all those movements which have for their object, the relief of human misery, the prevention and punishment of crime, and the elevation of man's social condition. In connection with the account of his agency for the poor, are introduced most appropriately, his views of Prison Discipline, of Christian Statesmanship, Agrarianism, Dangers of the West, the action of Masses and of Individuals, Socialism, and Education. We would gladly transfer to our pages his opinions upon the subjects named. It is quite surprising that one trained in the school in which he was trained, and sympathizing so readily in everything that partook of progress, should make distinctions so important, and exhibit with all the fire and boldness of the most thorough radical, the steadiness and practical wisdom of the obstinate conservative. Such a man among such associates, and in such stirring times, and called to act upon a population so hopeful and impulsive, is one among ten thousand. The reformers of our day who systematically sell themselves to the demons of fanaticism and folly, may well take lessons from such an example and such a teacher. The difference between them and himself, is that he sought the truth more than he sought reform, loving reform not for its own sake, but because it is true, while they are mad for progress for its own sake, or rather because it is their cause. The one great thought which was the touchstone to all his principles, character and reforms was, that the character is everything, and that to character, as truly and nobly Christian, everything else must be subservient; that manners, institutions and laws must be regulated and reformed till these mighty influences shall tend to make and keep a people truly Christian. In discoursing of agrarianism, in 1836, after showing that the jealousy of wealth which was at that time so rife, was not a vicious desire of acquiring money, but the social consideration which wealth procures; and after conceding that the fact that wealth can buy such a position, is anti-republican and unchristian, he discourses thus wisely:

"Very few it is to be feared see that the best principles of policy are wrapped up in the teachings of Jesus; and very few, by making these teachings known in their remote consequences, would hope to heal the sores of a state. But we believe all good and statesmanlike and substantial policy to be based upon, and flow logically from, the grand principles of human nature, and its guide, the Book of Life. A dissemination, then, of Christian truth, a thorough and unsectarian development and application of this truth to every individual as a man, a citizen, and one member of a family, we believe to lie at the root of all reformation." "Next to this in importance, we place the spread of education by manual labor schools, where the laborer may be instructed and yet not cease to be a laborer." "In the third place, we look to the efforts of the educated men in our republic." "The reformation of feeling with regard to wealth, if it begin at all, must begin with those who have the same rank and influence with the wealthy." "They must first become freemen and then break the chains of others. And they not only must teach, but practice; they must receive and respect the printer, of good manners and character, while they turn from the rich gambler, or the time-serving attorney. They must be willing to become themselves hewers of wood and drawers of water. Already is this done to some extent in the country, and the more it is done, the better for religion and the republic; a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, and one man of education and disinterested talents may give tone and standing to a class."

We have given these extracts, not only to show how he treated a subject of great delicacy, but as a fine illustration of the power there is in teaching, when it is but an expression of the character and practice of the teacher—when his own life of self-sacrifice and self-devotion seems as it were to be uttered in his words.

In speaking of the dangers of the West, he says:

"Again, the West was born democratic; it did not feel or fight its way from loyalty to independence, but began in the faith that all men are born free and equal,—a faith well suited to a race of pioneers. One result of this faith has been, that the principle of reverence has grown weak this side the mountains, while the sense of self-dependence, and, as a common consequence, of contempt for all that is opposed to self, has grown strong. This is an evil; not a political, but an individual evil; not an evil that proves democracy unsuited for us, but one that proves it faulty. It is an evil, because no principle of action leads more continually to improvement than a mistrust of ourselves, and a due reverence for others, and other things than those that we have; while contempt, based more upon self-esteem than the demerits of what we condemn, is the mortal foe of advancement, and the very opposite of Christianity. It is better to revere what is in itself contemptible, than to despise what is in itself venerable, and imperfect beings must err on one side or the other. One tendency of democratic institutions, then, upon individuals, is to unchristianize them, by destroying Christian humility, and elevating Satanic pride, and the evil results of this tendency, we see daily in our public halls no less than in our private kitchens."—pp. 149, 150.

What his views were in respect to the question of Socialism we give in the words of another:

"I think I can confidently state, that Mr. Perkins was a Christian Socialist, as I understand that term to be used by most writers. He certainly could not be classed as belonging to any distinct and well defined *school* of socialists that has

hitherto existed. He was neither a Communist nor a Phalansterian, but his discourses and lectures of late years turned mainly upon social reformatory topics. The substitution of cooperation in industry and commerce for competition was a very favorite idea of his, as a means of bringing men's daily lives into conformity with the requirements of Christianity; and that was, I think, the only distinct socialist idea to which he had attained. Of the universal prevalence of selfishness, social evils and imperfections, he was very sensibly conscious; and of the hopeless inefficiency of all existing political and religious organizations as means to a higher and truer state of man, he was also convinced. Of men's pietizing on Sunday, and yielding themselves up to selfish tendencies during the week, he thought and felt as all truly enlightened men now do.

"He seemed to trust in no method of effecting a change in the condition and well being of mankind, such as he hoped for and conceived to be possible, other than that of persuading men to do rightly. We may know what right conduct is, unerringly, from the teachings of Christ; and to bring men's lives into conformity with the life of Christ, the means is an appeal to their conscience. This means having been in operation for many centuries, without resulting in the desired change, he hoped for success in future, not by the adoption of new means, but by a more vigorous and better systematized application of the old. In short, he was not a *social philosopher*, but a *Christian Philanthropist*, who sympathized with socialism because it is in sympathy with his Christian philanthropy."—pp. 185-188.

His opinions in respect to the abolition of slavery were freely and boldly expressed in 1836 :

"From what has been said, if we have spoken clearly, it will be seen that we believe in gradual emancipation, not, however, meaning by that term what is usually meant. We do not believe it expedient or right to free the slaves by instalments,—so many one year, and so many the next. The laws of slave States, touching free blacks, prevent freedom from becoming a means of improvement. Nor have we any greater faith in setting free a generation of 'pickaninnies,' the children of slaves, and of necessity undergoing no course of parental education, that would fit them to act like freemen. These kinds of gradual emancipation give liberty, but strip it of its main powers, its true value. But let a course of legislation, acting upon the whole slave population, and fitted to raise the characters of that multitude, be persisted in; let those that sway public opinion give their weight, not only to humanity, but to the plan pursued by the Cuba planter; let the religious and moral not only *think*, but *feel*, on this subject, and we may then have the hope of seeing the slaves, father and child, old and young, all brought to that point when all may be made free, uninfluenced by the degrading laws that slave States feel bound to pass respecting free negroes. They may be made free, not necessarily to vote and govern—that is no essential point of freedom; nor to mix socially, and intermarry with the white,—how that shall be must depend on the will of the whites; but free to use their intellect, will, conscience; free to learn the truth; free to worship God, and to grow toward that perfection for which, if they be indeed men as we are, God has fitted them."—pp. 195, 196.

We would gladly add his extended opinion of the law of 1793, respecting fugitive slaves, but our limits will not permit us to do so. It will suffice to say that he contended, that that law "is clearly opposed to the words of the Constitution." In respect to the soundness of his argument, and the correctness of

his conclusion, it would not be in place for us to offer a criticism or express an opinion. We simply make a reference to this opinion because we would do entire justice to his views.

His interest in education was devoted and enthusiastic. As a writer and lecturer, as an overseer and teacher, he carried out, with efficiency and zeal, his fervent faith, that education is one of the most potent instruments for Christianizing man and reforming society. He was especially interested in the education of girls, and devoted himself to a class of young ladies for several years. We have rarely, perhaps never, seen a more satisfactory exhibition of the principles on which female education should be prosecuted, than those presented in a lecture given by him. We quote the following passages, not merely for their intrinsic value, and the good sense which they express, but also as illustrating the frank and teachable spirit of the man :

"When I began to teach, I was much prejudiced against introducing Latin, for I was myself ten years learning it, during which time I was flogged till my hand became as hard as a plowman's, and was so disgusted with the whole study that I left school and entered a mercantile life. Feeling thus, I went on a whole year without Latin, and the second year tried the experiment of using it, and became then satisfied that it was a proper study for girls. They acquire, through that language, the English language, and come also to the grammar of all languages, while analysis and the powers of composition are cultivated, as nothing else will cultivate them.

"A young man studying Cæsar has to rewrite Cæsar. He has to take the separate words and put them together as Cæsar did. Here is an effort of composition. I should, therefore, introduce and continue for four years the study of the Latin."—pp. 236, 237.

We should like also to notice Mr. Perkins's powers and taste as a critic of works of art, as illustrated in his criticisms of some of Powers's productions. We were especially delighted with the freedom and justness displayed in his remarks upon the Greek Slave, and the propriety of exhibiting naked forms.

But we must hasten to consider Mr. Perkins as a preacher, and to unfold the changes and maturity of his religious opinions. In his childhood he had not felt, certainly he had not yielded to, a prevailing religious influence. "In youth, lonely struggles and weariness of the world had shut him for a time in stern despair." But as he went on, his spirit was softened by a generous sympathy with mankind, the soothing appliances of friendship, and the winning endearments of woman's love. Thus, by degrees, "the frown of Fate was transformed above him into the smile of Providence." First he learned to believe that goodness was leading him by the hand. Then he was taught concerning the true end of his being,—a moral end to be perfected in another life. But all this while, his views in respect to the Christian re-

ligion were skeptical and unsettled. "But as he became more aware of his own frailty, and found by sad experience how prone he was to fall short of his ideal, and as the mystery of sin in mankind at large forced itself upon his attention, he asked himself whether there was not a deeper significance than he had been apt to credit in the doctrines of redemption." It was at this period that he found in Coleridge a guide, and Coleridge he always regarded as his Christian father. He did not receive all his theological opinions indeed, but as early as 1840 he spoke of a "Unity in Trinity which all may receive: God the Creator and Governor, seen in Nature; God the Redeemer, seen in Revelation; and God the Sanctifier, purifying the heart through Reason, one God in Three Forms."

He began to preach in an informal way to the congregation of which Mr. Channing was the pastor, and in 1841 was invited to succeed him. He accepted the invitation with great reluctance, being greatly diffident of his worthiness through deficiency in character to speak of the Christian life and of Christian truth. He fulfilled the trust with great acceptance, and was esteemed a most instructive and powerful preacher. The secret of his success lay in the richness of his mind and character, and in the simplicity and earnestness with which he inculcated that and that only which he believed, because he had found it true in his life. It was not in the originality of his topics, nor in a style of pleasing oratory, for he "had no tricks of imposing form, as too many have, to eke out deficiency or inanity of substance." "His chief power as a preacher consisted in the fact that he was a practical man, and as such felt a deep and earnest sympathy with the spiritual wants that pertained to the current life of every class."

During all this period his religious views were more and more confirmed in the right direction. Mrs. H. B. Stowe, who knew him well, has given the following account of his opinions and feelings at the time of his death, in 1849:—

"Mr. Perkins' position, religiously considered, was one to which few will do justice. He, whose inquiries after truth are so strictly individual and eclectic as were his, finds little sympathy in our religious community, where it seems to be an essential requisite that a man should *class* somewhere, and be enabled to state his creed under some one name of the various recognized parties. When, therefore, Mr. Perkins ceased to be a Unitarian, and yet could not embrace in toto any of the formulæ of orthodoxy, his position was in many respects painful.

"He was capable of a hearty, settled, genuine belief, and such, on many questions, he had attained to. He first approached the land of moral inquiry from the side of entire skepticism; and how different are the views of one who enters it on that side from his who glides in upon the tranquil stream of

traditional belief! It was by earnest wrestling, by vigil and careful inquiry, that he attained to every successive conviction; but he did attain to many points, which he looked upon as *firm land*, and not bog or mirage.

"The points on which, I think, Mr. Perkins had attained to settled conviction, were, the entire ruin of the human race *morally*: the entire dependence of man on Divine assistance for any upward progress; the necessity of a thorough radical regeneration of every individual heart, through the supernatural influences of the grace of God.

"He also believed in Christ as so united to the divine nature as to be truly and properly God manifest in the flesh,—a proper object of the highest religious homage and worship: and I remember a very beautiful and eloquent description which he gave of the influence of the living faith in Christ in the transformation of human character. He believed also in the *fact*, of an atonement by the death of Christ, though he stated that he could not as yet see truth in any of the *philosophical theories* by which the doctrine was supported."—pp. 273, 274.

In 1847 Mr. Perkins proposed to his congregation to abandon "the dogmatic, sectarian ground of Anti-Trinitarianism, and to assume that of a more practical Christianity, having as its basis these points:—1st. Faith in the perfect trustworthiness of the gospels, in their essential inspiration. 2d. Faith in Jesus, as God revealed through man. 3d. Faith in God's constant presence and ceaseless intercourse with human souls. 4th. Faith in regeneration and the forgiveness of sin; and 5th. Faith in a future life of retribution. 6th. Faith in the power of Christianity to cure the evils of the world." October 8, 1848, he preached a discourse in furtherance of this design, from which we extract the following remarkable passages:—

"When modern Unitarianism first found expression in our land, it was the earnest protest of devout hearts against that real or imagined form of faith which of the Triune God had made three Gods, which to the fallen man denied the mere power of receiving God's spirit, which sunk the great Reconciler of God and man in the victim of divine wrath, which petrified foreordination into a pagan fate, and election into the capricious mercy of a tyrant.

"I am not, as you well know, a disbeliever in the value of theology. It is not a mean, or mysterious, or unpractical system of truths, as I view it. Nothing, I believe, is so universally and constantly practical, sensible and noble, as theology. It not only ought to govern, but does govern, the merchant in Main street, the lawyer at the bar, the mechanic in his shop, the farmer at his plow. When you leave this city for New York or New Orleans, your life will depend very much upon the theology of the engineer who holds the safety-valve of the steamboat, or modulates the speed of the locomotive. No matter what his skill, his energy, his knowledge: the man's conduct will be finally determined by what he really believes in reference to God and the relation of God to man; in other words, by *his* theology.

"It is not, then, because I despise or disregard this science—if we may fitly degrade it by such a term—that I say a platform of to-day must bear mind free upon it. Neither is it because I would tolerate all views and bear with all errors. I would bear with no error; I would tolerate no false view; I would discard as an insult the name of liberality when it implies, as it too often does, the quiet sufferance of lies."

The society was constituted on the basis which he proposed, and the establishment of which he so ardently desired. Mr. Perkins was apparently as happy, as active, as hopeful, and as laborious, as teachable and desirous to teach others, as he had ever been, living in the midst of rural scenes, in which he so much delighted, and surrounded by a happy family, when he was suddenly called from life, December 14, 1849, lamented by all who had the happiness to know him.

Of such a man we are prompted to say, that he died too soon, because he was working out problems of the utmost interest for himself and his fellow-men. And yet viewed in its relation to himself, his death was not too soon; for Mrs. Stowe says, most beautifully:—"Amid all the affliction of his sudden and most mournful death, I have never been without a mingling of solemn joy when I think of him individually. The *divine longing* was in him so strong, the yearning, the hungering and thirsting after light and purity so ardent, that I rejoice at his having at last found it. His was one of those souls whom a German writer describes as possessed by a '*home-sickness*' which makes them perpetually long for a higher sphere, and forbids them any settled repose on the bosom of created things. Of all such when they depart, may it truly be said, 'If ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I go unto my Father.'"

We have thus hastily thrown together such passages from this memoir as would give some idea of the character and history of this remarkable man. We fear that they convey but an imperfect conception of him, as he is presented in the extended biography. We ought to add that the accompanying writings are in every respect worthy of preservation, for their own value, and as illustrating the character of the writer.

We regret that we cannot pursue the many topics of thought which are suggested by our theme. We should have been pleased to dwell upon the advantages of a familiarity with country scenes and country sports, in the formation of character—upon the end for which the sons of the rich should be specially trained in order most effectually to promote the Christian civilization of the people—upon the methods appropriate to such a training. We should also have been pleased to remark at length upon the Christian socialism of our day, which is assuming a form more and more distinct, and upon the hopes and the fears which it excites. The evil of Unitarianism and of the dogmatism from which Unitarianism was a reaction, as illustrated by the long and sad career, through which Mr. Perkins groped his perilous way, opens a wide field for reflection. But all these topics we must leave to

our readers to peruse for themselves. We doubt not that some of them will be inclined to peruse the work of which we have given this imperfect sketch.

ART. IV.—THE RELATION OF BAPTIZED CHILDREN TO THE CHURCH.

An Exposition of the Law of Baptism ; as it regards the mode and the subjects. By EDWIN HALL, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Norwalk, Conn. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1850.

AMID many hopeful signs of the times, there is one alarming characteristic. The homes of our land appear to be degenerating. Is there not a decrease of household piety? and a weakening of domestic bonds and affections? The period of youth, that period once characterized by modesty and diffidence, by regard for parental counsel and authority, and by respect for age and experience, is well nigh abolished. Children spring up at once into men and women, they are precocious in their desires and passions, prematurely ambitious and avaricious, eager to cast off the restraints of home and set up for independence. A class of philosophers noticing this tendency of the times hail it as an auspicious omen, and anticipate the day when the conjugal relation shall be avowedly, as it now often proves in fact, a temporary arrangement: when the love of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, amiable prejudices and excusable, perhaps useful, in a dark age, will give place to a democratic philanthropy in the strong light of a higher civilization.

To counteract this tendency, to redeem and save our homes, the gracious covenant of God with believers in respect to them and their households, needs to be restored to its legitimate place in the faith and regard of his people.

We propose therefore, to institute the following inquiry:—What is the actual position of baptized children, under the economy of redeeming grace, as regards the essential qualifications of membership in the church of Christ?

The original covenant made with Abraham was in these words: “And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and

thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." (Gen. 17: 7.)

This covenant included the patriarch and his seed.

In Rom. 11: 16, 17, 18, the following occurs: "For if the first fruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches: and if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches; but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee."

Thus the perpetuity of that covenant and the extension of its privileges to Gentile converts are beautifully symbolized.

The original covenant embraced children. That covenant is still in force, and includes children now. This is the ground taken in this article. If it be maintained, then what is the position of baptized children, or in other words, children embraced in this covenant? We answer that it is such as to justify a strong expectation that they will early give evidence of piety.

It is to be shown first, that the Abrahamic covenant is still in force; and secondly, that being in force it authorizes the strong expectation that children embraced in it, or baptized children, will early give evidence of piety. It is to be understood, however, that we speak of children whose parents are true believers, not mere nominal Christians, and whose views, sentiments, and influence in reference to their children, in a good degree correspond with their obligations. The external rite of infant baptism, apart from its connection with such parental character and conduct, is without value; it is the seal of a bond the essential condition of which has not been fulfilled.

But before proceeding to the scriptural evidence of the proposition we have undertaken to maintain, we wish to present certain considerations that seem strongly to favor the same conclusion, and to prepare the mind to find such evidence in the scriptures.

First, God in the original constitution of things left the character and prospects for eternity of the whole human race dependent upon the conduct of the first human pair. Their fall involved their posterity in sin and ruin. Every individual of the race enters the world with a vitiated nature, some say with a sinful nature, others say with a nature that uniformly leads to sin when moral agency begins; all say with a nature, that would have resulted in the eternal ruin of all, had not God mercifully interposed with redeeming grace. This merciful interposition was no part of the original constitution of things, according to which the consequences of Adam's disobedience passed over, and affected

in so serious a manner his posterity. That constitution itself with this liability of abuse was among the works and arrangements, which God on resting from creation contemplated with entire satisfaction and pronounced very good. With this constitution before us, we shall not deem it matter of surprise to find in the economy of grace, an arrangement of an analogous character by which spiritual blessings are pledged to parents in behalf of their children, and made conditional on their own piety and fidelity.

However let us not be understood to assert or intimate, that these blessings come through the operation of any natural law of descent. That is not our view. It is indeed among things supposable, that the direction of this natural law is reversed in the case of children born of believing parents, and that its reversed operation renders it as much a matter of course, that such children should enter the world with a bias to the right, as it is that the offspring of irreligious parents are born with a bias to evil. Although this hypothesis is among possible suppositions, yet it is by no means one that we regard as true. It is referred to, that it may be disclaimed. The point of analogy between the original constitution of things as respects the relation between parents and children, and the economy of redemption in that regard, is the fact of dependence under each of children in reference to spiritual good, upon the character and conduct of their parents. This fact of dependence does not necessarily imply that the mode of sequence is the same in both cases, nor is that important to the argument. This dependence being known to exist in one divine arrangement does more than obviate any presumption against its being found in another bearing upon the same interests; it creates a rational ground of expectation that it will be found there.

In the second place, in the established course of things in this world, the good character and conduct of parents contribute to the temporal welfare of their children. Every father knows that if he be virtuous in his habits, enterprising and industrious in his calling, and win for himself a name among men, the advantage of such a course will not be confined to himself, but will extend to his children. He knows that their temporal destiny is in an important sense in his hands, that upon him, his character, influence and exertions, they are dependent for subsistence, for manners, for moral habits, for the means of education, and for position in society; that on leaving the parental roof they will start in the world from the point of elevation to which he may have raised them, that they will go forth guided by his counsels, furnished by his means, and under the auspices and prestige of his name. He knows that on his departure from the earth he shall

leave to them whatever wealth he may have gained, whatever honors he may have won, all the temporal results, the accumulated fruits of his whole life. The extension to things spiritual of the principle that underlies this general arrangement in regard to things temporal, might rationally be expected. Such an extension of the principle is what we discover in the gracious covenant into which God enters with believers in behalf of their children.

In the third place, God has placed parents in a position, and invested them with authority in relation to their children, that afford every conceivable advantage for forming the mind and moulding the character. He has commanded them, in the use of those advantages and in the exercise of this authority, to train up their children in the way they should go. Now if they in a spirit of obedience and piety enter heartily into the design of this divine scheme, and in some good degree execute the human part of it—the part assigned to them—will God suffer it to fail of its contemplated result, by withholding on his part that grace which is essential to its efficacy? The manifest importance of this view will justify something more than a passing glance. Let us consider the natural position of parents, and the authority delegated to them in reference to their children.

On entering the world, the infant, a sensitive mass of passive organized matter, inclosing the germ of a spiritual and immortal being, is committed for protection and nurture to the care and offices of its parents. Months elapse ere it can comprehend the import of the simplest word, during which the impressions made upon it are conveyed by the mode in which it is physically treated by them, by the tones of their voices, and the expression of their countenances. And it would be a mistake, we imagine, to suppose that its spiritual education has not already begun, that as to any effect upon its character, it is a matter of indifference, whether the manifestations to which it is subjected are gentle or rough, whether the tones that fall upon its ears are affectionate and soothing or harsh and irritating, whether the countenances to which it looks up always beam with kindness and love or are frequently lit up with the frown and glare of evil passions. The influence exerted upon it in these ways cannot indeed be fully described or accurately measured. Let it not on that account be set down as of no importance. At length the meaning of words begins to dawn upon the opening understanding, and the period of instruction by verbal statement and precept and of control by commandment arrives. *The mind*, naturally inquisitive and thirsting for knowledge, and at the same time docile and credulous, eagerly imbibes whatever ideas are presented for its recep-

tion. *Conscience* is unfolding itself and gradually acquiring its rules of right and wrong, the elements of its moral decisions. *The will* is comparatively flexible. *Depravity* has been but partially developed in action, it has not become entrenched in fixed habits of transgression. With all his opening faculties in this absorbent state, the child is submerged in the waters of parental influence. They answer his inquiries, unravel his perplexities, solve his doubts. They are the medium through which the ideas of all things beyond household objects and incidents reach him, they are his oracle on matters of religious truth, their opinion and practice his standard of right on questions of moral obligation.

As time rolls on he comes into more direct contact with persons and things beyond the domestic circle, but still he remains subject to their rule as to the nature and extent of that intercourse. Their will is law as to the methods and means of his education, in respect to labor and amusement, with regard to the books to be read, companions to be cherished, and the thousand other arrangements that constitute the moral world in which he lives and moves and has his being. If occasion should require it, they possess the means of enforcing their authority; they have also the special sanction of God to invest it with weight and solemnity. "Honor thy father and thy mother." "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right." "Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing to God." Such is the natural position and delegated power of parents from the entrance of their children into the world, through the whole of that portion of their lives during which the character is formed. What a perfect system of influence has God placed at their disposal! To what end he would have them devote it in all its energy, he has not left them in doubt. "Train up a child in the way he should go." "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Now, if they are obedient and faithful, not perfectly so, but to such a degree as sincere Christian parents may hope to reach, we would ask, will God permit this admirable system to fail by withholding his blessing?

With these considerations in mind, can we think it wonderful that there should be found in the Bible a *covenant* in which God pledges himself to do what we have seen there is independent reason to expect he would do? We now proceed to examine the Abrahamic covenant. What was that covenant? Is it still in force? If so, what is its import in behalf of baptized children?

To ascertain the character of the covenant, it is necessary to consider several passages in Genesis that refer to it. Gen. 12 : 1, 2, 3 : "Now the Lord had said unto Abram : get thee

out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Gen. 15 : 4, 5, 6 : "And, behold, the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir. And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, so shall thy seed be. And he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness." Gen. 17 : 1-11 : "The Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God: walk before me and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham: for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee; and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God. And God said unto Abraham, thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee, in their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee; Every man-child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskins; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you."

These several passages taken together teach that in a series of manifestations, God made, established and sealed a covenant with Abraham his friend, having respect to blessings temporal and spiritual, the temporal sustaining to the spiritual the relation of subordinate means to a higher end—the relation of scaffolding to the building, of the casket to the treasure.

The temporal blessing promised was a numerous natural posterity, who should have for a possession the land of Canaan, and be distinguished among all the nations of the earth.

The spiritual blessings pledged in the covenant with Abraham were, that Jehovah would be a God to him and his seed after

him; that the Messiah in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, should, as to the flesh, be of his seed; and that he, Abraham, should be the father of many nations. The meaning of this last phrase is explained by the apostle Paul, Rom. 4 : 11-17 : "He (Abraham) received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which *he had yet* being uncircumcised : That he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised ; that righteousness might be imputed to them also." "For the promise, that he should be heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith." "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace : to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed ; not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all. As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations"—that is, Abraham was to be the patriarch of a spiritual household consisting at first of his own natural descendants, and embracing ultimately the regenerated nations of the earth, and so he would become the heir of the world. Such was the covenant with Abraham. Now the question is whether this covenant having been fulfilled in those particulars which were in their own nature, incidental, subordinate and temporary, remains in force as to the matters spiritual embraced in it, or whether it has been disannulled or superseded.

Has that covenant, which promised, among other things, a Messiah in the line of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed, ceased to be operative? Have we not now a Savior who took upon him, not the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham—and are not the blessings of his salvation spreading at this hour among the nations of the earth? Has the covenant which promised to the patriarch a spiritual seed among Gentile nations become null and void? Are there not multitudes of those of whom Abraham as to blood was ignorant, and whom Israel acknowledged not, now exercising that faith which he had being uncircumcised; multitudes of Gentiles who are Christ's, and therefore, according to the inference of the apostle, Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise? But, did not the law which came by Moses do away or disannul the covenant made with Abraham?—The covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul that it should make the promise of none effect—saith the apostle Paul.

It was in pursuance of the covenant, that God proceeded in that matter. He beheld the descendants of his friend in their degradation in Egypt. He heard their groaning, and with signs

and wonders and an outstretched arm, he delivered them out of the hand of Pharaoh and bore them as on eagle's wings to the land promised to their fathers. In pursuance of the covenant he gave them his holy law, and for their spiritual edification established among them a ritual of worship, the shadow of better things to come; he arranged for their government a civil code happily adjusted to the ecclesiastical establishment—the whole system being admirably fitted to their state, and suited to preserve among them the knowledge and worship of the living and true God, and to serve as a high wall of separation between them and the surrounding heathen nations. "He brought the vine," his visible church, "out of Egypt; he cast out the heathen and planted it; he prepared room before it; and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land."

The law of Moses having answered, in its day, the end for which it was designed, waxed old and vanished away at the approach of Christianity. Now what relation did Christianity sustain to the covenant? It was another and grand step in its fulfillment, it was the coming of the *promised* Messiah, it was the destruction of those embankments that limited the current of its blessings to a particular race, that they might flow abroad unobstructed among all the nations of the earth. On this point the New Testament writers are full, explicit, and glowing. In their view the Old and New Testament churches were identical, founded on one and the same covenant. How clearly this is taught—how beautifully it is symbolized—by the figure of the olive tree! The argument of the apostle is, that the Gentiles now occupy the position in the church of God, which was once filled by the Jews, but from which they fell by unbelief. They, the descendants of Abraham,—the *natural* branches—were broken off by unbelief; the Gentiles—branches from a *wild* olive tree—were grafted in through faith and partake of the richness and fatness of the olive tree. The natural branches may again be grafted into their own olive tree, if they continue not in unbelief. Thus, the church is but one olive tree; there has been no other, there is to be no other. Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist, speaking as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, declares, that Jesus Christ came to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham. This surely is to the point that Christ came not to destroy but to fulfill the covenant. Again, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; for it is written, cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ: that we might receive the

promise of the spirit through faith. Brethren, I speak after the manner of men. Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto." "Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham."

We are compelled to omit many other equally apposite passages, but the passages cited are sufficient to show that the covenant made with Abraham has not been repealed or annulled—that it is still in full force, and forms the basis of the Christian church. Therefore, he that believes now, or is Christ's, is Abraham's seed, and an heir according to the promise; he comes into the place of Abraham, he stands in the same relation to his child that the patriarch did to his, and is as fully authorized to consider not himself only but his child also, as included in the covenant, and entitled to the application of its seal.

That seal, it is true, has been changed; it was circumcision, it is now baptism. Abraham believed God, and by divine commandment was circumcised; the apostles were directed to baptize those who believed. The import of the seal remains the same, though its form is altered. Circumcision was a bloody rite, it was always a grievous yoke to be borne. It had come to be associated, in the minds of many Jews, with the formalities of Judaism, and had it been retained might have led them to imagine that these also were to be engrafted upon Christianity. The change in the form of the seal did not in the least affect the substance of the covenant, did not disannul any part of it, nor add aught thereto. It is as comprehensive since the alteration as it was before. And being embraced in it, the children of believers are to be sealed now as certainly as they were then—the authority for infant baptism is as clear as was the authority for infant circumcision.

But where is your specific text, demand those who differ with us on this point, in a tone of triumph,—Where is your specific text warranting the baptism of infant children? This mode of putting the matter is ingenious, we had almost said, cool. Where is our authority for not mutilating the covenant of God, for forbearing to dissect out a most interesting and important feature of it, for doing what it requires us to do? May not the tables be turned here? Is not a specific scriptural warrant required to justify an opposite course? If it be but a man's covenant—if it be confirmed—no man disannulleth it or addeth thereto.

Yet, the language of the New Testament on the subject is precisely such as we should expect it to be, on the supposition that the views we advocate, are just and scriptural. Infant baptism is alluded to, as something concerning which no doubt existed—

no difference of opinion, no disagreement in practice. Specific precepts were not given, because they were not needed. The covenant itself, whose perpetuity was fully argued and clearly settled, was plain, was understood and observed. Incidental statements implying that the children of believers were included with their parents in its provisions, and were baptized, occur here and there. All is natural and easy, and in keeping. A few specimens will suffice. "The Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. And when she was baptized and her household she brought them—"

To the jailer who asked what he should do to be saved, Paul said, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." The language strikingly resembles that addressed to Abraham, "I will be a God to thee and thy seed after thee." "The jailer was baptized and all his straightway."

Paul baptized the household of Stephanas. We cannot comment upon these passages, nor notice the excruciating ingenuity by which their plain import is attempted to be explained away. We quote them to show that the language of the New Testament on the face of it is in entire harmony with the view we have presented, and such as we might expect on the supposition that that view is correct.

The conclusion then is, that the covenant made with Abraham is still in force, that it includes the infant children of believers, and authorizes their baptism.

We come now to our second proposition. What is the import of this covenant in behalf of children that are thus included and baptized? Does it furnish ground of strong expectation that they will early give evidence of piety? The covenant phrase, "I will be a God to thee," is to the adult believer a pledge of the eternal favor and friendship of God. On what philological principle can this phrase be understood to mean less when the sentence is continued by adding, "and to thy seed"? To say the meaning is, that God will be his God provided the child believes, is to say the phrase has no meaning at all as a special promise to the believing parent. For God will be the God of those children that are out of the covenant—the seed of the ungodly—provided they believe. "Whosoever believeth shall be saved." Is it said that the fallen child is not qualified to enjoy the friendship and favor of God? We ask, are there any obstacles to his being qualified which God cannot overcome? The very point is whether the promise can mean anything unless it be understood to justify the expectation that the child will believe,—that he will be qualified to enjoy the favor and friendship of God.

Again, baptism is in reference to the church an initiatory rite. We need not argue this point, as there is no difference of opinion in regard to it. Our Baptist brethren are strong in this conviction. Writers on our side of the question are constrained to admit that baptism introduces the child into the church. Consider now that God requires his church to be holy. The scriptural qualification for admission into it in the case of adults, is genuine piety. This candidates are required to profess, and of this they must furnish credible evidence, before they can with propriety be received. Consider next that God authorizes, nay more, requires believing parents to cause their infant children to be baptized, and so to be introduced into his church. What is the intention of God in thus proceeding? Is it that these children so introduced into his holy church shall remain in it? How can we doubt that? Any other supposition would lay him open to the imputation of folly and fickleness. Does he intend they shall remain in it without piety? This is not supposable. The only supposition is that He intends to renew them. Is there not ground here for a strong expectation, that such children will early give evidence of piety?

Such, in our view, is the import of the Abrahamic covenant in behalf of baptized children. And we showed at the outset that, if we look outside of the covenant, there is nothing in the constitution of things, nothing in the proceedings of divine Providence, that furnishes any presumption against the correctness of this constitution. Nay, more, it is in harmony with everything in the government of God that might be supposed at all analogous to the matter under consideration.

There is, however, a single objection to this view which we will notice. It is said that this fine theory is overturned by facts; that few baptized children *early* give evidence of piety; that the majority of them never exhibit such evidence at all; in short, that they are not found to differ from other children. That there is some ground for such a representation we do not deny. Facts of this description very naturally attract the attention of the irreligious; they are described by them in sweeping and exaggerated terms. They also furnish our Baptist brethren with abundant staple for argument, and they have, moreover, lowered the tone of many of the friends of the covenant as to its import, and exerted an influence upon them in their interpretation of Scripture, leading them to adopt such construction of particular passages as they deem most easily reconcilable with this state of things.

In regard to the objection founded on these alleged facts, we observe that it is faulty in point of principle. It is not true, as

it implies, that the import of the covenant, or of any promises of God, is to be measured by the degree of benefit *actually secured* by men under it. All his promises are conditional, and their meaning is not lowered because the conditions are not fulfilled. Our unbelief or neglect does not affect their import. Let God be true and every man a liar. Then, as to the facts. Let it be remembered, as it is undoubtedly the case, that many who offer their children for baptism, are destitute of true religion; in some families this is true of both parents, in others of one of them. Let it be remembered also that such as in the judgment of charity are real Christians, while they come short in all things, are often specially deficient in regard to parental obligations. Nor do we hesitate to acknowledge this to be true of clergymen; they are ordinarily better preachers and pastors, we think, than they are fathers. Certainly, these things deserve consideration before we allow facts, in reference to the actual character of baptized children, to limit the import and meaning of God's gracious covenant. But after all concessions have been made, it is nevertheless true, that piety may be traced in families from generation to generation; it is true that, in the revivals of religion, the majority of subjects are among the young, and belong to religious households. Statistics on this subject, were they to be gathered up, would most clearly demonstrate that God has not forgotten his covenant, and that the blessings of it are bestowed upon the church in as full measure as, all things considered, could be expected.

This view of the import of the covenant, in regard to baptized children, invests the rite of infant baptism with dignity and importance. The complaint is not uncommon nor, we fear, groundless, that there is manifested in our churches a growing indifference to this ordinance. By some parents it is neglected altogether, by others it is observed after urging and exhortation, by others still, voluntarily and promptly indeed, yet, apparently without any very distinct apprehension of its import, or any deep impression of its value. The preparation for the rite consists, we have reason to fear, in too many cases, in deciding upon the name to be given and the robe to be worn. The chief solicitude felt at the time is lest the child should discompose the assembly by his unseasonable cries. The ceremony is performed, the prayer is offered, the occasion passes by, and there, too frequently as a matter of fact, the affair ends. This indifference is to be traced either to the absence of piety on the part of parents, to a low degree of it, or, and as we believe, more commonly, to ignorance of the significance of the ordinance—to want of proper

views and impressions of the import and value of the covenant of which it is the seal.

Signs and seals, when they cease to represent anything important or valuable, naturally become matters of indifference. Titles and badges that convey no rank, that invest with no power, are contemptible. Crowns and scepters, apart from place and authority, are mere baubles. So religious rites, emptied of their meaning, become worthless forms and lose their hold on all but superstitious minds. We see then what is needed in order that the ordinance in question may be restored to its proper place in the estimate and regard of the church. The import of the covenant must be understood; confidence in the faithfulness of God must be strengthened; the appropriate channels through which heavenly blessings flow down upon the children of believers must be opened, and then the ordinance of infant baptism will no longer be neglected or undervalued.

Then the *church* would look upon such baptized children as her charge; she would regard the Christian family as her nursery; she would watch over these lambs of the fold with tender care; she would admonish their parents, and encourage and aid them in the work of training them for God; she would expect, and ordinarily would not be disappointed, that in due time they would be found ready to sanction what had been done in their behalf, and to subscribe with their own hands to be the Lord's. Many scenes in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ are fraught with deep interest. Such was that, when waked from sleep by his terrified disciples, he rose from his pillow in the ship on the tempest-tost sea of Galilee, and said to the furious winds and the dashing waves, "peace, be still, and they obeyed him;" and that is another such scene, when Jesus stood with the weeping Martha and Mary in front of the cave in which lay the corpse of their brother and his friend. We behold first his lips quiver with emotion, and his eyes fill with tears in sympathy, and then we hear the same lips say, "Lazarus, come forth;" and the sheeted dead moves and rises up in obedience. But no scene of his history (the garden and the cross excepted) is more touching than when we hear his clear, mild voice rising above the din of the crowd that surrounded him, and saying, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven;" and then see the multitude divide, and those little children brought to him, and received into his arms and blessed. The baptism of children is a sort of renewal of that scene, it is a covenant-keeping God taking our offspring into his arms, and while he admonishes us as parents, of our responsibility to train them for him, promising on his own part, and

setting his seal to the promise, that if we are obedient and faithful, he will be to them a God and portion.

Next, a deep practical impression on the minds of *Christian parents* of the import of God's gracious covenant, and corresponding desire and endeavors to secure its fulfillment in behalf of their children, would exert a most happy influence upon their own religious character. The parental relation itself enlarges the heart; it presents dear objects of affection; it opens new springs of feeling; it furnishes fresh motives to exertion; it awakens high and boundless hopes. Parents identify their children with themselves—they look upon them as parts of themselves—an extension and multiplication of their own being. Through them the circle of their hopes and fears, of their joys and sorrows, is immeasurably widened. In them they expect to outlive themselves—to survive their own dissolution. Behold that young mother! with what ineffable tenderness she presses her smiling babe to her bosom. She is more delighted with your notice and praise of that than by any compliments on her own loveliness. The father looks on with a countenance beaming with affection, slightly shaded with a feeling of responsibility. O the strength of this love! Hear Jacob say, "It is enough; Joseph, my son, is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die." Hear David cry out in anguish of soul, "O my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" When do men on drawing the sword throw away the scabbard, resolved to conquer or perish? When do they fall, if fall they must, fighting in the last ditch, and to the last gasp of their lives? It is when they feel that they are fighting for their homes, their wives and their children. God breathed into our hearts this love for our offspring, or rather it is his love to them flowing through our hearts, its appointed channel. The covenant sprung from the same exhaustless fountain of divine love. But this, our natural affection, strong and beautiful as it is, may be perverted to the injury of its objects, and to our own moral detriment: it may generate avarice; it may fan the fire of ambition; it may stir up fierce passions, jealousies, rivalries, competitions—all having respect only to the *worldly* prospects of our children. This same natural affection, guided and sanctified by the spirit of the covenant, embraces children in *all* their interests, in all their relations, and specially as responsible creatures of God and heirs of immortality. It is then it lifts the heart above the world to God—to heaven.

What motives to the cultivation of personal holiness the covenant presents to Christian parents!—that they may always have access to their heavenly Father, that they may be ever ready to

lay hold upon it in faith, and to plead for its fulfillment without being condemned of their own hearts, and that their religion may be so deep and habitual, and so pervade the ordinary tenor of their lives, that their unconscious influence may *daguerreotype* only good impressions upon the susceptible minds that surround them in their daily walk. Then their positive efforts to fulfill their covenant obligation will all react favorably upon themselves. This will be the case with their endeavors so to arrange their secular affairs, and so to prosecute the labors of life, that while their system tends to impress ideas and to form habits of order, industry and frugality in the household, it shall be seen by every one without explanation, and felt even by those too young to reflect on the subject, that the concerns of the present life are and are deemed subordinate to things spiritual and eternal. Parents will be profited themselves by striving earnestly to exercise their authority with judgment, impartiality and equity; to govern without governing too much, without destroying all voluntariness, without turning the household into a machine. The effort to reach the happy medium will be a species of constant self-discipline. It will be a most profitable school; the habitual study, to preserve religion, its duties and exercises, free from every disagreeable association; the study how best to impart religious instruction and give spiritual counsel, to become all things to every individual of the family group; not saying too much or too little, adapting what is said to the age, intellectual and moral peculiarities, and existing tone of feeling of each member; the study to acquire the faculty of turning to good account circumstances and occurrences, joyful events, disappointments, seasons of sickness, the recovery of health, birth-days, the revolution of the seasons, the flowers of spring, the falling leaves of autumn; the study to gain the art of shading off imperceptibly things temporal, till the thoughts, without being conscious of any abrupt transition, are raised to things eternal; the study to become skillful in linking all things in their mind with God, in turning their little trials into submission, their happiness into gratitude, their joy into praise; the study to make such attainments and accomplish such results, how can it fail to exercise and improve every Christian grace?

Again, a revival of faith and interest in God's covenant among *the ministry*, would benefit them, and augment their usefulness. One objection to the Catholic clergy is, that they are without domestic affections. Clerical piety is tinged with a species of celibacy among us. It is almost exclusively concerned with the general interests of religion, rather than with the salvation of individuals; it is abstract, and consequently vague in its concep-

tions, and diffused and weak in its affections. The clergyman, while musing over the concerns of whole sects, denominations and nations, forgets the spiritual condition and prospects of his own children, and of the children of his flock. And then the spirit of the age, about which so much is said, is bustling and mechanical. The intellect is tasked, the affections are neglected : an immense amount of religious matter is produced in sermons, speeches, addresses, and for newspapers and periodicals, to say nothing of the multitude of books that are poured out upon the world. But this matter so abundant is for the most part the fruit of the brain simply, and lacks the bloom and high flavor of those clusters that have sunned themselves into ripeness under the influence of large, warm, holy hearts.

The age is fruitful in expedients to shorten processes—in inventions that abridge labor, and hasten results. Imbibing the spirit and becoming eager to expedite things spiritual, we are in danger of leaving those great natural advantages that result from the constitution of the family, for our own inventions. It seems to be forgotten that there are processes that cannot be hastened. The time required to traverse space may be indefinitely reduced. Cotton may be spun and woven, boards planed and matched, pins made and headed, and various other similar results reached by means and methods more easy and expeditious than formerly. But we believe wheat requires about the same number of months to reach perfection, and we have not learned that the time of the gestation of their young by animals is shortened in any degree, or that the period of full physical development is greatly diminished. These are vital processes, and such in a sense are the developments of character. It would be well for the ministry to consider this, and to rely less upon their own devices and more upon the covenanted grace of God.

After all, it may be said, that this is very well in theory, but it presupposes an elevation of Christian character, and a degree of parental fidelity that cannot rationally be anticipated as a general attainment. Such remarks, which, in the judgment of some, smack of practical wisdom, often serve to cut the sinews of faith in the plainest and most precious promises, and to release the uneasy conscience from the pressure of indisputable obligation. Is there then no hope that the general tone of religious feeling may be elevated? Must we ever live at this poor, dying rate? Beside, the faith and practice of Christians in relation to covenant promises and duties have not come up to the standard reached in other respects. The duty of the church in regard to missions was as plainly inculcated in the Scriptures fifty years ago as it is at this day. The precepts and promises were strewed as thickly

and as conspicuously through the sacred volume. They were read and supposed to be understood. But, for some reason, they were practically disregarded. The great change that has taken place in that matter was brought about, not solely by a general advance in Christian character, but by a special waking up to the claims of that particular branch of Christian obligation. The same thing has often occurred in the history of Christianity. Is it too much to hope for something of the kind in respect to the matter under consideration? We confidently expect a great change of this character.

Sin entering the world, and seizing upon and appropriating to its propagation all the constituted laws of descent, has, through them, corrupted all the generations of men, and thus given a terrible illustration of the power of the family constitution for evil. But in the work of redemption, we are persuaded the covenant authorizes the belief that God designs of his grace to furnish a counter illustration of its power for good.

The work of Dr. Hall, at the head of this paper, has already been noticed in the *New Englander*, but as the fourth edition has recently been issued from the press, we have taken the opportunity afforded by the present discussion, to refer to it again, as containing a very able and satisfactory examination of the mode of baptism. Dr. Hall also takes up the leading subject of our present article, and we are happy to find a substantial agreement of views.

ART. V.—THE MILITARY ORDERS.

1. *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Jean de Hierusalem, etc.* Par J. BAUDOUIN, (containing the Statutes of the Order.) Paris. 1643.
2. *Achievements of the Knights of Malta.* By A. SUTHERLAND, Philadelphia. 1846.
3. *Histoire critique et apologetique de l'Ordre des Chevaliers du Temple de Jerusalem, dits Templiers.* Par feu le R. P. M. J. CHANOINE, de l'Ordre de Prémontré, etc. Paris. 1789. (Two volumes 4to.)
4. *Recherches sur l'ancienne Constitution de l'Ordre Teutonique.* Paris. 1807. (Two volumes 8vo.)
5. *Histoire des Croisades.* Par J. F. MICHAUD. Sixième édition. Paris. 1841. (Six volumes.)

6. *History of the Crusades, etc.* By CHARLES MILLS. Philadelphia. 1844.
7. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. (Volumes V. and VI.)

Few who have undertaken to delineate the history of the Crusades, have given sufficient attention to the influence which the Military Orders exercised upon the destinies of the East. The magnitude of those extraordinary armaments, which successively poured down upon the lands of the Infidel, and so soon disappeared from the face of the country, absorbs the interest of all; whilst the small bodies of chosen knights who battled in the front ranks, and, in reality, sustained the whole contest, when the undisciplined troops who flocked to Palestine had been routed in battle or decimated by disease, are almost lost sight of in the comparison. Yet, in the words of an able historian, "so great was their share in the affairs of the East, that the history of the Crusades is only, when properly considered, the history of the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital." Instituted soon after the first Crusaders had recovered the Holy Land, both of the older orders at once assumed, as we shall see, a prominent rank among the Christian forces. Engaging in every conflict with the resolution either to conquer or to perish, the rival knights were several times almost exterminated; yet they survived the successive shocks, and were soon as powerful as they had ever been. But the destruction which their infidel foes had in vain attempted to effect, during centuries of almost constant warfare, was compassed in Christian Europe by calumny and fraud.

The inquiry naturally presents itself, to what causes may we attribute the vast influence swayed by bodies comparatively so small. To decide this question in a satisfactory manner, it will be necessary for us to examine with some care the constitutions and history of the Military Orders. Of these there existed but three, whose aim at all concerned the Holy Land: the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Hospitallers, who in the course of their history assumed the appellations of Knights of Rhodes and of Malta, from the seat of their power; the Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem, or Templars; and the Teutonic Knights.

Great has been the diversity of opinion among historians, concerning the date of the two former of these orders. It seems most probable, however, that the Templars were in fact somewhat more ancient than the Hospitallers, whom all admit to have been at first a secular body. About the year 1050 A.D., a church was built in the Christian quarter of the city of Jerusalem, and

two monasteries: the one for monks of the order of St. Benedict, and dedicated to St. Mary ad Latinos; and the other for nuns, under the protection of St. Mary Magdalen. These were used as hospitals, for the reception and protection of the pilgrims, and especially of the sick, during their sojourn at Jerusalem. A chapel, which was attached to the hospital, was dedicated, say the Maltese historians, to St. John the Baptist; whom the knights subsequently assumed as their tutelary saint.* Other writers maintain, however, that at first their patron saint was St. John the Almoner; a patriarch of Alexandria, at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens in the seventh century; and that they afterwards transferred their homage to the more celebrated shrine of St. John the Baptist.† Until the year 1098, when the city of Jerusalem was wrested from the Infidels, the hospital was supported by the donations of the rich tradesmen of Amalfi, a commercial town of Italy; and whilst the monks took charge of the spiritual wants of the inmates, laymen provided for the necessities of the poor and the sick.

About the year 1118, was founded by Hugh de Payens and two others, the order of the Knights of the Temple. Even in the time of the Romans the region about Jerusalem had been infested with robbers,‡ to whom a secure refuge was afforded by the almost inaccessible caves with which the country abounds. But since the capital had been captured by the Franks, while the Infidel still possessed the country, the pilgrims who came from all quarters to Jerusalem, were no longer safe from insult and oppression. It was to protect them that the Templars formed themselves into a regular order. Over a coat of mail covering them from the neck to the feet, and a linen coat, the Templars wore an ample white cloak; on the left of which was a red cross. Upon their heads they wore caps, and from a belt at the side hung their swords.

About the same time the Hospitallers, who had existed for more than half a century as a secular fraternity, embraced a religious profession. There is no evidence to show that the Knights of St. John took up arms the same year as the Templars; whilst it is certain that they already existed as an association. The exact date, however, at which either of these bodies originated, is of very little consequence in tracing the history of their growth. It is sufficient for us to know that the Hospitallers existed, and had already rendered material aid to the king of Jerusalem, before the year 1130. The dress of the Hospitallers was a black

* Baudouin (*Histoire de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Hierusalem*, p. 2.) Paris. 1643.

† Mill's *History of the Crusades*, pp. 17 and 113. (Phila. Edit.)

‡ Compare Luke x. 36.

robe or cloak, on the breast of which was worn a white cross with eight points, which, say the statutes, is a true symbol of the virtues.*

There remains the third military order, the Teutonic knight-hood; whose commencement dates only from the latter part of the twelfth century. It was not like the others a universal order, for its members were all taken from the Germanic or Teutonic nations; and, whilst valor in defense of all Christians was enjoined, it was especially required to be exercised in behalf of those of their native land. It was in the army of the Duke of Suabia, son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, that the new order arose in 1192; and as it was merely a sectional institution, and intended to increase the advantages which Christianity reaped from those previously existing, a constitution was granted to it resembling those of the Hospitallers and Templars. In that which appertained to the relief of the poor and the care of the sick, it was similar to the former; and the statutes respecting military matters were adopted almost entirely from the latter. It would scarcely be advisable to devote any considerable space to the affairs of this order. By reason of the lateness of their foundation (after Jerusalem had been recovered by the Saracens), their local character and limited importance, and their early diversion from their first aim, the Teutonic knights exercised comparatively a very slight influence upon the destinies of the East. Their badge was a black cross upon a white ground, which they afterwards embroidered with gold. They subsequently attempted to assume the white robe, the distinctive dress of the Templars; but upon the remonstrance of the latter, they were compelled by a bull of the Pope to abandon it.

Let us examine more particularly the regulations of the Military Orders. Their object being as well a religious as a warlike one, they were in many respects similar to the monastic orders. The knights, upon their admission, bound themselves by the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; all of which were indispensable to the success of their enterprise. By the vow of poverty, they were to possess no property in private; but to hold it all in common, and for the sole use of Palestine. Having as their aim to carry on a continual warfare with the power of the Saracens, it was impossible for them to be restrained by family relations, without deserting the cause they had assumed, and hence the necessity for the second vow. The third

* Baudouin (Statutes of the Knights-Hospitallers Br. Raymond du Puy.) The historians of the Templars are manifestly wrong in asserting that the Hospitallers at first wore a simple cross, in imitation of that worn by those knights. The historians of Malta and the statutes unite in stating that it was entirely different.

was an indispensable qualification for their efficiency in the contest they undertook. If we rightly consider to what may be attributed their success, it will be found in the balance between the centralization and the individuality of the knights. On the one hand, every warrior was bound to yield implicit obedience to his superiors, and especially to the Grandmaster; and hence in the warmest engagement, and in the distracting din of the combat, all contended with the unity of plan of one body. On the other hand, the number of cavaliers was so limited, as not to preclude responsibility; and every practiced knight was conscious that on him depended, in a considerable degree, the result of the conflict. The eyes of friend and of foe were fixed upon each, and neither their bravery nor their cowardice could escape notice. To conquer was most glorious; to die valiantly was only to be dreaded because it deprived the order of a noble champion; but to flee was more to be avoided than death, since it tarnished the honor of the warrior, who was at once deprived in public of his robe. It was only after enduring rigid penance for a year, that the recreant could hope to regain his lost position, and obtain an opportunity to wash away the stain of cowardice.

To these vows the Templars added a fourth, by which they bound themselves to protect the pilgrims upon their journeys in the East; whilst the knights of Saint John engaged themselves in the care of the poor and sick. During the residence of their order in Malta, the Hospitallers were required to vow never to make peace with the Infidels.

There were three grades in the Military orders: the knights, the chaplains, and the serving brothers. The first class comprised that portion who made it their object to combat in behalf of Christianity. Admission, however, was not open to every one. To obtain entrance, it was necessary for the aspirant to prove his noble extraction; although the distance to which he must trace it varied in different countries. In some his ancestors for four generations must be noble; in others only for two. The knights alone possessed a voice in the chapters of their order; and out of their number all high officers were selected. The chaplains were priests, who, having been consecrated by prelates, were admitted to officiate in the order, to administer sacraments, to hear confessions and grant absolution; but they were entirely at liberty to leave when they pleased. While they remained chaplains they were removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and subjected directly to the Holy See; although their character in the order was strictly a religious one. The serving brothers differed from the knights, in not taking upon themselves the vow to defend the faith, and in not being required to join the

order for life. No proofs of nobility were required of them. According to a statute of the Knights of St. John, it was not permitted for the serving brothers or chaplains to become knights.* Of the serving brothers there were two classes: the *servans d'armes* and the *servans d'office*; the latter of whom busied themselves about the duties of the house. The founders of the orders soon perceived that the same use might be made of the former class, as of the knights themselves. They were at first merely squires, but when their numbers increased, they were collected into a body, and their influence was frequently not inconsiderable upon the fortunes of war.†

In addition to these regular classes, there was another: that of the *confrères* and *donnés*, who, though not properly belonging to them, were connected with them. There were many who had already bound themselves by domestic ties, and were not, therefore, free to join the knights; but were yet desirous of participating in their privileges. Some of these became *confrères*, and thus acquired by means of gifts, an interest in their public prayers and services, and a right to burial within their chapels. Those who became *donnés* moreover promised, that should they ever join any order, it would be the one to which they now gave themselves. To understand the alacrity with which men of all countries, who were unwilling to assume the vows of celibacy and poverty, hastened to enrol themselves among the members of this class; the reader must remember the circumstances in which Europe was situated at various times in the middle ages, but especially at the commencement of the thirteenth century. An arrogant and ambitious pontiff—Innocent the Third—occupied the Papal chair, and exercised over the whole of the Western world a despotic sway. Resolved upon establishing and maintaining throughout Europe, the supremacy to which the Popes laid claim, he authorized persecutions against the communities which ventured to dispute it, and ruled kings with a rod of iron. Scarcely a letter of his exists, in which threats of censure are not made, in case of disobedience. Whole nations were laid for years under interdict. France, England, Flanders, Bohemia and Portugal felt the vengeance of the Pope. "All religious functions were interrupted, except the baptism of children, the viaticum and confession; the dead were carried out of the towns and villages and were buried like dogs, on the roads and in ditches, without prayers, without the ministry of priests." Even the Papal historians confess that the state of the people was de-

* Statutes de l'Ordre de St. Jean, titre ii. sec. 32.

† Besides the regular force of knights and squires, the orders frequently raised and sustained considerable bodies of mercenary troops at their own expense.

plorable; and admit the impolicy of thus punishing thousands and millions of innocent persons, for the wrongs of a single individual. It was naturally, therefore, the desire of all to avoid the evils which such a state of things inflicted upon them.

Among the privileges which from time to time had been granted to the Military Orders, was one of great importance. They could be laid under interdict or censure, by no one but the Pontiff himself; and were never supposed to be so considered even by him, except as expressly mentioned by name. They had, therefore, the power of celebrating divine service in their own chapels, even in places under interdict; and, moreover, if any knight or chaplain came into a place under interdict, he had the right to open the church once a year, to collect alms, and even to administer the eucharist. Since, then, the *confrères* and *donnés* possessed the same right with the knights themselves, it is not strange that many of the nobility should gladly endow the orders, with a view to avoid these inconveniences and obtain the privileges of interment.

So remarkable an immunity, of course, could not be exercised without occasioning a vast degree of dissatisfaction, especially among the clergy; who now and then had occasion to lay particular districts under the ban of the church. Accordingly many were the disputes renewed from time to time, and settled only by the decision of the Pope. It must be confessed that the Military Orders were apt to transcend the privileges granted them. Thus for a time they maintained the right to open every church in any interdicted city once a year, and to celebrate divine service in each, ringing the bells, and otherwise entirely defeating the object which the metropolitan might have had in view. For in this way the inhabitants, by visiting the several churches on successive Sundays, might enjoy the benefits of religion in the large cities, as in ordinary times.

The officers of the orders were numerous; but the chief of all was the Grandmaster. The general superintendence of affairs, both in peace and in war, devolved upon him, in connection with the general chapter. In war it was the duty of the Grandmaster to command the forces; and his influence, as is generally the case with the executive authority, was very great. Each order was divided into several languages or provinces. In that of the knights of St. John there were eight: those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Castile. Out of each of these a grand officer was chosen, who was the governor of the province. The Grand Commander was the most honorable, and was the overseer of the arsenal, of navigation, and had one of the keys of the treasury; he was chosen from Provence.

The Marshal, who was from Auvergne, had the management in war. The Turcopolier, or commander of the light cavalry, was taken from England. The Grand Hospitaller, who as his name indicates superintended the hospitals, was of France; the Admiral, of Italy; the Grand Conservator, of Arragon; the Grand Bailiff, of Germany; and the Chancellor, who was Secretary, was from Castile.* In the Teutonic order the officers were the Grand Commander; the Marshal; the Grand Hospitaller; the Draper, who took charge of the garments of the order; and the Seneschal or Treasurer. Together with the preceptors of the provinces, they formed the council of the Grandmaster.

It was the general chapter, at which all the knights assembled, that decided all questions of great moment. It was by this body, that the Grandmaster was elected; and he in turn chose his own council. To it were referred all such matters, as the chief was reluctant to decide on his own responsibility. Its opinion was always taken in the commencement and prosecution of a campaign.

We will consider with some attention a few of the privileges which were at different times granted to the Military Orders. Among the most important of these, we may mention their independence of the bishops in whose dioceses were located their houses and lands. All that the knights possessed was considered as a sacred trust, which the Christian world had committed to them, for the defence of the Holy Land. It was proper, therefore, that, in their administration, they should be left undisturbed by any local influences. Especially was this needful to prevent their resources from being diminished, and the safety of the kingdom of Jerusalem hazarded, by every whim of the clergy. The knights were even allowed to build chapels upon their lands, and to worship there, entirely without the jurisdiction of the ordinary. Besides, if we consider that these exemptions included not only the knights, the chaplains and the serving brothers, but were even extended to the farmers and laborers, who cultivated their manors, any one familiar with the exacting character of the higher clergy of those days, will not be astonished that their animosity was greatly excited by the sight of such wide possessions, which afforded them no revenue. So that when any efforts of theirs could prevent it, they frequently endeavored to hinder the erection of chapels, and the transfer of lands within their dioceses, to the orders. According to grants made to the knights by the Pope, they could not be *required* to receive the bishops in their

* According to Vertot it was expressly required that the Chancellor should be able to read and write!

houses; although there is a sufficiency of evidence that they were very ready to show them hospitality as a *favor*.*

It would be impossible for us to attempt to give an account of all the possessions, which by gift of the various sovereigns and noblemen of Europe, came into the hands of the knights. There were many reasons which induced persons of wealth and high rank to favor them. Among the most common was a custom which arose in the days of chivalry and enthusiasm for the advancement of Christianity in the land of its birth. A frequent case was that of persons afflicted with disease, who promised to make pilgrimages to Palestine, and to join the Crusaders, should they be so fortunate as to recover. But promises made in sickness are apt to be forgotten in health, or at least very unwillingly performed. When, therefore, permission was granted to commute the pilgrimage for the payment of a certain sum, the condition was cheerfully accepted.

But there were other causes of more ordinary occurrence. Such, was the universal desire of the nobility to retain the property of families undivided. The feudal spirit was now in its height in all western Europe; and every individual of noble ancestry was anxious, that his descendants might not become impoverished on account of their number. It was, therefore, a very general custom, to entail upon the eldest son of a family all its worldly goods, and to make the younger sons knights. Indeed there is no doubt but that the Military Orders served, in this respect, a very convenient purpose. Of course donations were given to the order by the relatives of those joining it, who thus became its warm friends; and more particularly by the eldest member of the family, who was grateful for the increased means thus placed at his disposal. Even the ambitious king of France, Philip the Fair, would have been glad to have united the three military orders in one, and conferred the grandmastership upon his second son.

Another motive, which especially influenced the Spanish monarchs, in bestowing such preeminent favors upon the orders, was the assistance which they continually derived from them in their military enterprises. For centuries, during the contests between Christian and Moor, there was scarcely a battle in which the knights did not engage, and where their courage was not of the greatest utility in the conflict. Their valor and well known skill in arms made them of the greatest importance to the king; for as it was a principle of theirs, as of the ancient Spartans, "to come back with their shield or upon it," their presence encouraged

* *Histoire des Templiers*, tome ii, p. 88.

their friends and daunted their foes. Whilst then they rendered such invaluable assistance, it was natural that the rewards and honors poured upon them, should be proportionately great. The esteem in which they were held, was sometimes even carried to excess; and Alphonso the First of Arragon, being aged and without children, made a will in which he left the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre to the Knights-Hospitallers, the Knights-Templars and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, in absolute sovereignty. So extravagant a donation was naturally disallowed both by the people and his legal successors. Yet the numerous cities and fortresses granted to them, were sufficient to satisfy the most covetous. The successor of Alphonso in Arragon and Barcelona, anxious to retain the services of the orders, granted them in full possession one-fifth of all that they should capture from the Moors, as well as one-tenth of all that he took himself.*

The same motive prevailed in a still higher degree in the kingdom of Palestine, where the Military Orders were not only of great importance, but absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom. During the entire existence of the realm, from its foundation until the moment when the Franks were finally expelled from Acre, the knights of the Temple and Hospital were the most efficient supporters of the tottering throne. In all probability had it not been for the prompt and important aid they afforded, on several occasions would the Christians have lost their foothold. Indeed it cannot but be a matter of astonishment, that a kingdom possessing so little internal strength could have subsisted for such a length of time, in the midst of enemies vigorous and active, and commanded by generals of great abilities. The hordes of undisciplined rustics, who now and then flocked to the Holy Land, were rarely of much assistance to the Orientals; and sometimes they even involved them in war, only to desert them in the hour of need. But the military orders, being continually present to share the sufferings and dangers of the East, naturally secured the confidence of both king and people. The Grand-masters were the chief counselors of the monarch; as from their acquaintance with military affairs, and especially with Saracen warfare, none could be found whose advice was more valuable. Had the people a want of confidence in the abilities of their queen to provide for the safety of the monarchy? It was to the Grand-masters that the delicate task of providing her a suitable husband was intrusted. On the march of the army the Templars protected the van, the Hospitallers the rear. On the battle-field the former occupied the right, the latter the left.

* *Histoire des Templiers*, tome i, p. 37, ad annum 1143.

For the most part, however, the numerous towns and fortresses which the knights possessed in the Holy Land, had been acquired by their own individual valor. They were strewn over the country, keeping all the villages around safe from the inroads of the Infidel. Moreover, when some large city was captured by the united efforts of all parties, certain portions of it were appropriated to each order, both to occupy and to defend. So that they came to hold great possessions in Palestine; all of which they lost when driven from that land.

Another motive, which perhaps had the greatest influence in causing the liberal endowment of the Orders, was that enthusiasm entertained by the nations of the west, to rescue the holy places from the hand of the infidel. The same spirit which inclined so many thousands, at the call of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard, to join the Crusaders in person, induced many wealthy individuals to make large donations to the Orders. Moreover, as it was a meritorious deed to contribute to the necessities of those who were defending Jerusalem from the Saracens, it frequently happened that men of property by their wills left considerable sums to the Military Orders, hoping by this means to atone for their sins. Yet the reader who should believe that merely spiritual motives actuated those who so lavishly enriched the knights, would be very much mistaken. Unless we have misunderstood, the causes already adverted to possessed a very wide and important influence.

England and France were the countries in which the knights of the Temple and Hospital had their principal possessions. In the confidence of the monarchs of these nations they held the highest place. A proof of this is found in the fact that the revenue of the kingdom of France was deposited in the *Maison du Temple* at Paris,* and among the persons who guarded it was a knight of the Temple; whilst a key of the coffers was intrusted to the Order. The monarchs of France frequently took up their residence in the "*Temple*"; and Philip the Fair honored it with his presence, even when he was plotting their overthrow. The Preceptor of France, by virtue of his office, occupied a seat in Parliament.

Greater still was the estimation in which the Templars were held in England. Like the knights of Paris, those of the

* The "*Temple*" at Paris was named from the Temple of Jerusalem. It was built in the thirteenth century by the Templars; and was then without the walls of the city, which subsequently increased so as entirely to surround it. Upon the suppression of the Templars it was given to the Hospitallers, who retained it until their abolition at the time of the French revolution. After the destruction of the Bastille, the tower of the Temple was used during the Reign of Terror, as a prison. Louis XVI. was confined there with the Royal family. Since the restoration it has been a nunnery.

New Temple at London had the keeping of the Chancery and the royal revenues. The Preceptor of the kingdom sat, we are told, among the first barons in Parliament. Here too the knights possessed extraordinary privileges, among which we may enumerate the right of asylum, and freedom from tolls and excise duties. The Hospitallers never attained a similar degree of prosperity in Great Britain; although, after the suppression of the Templars, they acquired a large portion of the property which had belonged to the latter. The house of the Templars at London was subsequently occupied by law professors, who are now denominated those of the Inner and Middle Temple. The chief house of the knights of St. John in England was at Clerkenwell, London; it was of extraordinary size and beauty.* The churches and chapels, which the knights both of the Hospital and Temple built for themselves upon their wide possessions and manors, were numerous, and of such magnificence that, it is said, they rivaled in splendor the cathedral churches themselves. A number of them remain, in some of which may be seen the tombs and statues of the most distinguished benefactors of the Orders.

It would be a useless undertaking to attempt a comparison, between the wealth and resources of the rival orders. The data which the chroniclers afford us are so inconsistent, that it would only lead us into erroneous conclusions, to attempt to base our calculations upon their truth. Thus Matthew Paris pretends that the manors of the Hospitallers amounted to nineteen thousand, and those of the Templars, to only nine; whilst another writer swells the latter to the incredible figure of forty thousand. Another historian states the number of chapels of the knights of the Temple at three thousand five hundred, those of the Hospital at seven thousand. Yet when we consider the rivalry of the Orders, their equal estimation in Europe, their contemporaneous growth, and the pre-eminence of the Templars, in some particulars at least; it is difficult for us to credit the assertion that the Hospitallers were twice as wealthy as their rival knights. It must not be supposed, however, that the Commanderies† or Precep-

* Achievements of the Knights of Malta, by Alexander Sutherland, vol. 1, p. 123.

† The term Commandry or Commandery was at first applied to certain revenues which were devoted to the support of the Military Orders; whence it came to be used for the lands that yielded the revenue. Synonymous with it, in this latter sense, was the word Preceptory, which was the more ancient appellation. The commandery or preceptory was the residence of a knight who was styled commander or preceptor. Many of these commanderies were exceedingly lucrative, yielding far beyond what was requisite for the maintenance of the farmer. That of Cyprus afforded the knights, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a revenue of 16,000 marks or \$1,200,000 annually. In order to disarm the cupidity of the Pope, and prevent him from appointing some of his creatures over it, the Hospitallers divided it into seven or eight commanderies, giving one to each language.

tories of the orders were by any means as numerous, as we should be apt to conclude from the numbers already given. The Commanderies of the Templars in Great Britain were about sixty, while those of the knights of St. John amounted to not more than forty. In France one who wrote immediately before the first French Revolution informs us that the number of Commanderies belonging to the Hospitallers, including both those which had originally been theirs, and those they obtained upon the suppression of the Templars, did not at that time exceed two hundred and forty. The number of Templars, at the time of their abolition, is said to have amounted to upwards of ten thousand; comparatively few of whom suffered death, as we shall presently see.

Having thus examined the character of the Military Orders, and made some inquiries into their wealth and privileges, we will attempt to trace the history of their power, from the date of their commencement to the period of their decay and ultimate extinction.

The epoch of the establishment of these remarkable bodies, was an interesting one in the history of civilization and Christianity. The religious fervor was still in its prime, which, in the first Crusade, had induced multitudes to devote themselves to the expulsion of the unbelievers, from the scenes where the Savior had lived and poured out his blood for the redemption of mankind. The vast hordes, who had assisted in the recovery of Palestine from the Saracens, had wasted away by disease and by war, and left as their sole achievement the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. It was in the midst of these circumstances, and environed by a multitude of enemies, that the Christian knights arose; some of whom busied themselves in the reception and entertainment of the weary palmers, who reached Jerusalem only to lie down and die, in the midst of scenes which their faith made most dear to them. Others periled their lives in protecting feeble pilgrims, whose bones had hitherto strewn the dangerous passes from the Mediterranean to the Holy city. Girard, who had occupied the station of Master of the Hospital* before the capture of the city, died after a long life of devotion to the necessities of the sick and indigent stranger, about the date of the foundation of the order of the Templars.† A successor of a

* The Hospital was so called from the Latin word *hospitium*, and meant only a house to receive strangers in. It corresponds to the French *hospice*, which is now used in the same sense, as the *Hospice de St. Bernard*.

† About this Girard, whom the historians of the knights of Malta have praised so highly, some wonderful miracles are told. The Saracens, who occupied the city during its siege by the Christians, had such reverence for him, that they did not confine him. Unfortunately, upon one occasion, he was detected with a quantity of bread in his bosom, which he was throwing to the Christian army. Having been conducted

different character, and of a more warlike disposition followed him—Raymond du Puis. Influenced by the example of the knights of the Temple, who were beginning to distinguish themselves by their valor, he soon succeeded in altering the essential characteristics of his order, and turning his subjects from the practice of the humane offices of the hospital, to the exercise of arms. To the vow of relieving the sick and the stranger, the new order added the incongruous aim of contending in defense of the Christian faith.

It was not long before both orders began to receive great augmentations in numbers and wealth. For a few years after their foundation, the Templars had as yet no possessions in the city of Jerusalem; but Baldwin the king granted them, about seven or eight years after, a residence upon the site of Solomon's Temple, whence they derived their popular name. It was not, however, until the year 1128, that the Templars were formally recognized by the ecclesiastical dignitaries. In a council held this year at Troyes in Champagne, the Grandmaster (or Master, as he was at first named,) laid before the august assemblage the object of the Order which he had but recently organized, and whose good effects were already visible in the East; and obtained permission from the prelates for the knights to wear the white robe. As, however, the rule of St. Augustine which they had adopted, was not sufficiently detailed to meet the exigencies of their situation, the council promised to give them a constitution; which, it is said, St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was commissioned to frame. Great doubts are entertained whether he ever did so, and it is nearly certain that the document which bears his name, was of a much more recent origin.

What part either of the military orders took in the affairs of Palestine, during the few years preceeding the council of Troyes, it is impossible for us to determine with any degree of certainty. Those historians, who place the commencement of the order of St. John in 1118, would have us believe that the Hospitallers distinguished themselves in the engagements attending the expedition of King Baldwin to Antioch and his capture near Edessa, and in the siege of Tyre in 1124. But though this may have been so, we find no authorities to substantiate it as an historical fact. Indeed there is little evidence that the knights rendered much service to the kingdom of Jerusalem, before the latter part of the reign of Baldwin. Upon his demise in 1131, Fulk, Count

by the bystanders before a magistrate and examined, the loaves of bread were found to be miraculously changed into stone! Whereupon he was honorably discharged.—*Baudouin, Hist. des Cheval. de St. Jean*, p. 2.

of Anjou, who had married the princess Melesinda or Miliescent, succeeded him. In the very commencement of this reign, the knights of both orders had ample opportunity to display their valor; for whilst the king was occupied in allaying the disturbances which for some time had existed in the principality of Antioch, at that time a Christian possession, the Ascalonites had invaded his own dominions. By the vigorous action of the knights, and all the available troops which the queen could collect, they were, however, driven back.*

The continual contests, in which the Latins had been engaged during the past half century, and the recent loss which they had sustained in the capture of the principality of Edessa, so exhausted the resources of the monarchy of Jerusalem that it became evident that ample reinforcements must be obtained from the West, if the Latins would preserve what remained to them of their dearly purchased possessions. The bishop of Gibelet was sent to Europe by the Latin Christians of Palestine, to procure the preaching of a new crusade. The king of France, Louis VII., was readily induced to join in the request, which the Pope Eugenius the Third at once granted. St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux in Champagne, took upon himself the task of rekindling the zeal, which for fifty years had been suffered to cool. The learning, and especially the eloquence, of the preacher was crowned with success. Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, and Louis of France, with a vast multitude of French and German noblemen, joined the crusade; the latter having for his aim to expiate the murder of several hundred inhabitants of Champagne, whom he had inhumanly massacred.

The second crusade, which consisted of two bodies, was to meet in Palestine; Conrad with his German barons proceeding in the van, through Hungary and the Empire of Constantinople. The Emperor of Germany did not there receive the hospitality and assistance he had expected; and suspicions were excited, which soon after grew into certainty, that his brother-in-law, the Greek Emperor, was plotting the destruction of the crusaders. Nor did Manuel treat Louis in any kinder manner. Both of the Latin monarchs suffered from the obstacles, which the people continually threw in their way; and from the perfidy of the guides with whom the Byzantine Emperor had furnished them. The army of Conrad was almost destroyed in Asia Minor; but that of Louis, after many struggles, reached Syria, where having reposed for a little while at Antioch, it joined the military orders

* Michaud (*Histoire des Croisades*, tome II. p. 92-3) states this inroad as taking place after the return of the king from Antioch, and accuses Hugh, Count of Joppa, of having invited it, in order to defend himself from the king.

and Syrians who were besieging Damascus. But here dissensions arose among the united armies; for so confident were they of success, that it had already been violently debated, to whom the city when captured should belong. The choice of the knights was fixed upon Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders; and the majority of the troops sided with them. But this decision so offended the Syrian barons, that they traitorously* induced the Christians to remove their attack from the side adjoining the gardens, where success was certain, to the eastern side of the city, which was impregnable. By this false move, a reinforcement of twenty thousand men gained admittance to the besieged, and the investment was of necessity abandoned.

This action was the only event of the second crusade; and the remnants of the two hundred thousand men, who had lately left Europe, soon found their way back to their homes. The military orders, who had fought with much courage at the siege of Damascus, now found themselves deserted by the proud armament, which had started under such favorable auspices to their relief. Their condition was so much the more unpromising, as they were opposed to one of the most skillful generals of those times—the famous Nouredin, son of Zenghi. Conrad returned the same year to Germany; whilst Louis remained a year longer, to fulfill his desire of accomplishing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and thus ended, in 1149, this new crusade, which had inspired the eastern Christians with such brilliant anticipations for the extension of their dominion in Palestine.

The knights had, in the course of a few years, a fresh opportunity to signalize their courage. Taking advantage of the absence of the king from his capital, a Turcoman army invaded his dominions, and penetrated from Damascus even to Jerusalem itself. But that portion of the orders which remained in their houses within the walls, did not give way to despair, but seizing the opportunity the invaders afforded, by a successful sally they burnt the hostile camp, and spread confusion and death among their adversaries. The attack of the king's troops upon their return, and that of the inhabitants of Neapolis, completed the discomfiture of the invaders.

It was not long before Baldwin determined to avenge himself for the devastation which the Saracens had committed during

* According to Michaud, (*Histoire des Croisades*, tome II., p. 189–90,) there is some doubt entertained, whether the loss of Damascus was at all the result of treason. The accusation of treachery should never be credited, unless there be very strong grounds to support it. Rumor generally attributes the bad success of an enterprise to treachery, rather than to inevitable necessity. It is even now doubtful whether the calamitous result of the Hungarian struggle was brought about by the treasonable machinations of Görgey, or by the natural issue of a hopeless cause.

their recent incursion into Palestine. Collecting his forces together, he marched to Ascalon, which he blockaded both by sea and land. His first intention had been merely to make reprisals, by devastating the adjacent country; but the terror his advent had caused, induced him to attempt the siege. Ascalon had long been a very well fortified city, and its inhabitants were skilled in war. After the lapse of a few months, new vigor was instilled into the crusaders, by the arrival of reinforcements. In vain did the besieged attempt to burn the machines of the Christians; the wind blowing the flames against the wall, calcined or cracked it, causing it to give way with a great crash. The Templars were the first to improve the opportunity and attempt an entrance over the ruins. But, it is said, moved by a sordid desire to reap the golden harvest alone, the knights would suffer none of their companions to follow; a course which they soon had occasion to regret: for the Ascalonites, beholding the small number of the assailants, regained courage and overwhelmed the unfortunate Templars, many of whom with their Grandmaster lost their lives on this occasion.* New fortifications were speedily erected, and the siege seemed likely to be indefinitely protracted. This misadventure of the Templars dispirited the Christians, many of the most influential of whom advised an immediate suspension of the siege. The entreaties of the Patriarch, the eastern bishops and the knights of St. John, however, induced them to continue it; and the city surrendered in 1153. Ascalon became one of the strongholds of the Hospitallers, which they preserved until after the loss of Jerusalem itself.

The knights both of the Temple and Hospital had frequently heretofore been engaged in disputes with the patriarch and clergy of Palestine; from whose jurisdiction they claimed entire exemption. We have already seen that this exemption had been granted them by the Pontifical See; and that not only did they enjoy freedom from the payment of tithes, but were not subject to censure or interdicts. The prelates of all countries, however, who were jealous of interference in their dioceses, were very unwilling to acknowledge the pretensions of the orders; hence arose innumerable dissensions which could only be settled by an appeal to the head of the church. A case of such a nature arose about this time at Jerusalem, upon the occasion of the refusal of

* The author of the "*Histoire Critique et Apologétique des Templiers*," not without reason doubts the base motives assigned to the knights; and thinks that, if they did in reality prevent the entrance of the other troops, it may have been for other reasons than that which is given. Indeed the improbability of the story, that Tramelai entered the city with only fifty men, expecting to secure for himself the best of the booty, is so glaring as to awaken our surprise that a writer of M. Michaud's discrimination should have incorporated it in his valuable history.

the Hospitallers to pay tithes to the patriarch; and the contest terminated only with the life of that personage.

The success which attended the arms of the Knights Hospitalers, and the privileges they obtained immediately thereafter from the Pope, were followed by a signal defeat sustained in attempting the relief of Paneas, the ancient Cæsarea Philippi. And here we meet with the first symptoms of the commencing decay of the order, in the fact that it was an expedition in which they had engaged solely from mercenary motives.

Almeric, upon the death of Baldwin, in 1162, ascended the throne of Palestine. In the expeditions which he made into Egypt on several occasions, the knights took a prominent part. Having been in the first instance invited by the lawful sultan to expel a usurper of the name of Dargam, who was supported by the arms of Nouredin, Almeric easily restored the monarch to his throne. In the mean while, Palestine itself had been threatened by Nouredin in person; but assisted by the Templars and Hospitallers who remained, the Latins had overcome that able general in battle. The fortunes of war soon changed, and they experienced a great defeat near Antioch, in which several of the most distinguished crusaders were taken prisoners. Almeric and the rest of the Christians had seen too much of the rich country of Egypt to be contented with their own possessions. Accordingly, the sovereign soon determined to invade Egypt for purposes of conquest, after having secured the alliance of his brother-in-law of Byzantium, and the cooperation of the Hospitallers. Whether from jealousy, or a sense of justice, the Templars refused to take any part in the expedition, and stigmatized it as a violation of the most solemn engagements. Pelusium, which has always been esteemed the key of Egypt, was the first city attacked; and, upon its capture, it was given to the Knights of St. John. Promptness of action might have placed the capital and all Egypt in the hands of Almeric; but the new alliance which Shawer had formed with his ancient enemy Nouredin alarmed him, and he suffered himself to be amused by the promises of the caliph. The negotiations furnished necessary time for the arrival of the Syrian auxiliaries; and the king only discovered the mistake he had made, when he beheld the large army of Shiracouh advancing to meet the Egyptian. In vain did he attempt to engage it singly, and to prevent its junction with the native forces; he was finally compelled to abandon his undertaking and retire in disgrace to his own dominions with the Knights of St. John, who did not dare to retain Pelusium, surrounded by hostile armies. For several years preceding the death of Almeric, Palestine and the military

orders enjoyed a period of repose, caused by the commotions which distracted the attention of their enemies Nouredin and Saladin, and the subsequent death of the former.

The scepter of Godfrey de Bouillon now fell into the hands of Baldwin IV., a youth of excellent qualities, courageous and ambitious; but unfortunately for the kingdom of Palestine, as well as for himself, a leper. The government of the country, of course, devolved upon his ministry, and especially on Raymond, Count of Tripoli.* The king soon after his accession gained an important victory at Ramla, over Saladin, who was compelled to flee from the country; but it was soon after counterbalanced by an equally severe defeat at Jacob's Ford. The state of Palestine at that time was, indeed, most disheartening. The appeals of its ardent friends, to the monarchs and people of the West, no longer met with a response; and everything foreboded for the small kingdom, thus isolated from the rest of the civilized world, a speedy destruction. Yet there might still have been some hope entertained, that by carefully husbanding its feeble resources, and by prudently abstaining from hostilities with its powerful enemies, the kingdom might have existed a while longer by general sufferance. The rashness of Reginald of Chatillon, a chief who respected neither treaties nor engagements, was the occasion of a renewal of the war, which had ceased because of a truce.

The fate so long impending over the Christians was consummated by the fatal battle of Sephouri, fought near the sea of Tiberias, soon after the death of Baldwin. The feeble king, Guy de Lusignan, had suffered himself to be led by the unwise, or, as others say, the traitorous counsel of the Count of Tripoli, into a most disadvantageous position; where the army could neither shelter itself from the heat of the sun, nor procure water to quench their thirst. In vain did the Latins, from their unfortunate situation, attempt to break through the ranks of the enemy and obtain water. Even the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, who for so long a time had been the props of the kingdom, and who had stood unmoved the shock of so many battles, wearied and overwhelmed with numbers, began to hesitate. The entire army was speedily turned into confusion, and a general slaughter took place. Few of the knights escaped that

* Raymond was a descendant of the famous Counts of Toulouse. His ancestor of the same name came with Godfrey de Bouillon to the Holy Land, and became Count of Tripoli. The individual here spoken of was the last of the eastern branch of the Counts of Toulouse. The western did not long survive, becoming extinct soon after the persecutions raised against the Albigenses, in the commencement of the fourteenth century; whereupon the territories of the counts were transferred to the kingdom of France.

dreadful day ; and the military orders were almost annihilated. The Master of the Hospitallers, covered with wounds, and finding the day irretrievably lost, fled to Ascalon ; while the Grand-master of the Templars was carried captive, with Reginald of Chatillon and many others.

It was now all over with the city of Jerusalem ; the recovery of which had once been the fond hope of many an enthusiast, and in whose capture and preservation so many brave warriors had lost their lives. The *true cross*, too, which had been kept in reverence for so many ages, like the Ark by God's people of old, had been lost in an evil hour. The most sanguine imagination could conjure up nothing but an entire overthrow. Nor was it long before the sultan presented himself at the gates of Jerusalem and demanded entrance. The obvious impossibility of retaining the city, destitute of defenders, induced a surrender ; and on the second of October, 1187, the Christians evacuated Jerusalem, paying as a ransom for every man ten crowns of gold, for every woman five, and for every child two.

Thus it was, remarks a sensible historian, that the great Saladin, who had nothing barbarous but his birth, avenged the blood of seventy thousand Turks, massacred without mercy by the first crusaders. The treatment of the unfortunate Christians, who now beheld themselves dispossessed of house and home, was indeed deplorable, especially of those who journeyed towards Tripoli and Antioch. The Count of Tripoli is particularly signalized by the chroniclers for his inhuman conduct towards his fellow-Christians. On the other hand, those who spent the winter in the environs of Alexandria, are said to have experienced from the Infidels all that humanity could inspire of compassion towards the miserable.

What Christendom held most dear in Palestine was now lost ; but yet the Latins were loth to forsake the land around which clung so many fond associations, and to which a sojourn of eighty-eight years added fresh interest. The knights possessed two cities of importance, Ascalon, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and Gaza, which belonged to the Templars. Even Ascalon itself soon after surrendered to Saladin ; and the inhabitants of Jerusalem were, many of them, forced to take refuge in Tyre, where the sultan was not slow in besieging them. But the courage, with which Conrad of Montferrat inspired the inhabitants, made every attempt of the valiant general fruitless ; and he retired into the principality of Antioch, which he devastated.

The Pope and the princes of Europe, who had in vain been entreated, both by the king of Jerusalem and by the knights, to

consider the peril to which the Holy Sepulchre was exposed, were overwhelmed with distress and remorse, when they learnt the disastrous effects of their remissness; and hastened to retrieve, if it were possible, their fatal error. King Philip Augustus of France, and Henry II. of England, resolved to join the new crusade; and, upon the death of the latter, his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, at once took upon himself the fulfillment of his father's vow. The French monarch started from Genoa, and the English from Marseilles. The aged Emperor of Germany, Frederick Barbarossa, determined likewise to go to the assistance of Palestine; and traversed Hungary, the Greek Empire, and Asia Minor, on his route thither, but he perished in consequence of a bath in the river Cydnus, in ancient Cilicia. His son, the Duke of Suabia, commanded the German forces during the remainder of this crusade.

The crusaders, on their arrival in the Holy Land, found the Latin Christians of the East busily engaged in besieging the city of St. John of Acre, perhaps, in a warlike point of view, the most important place in Palestine. The investment of this city had already lasted a long time, when the royal crusaders arrived before it. Frequent assaults had been made upon the works of the enemy, but as often had the Christians been repulsed. It was in the midst of such discouraging circumstances, that Frederick of Suabia arrived with his German forces, comparatively few of whom had survived their battles and the hardships of the march; and soon after followed the sovereigns of England and France. The army, which before had consisted of about one hundred thousand men, counting as well the fresh detachments of Pisans and Frieslanders as the native Latins, was now augmented to perhaps twice that number. The city of Acre could no longer resist the united forces of the Christians, and capitulated in 1191, after a siege of more than two years. The knights of both orders, who had rendered the most important services in this affair, had particular quarters of the city assigned them; and made Acre their headquarters until its recovery by the Moslems.

It was about this time that there arose among the crusaders a new religious and military order, to which we have already made reference. The advantages which a religious knighthood possessed over the ordinary combatants in the field were so great, that it was manifestly the interest of every sovereign to engage them in his service, and to secure their hearty cooperation. Being maintained at the expense of Christendom, their entire time was consecrated to the arts of war; in which, as a consequence, they attained so high a degree of skill as to render them-

selves almost invincible, where the preponderance of enemies was not so great as to be overwhelming. If we consider, moreover, that every knight was of noble extraction, and had an individual reputation to sustain, we shall not be astonished at the valor which they constantly displayed. Such were doubtless the considerations, which actuated the Duke of Suabia, in encouraging the formation among his troops of the new and sectional order of the Teutonics; whose influence, though, as we shall see, it was but small upon the destinies of the Holy Land, was not unimportant upon the fortunes of Europe itself.

The third crusade, after so auspicious a commencement, accomplished but very little for the Christian cause, beyond the assistance it afforded at the siege of Acre. Philip of France soon returned to resume his kingdom; and, though Richard Cœur de Lion remained awhile and distinguished himself for his valor, he, too, finally deserted the Holy Land, having failed to recover the city, which it had been his hope to have redeemed from its slavery. Fruitless alike were the contests in Palestine, dignified with the name of the fourth crusade, which terminated in the massacre of many thousand Christians at Jaffa, by Saphadin, brother and successor to Saladin.

The remarkable history of the fifth crusade, the reader will readily remember. It stands upon the page of history as a prominent instance of the perversion of great enterprises. Sailing from Venice, it captured the city of Zara, in Dalmatia, for the Venetians, to defray the expenses of its transportation. Then came the expedition to Constantinople; the restoration of the lawful emperor; the conspiracy of Mourzeuffle; his fall, and the establishment of a French dynasty upon the throne of the Cæsars. A number of knights, who had embarked with this crusade, in the subsequent division of Rumania among the Latin nobles, obtained large possessions; beside which the orders profited by numerous grants of property and privileges from the newly-established barons. Yet this enterprise derives its principal interest to us from the influence which its perversion exercised upon the ultimate downfall of the Christian kingdom of Palestine, and the expulsion of the military orders from the scene of their greatest achievements. The rule of the Franks over the Byzantine empire lasted only about fifty-seven years, from A.D. 1204 to 1261.

For several years after the last extraordinary armament, Europe sent but few of its forces for the reinforcement of the knights and Latin Christians of the East. But in 1287, the chivalrous spirit of the West was rekindled, and a new and sixth crusade was proclaimed by the pontiff. Andrew of Hungary

led the way to the Holy Land; but so much terror did the large preparations of the Christians strike into the heart of the Sultan of Damascus, that they were unable to come to an engagement with the Mohammedans, who retired before them. Previous to the return of the season for the renewal of warfare, Andrew was called home by the discord and turbulence which reigned in his native government. Before his departure, however, he had been admitted into the order of the Knights of St. John, and had enriched them by great donations, made for the support of garrisons in several mountain fortresses, and especially that of Karac.

New and enthusiastic forces soon took the place of those, who had returned with Andrew to Europe; and with these reinforcements, John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, felt himself able to prosecute one of the boldest enterprises attempted by the Christians—the invasion of Egypt. Damietta, the nearest city of Egypt to Palestine, was first besieged; and after nearly a year and a half surrendered. Koradin had in vain offered the king the restoration of Jerusalem itself, and several places of importance in exchange for the city of Damietta. The obstinacy of the Pope's legate caused these favorable terms to be rejected, in spite of the desire of the king. The consequences of this fatal mistake were soon visible in the reverses attending the advance of the Christians into the heart of Egypt. John de Brienne, who had at first retired to Palestine, where with the cooperation of the Templars, he had obtained some advantages, returned in order to aid in extricating the army from the evil consequences of these ill-advised counsels. But the inaction of the Christians, after their arms had achieved the capture of Damietta, had allowed the enemy all the time that was necessary to place themselves in the most favorable circumstances for opposing the invaders with success. As Montaignu, Grandmaster of the Templars, informs us in a letter addressed to the Vicar of the Preceptor of England, the crusaders advanced until they found themselves separated from the enemy by a branch of the Nile. While they were preparing to bridge it, the sultan introduced his ships through canals, between the vessels and camp of the Christians, and thus cut off their communication with Damietta. Finding themselves destitute of provisions, the invaders were compelled to retrace their steps, in spite of a multitude of Saracens, until they found themselves surrounded by water; Meledin having broken down the dikes of the river, and submerged the entire vicinity. The Christians were, of course, obliged to surrender to the enemy; who gave them their liberty on the condition of their evacuating Damietta and delivering up all

their prisoners; and promised at the same time to restore the true cross, which Saladin had taken at the capture of Jerusalem. Such was the issue of the invasion of Egypt, a country more than once disastrous to the Christians. In this unfortunate enterprise we see the evident marks of inconsideration in its commencement, and of weakness and imprudence in its execution. The Knights of St. John especially, though the Templars co-operated to some degree, were deeply engaged in this warfare, and expended their own funds abundantly, in addition to those which the Europeans supplied.

The next year (1222) a great change was wrought in the affairs of the East, by the betrothment of Violante, the daughter of John de Brienne, and hieress of the throne of Palestine, to Frederick the Second of Germany. The Pontiff persuaded and almost compelled Brienne to resign his right to the throne to his future son-in-law; who on his side promised to visit his new kingdom to restore it to its former power. The history of the quarrels between the Papal See and the Emperor, on account of this promise, is foreign to our subject. The emperor made no commencement of the great things which he had promised at the council of Ferentino until 1227; and it was not until 1228, that he landed in Palestine, and then even under the utmost displeasure of pope Gregory IX. But his stay in his newly acquired dominions, although of short duration, opened the gates of Jerusalem again to the Christians. His departure is said by the defamers of the military orders, to have been hastened by the discovery of a plan traitorously formed by the knights, to deliver him into the hands of the Saracens. But we might well hesitate to receive so strange an accusation, and one which could be so advantageous to their adversaries a few years later, even were it sustained by much stronger evidence than it is. Certain it is that a violent dislike was ever after entertained by Frederick against the knights, originating, as there is more reason to suppose, in the constancy of their attachment to the interests of the pope, during the struggles, in which Frederick and the Pontiff took part, concerning the encroachments of the papal power upon the temporal rights of the emperors of Germany.

The services of the knights in the next crusade, which resulted in another recovery of Jerusalem, were signal; and not less so during the invasion of the Holy Land, in 1244, by the Khorasmians or Khowaresmians; a tribe of Turkish origin, whom commotions in their native land had compelled to seek a permanent settlement elsewhere. But, though these barbarous hordes past away as rapidly from Palestine as they had come, the Christians never recovered from the injuries inflicted by them. So evidently had

the kingdom declined, and so certain appeared the extinction of the Christian name itself, within its boundaries, without prompt assistance, that the pope determined to prepare a new enterprise for its rescue. For this Louis the Ninth of France, upon whom the Roman Church has conferred the title of *Saint Louis*, a man of an adventurous turn of mind, and enthusiastic even beyond the age he lived in, offered himself. Landing in Egypt in 1249, the capture of Damietta speedily followed; for, although such fatality continually attended the expeditions into Egypt, the natives were quite unable to meet the Europeans with advantage in the open field, or to compete with them in feats of bravery. Every one who has studied the history of the crusades must recall the disastrous issue of the advance into the interior. Like the Dutch of more modern times, the Egyptians relied for security from foreign invasion, on the canals which intersected the country; and preferred to submerge their houses and lands, rather than permit them to fall into the enemy's hands. But they differed in this respect, that while the Egyptian confided his fields to the fertilizing river on which he depended for his subsistence, the other gives them up to the desolating ocean, which for centuries has been his untiring antagonist. The King of France was compelled on this occasion to ransom himself and the few of his followers, who had escaped the ravages of war, famine and disease, and to surrender the only city which had yielded to his arms. Perhaps the total overthrow of this army was only prevented by the valor and united efforts of the Templars and Hospitalers. Louis, after this overwhelming rebuff, remained in Palestine for about four years, endeavoring to ameliorate the condition of the kingdom, both by repelling the attacks of the enemies, and by strengthening the fortifications of the principal cities. After this he reappears upon the stage of Saracen conflict, only to perish in a mad invasion of Barbary.

All things now presaged the rapid decline and fall of Latin power in the East. Disunion reigned in the camp of the Christians; and especially, as history too explicitly informs us, among the orders who had devoted themselves to the propagation of Christianity by the sword. So much had this enmity increased, that some one has rather hyperbolically remarked, that they hated each other more than their common enemy. Yet the impartial historian must be very careful not to allow too much weight to the doubtful narratives of sanguinary encounters.* A sufficient motive for skepticism will presently be seen, in the convenience

* Matthew Paris, for instance, a credulous monk, affirms that in one of these battles almost every Templar was slain: a statement altogether incredible.

of such materials to apologize for the cruelties subsequently exercised upon one of the orders.

The last crusade to which we must allude was led by Prince Edward of England in 1271; but its consequences were not lasting, and it rather hastened than arrested, the decline of the Latin cause. The future king was pre-eminently characterized by a chivalrous disposition, which displayed itself a few years later in the conquest of Wales.

We are now approaching the termination of the kingdom of Jerusalem, a catastrophe not at all unexpected; to which the natural course of events had long and clearly pointed. It is only remarkable that a nation so corrupt, with dissension reigning in the council and on the field, should so long protract its insignificant dominion. A similar instance may be found in the contemporaneous empire of the Greeks, which, by the suffrance of powerful enemies, extended its languid existence until the middle of the fifteenth century. Khalil, son of Keladeen, in the spring of 1291, commenced the siege of Acre, now the last city of importance which the Christians possessed in the Holy Land, and fortified by nature as well as by art. So vastly preponderating were the forces of the Saracens, that the Christians had no chance of escape. Yet, under the able conduct of the Grandmaster of the Templars, they exerted themselves with desperation to raise the siege, but in vain. The city was soon taken by assault, and few of its inhabitants escaped the massacre which ensued. The order of the Templars was nearly exterminated, and of the Hospitallers but a small remnant reassembled in a Christian land. The Teutonic order, deserting the object for which it had been instituted, departed entirely from the East, and after a short sojourn in the north of Italy, removed permanently to the possessions on the shores of the Baltic, in Prussia and Livonia, which they had conquered from the Sarmatians. The Hospitallers resorted at once from Acre to the kingdom of Cyprus; as did likewise the Templars a little later, after their expulsion from some other fortresses, which they had still retained in Palestine. Both orders had great possessions in Cyprus, where they attained a considerable importance.

It would be a matter of some interest to trace all the causes, which conduced to the downfall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. One of the principal is well pointed out in a speech of Guy to the pope Nicholas IV., when deputed to him by the Grandmaster of the Templars in 1289: "With the alms which you have received from princes and people, you might have prevented Palestine from falling into the state in which it now lies. Far from that, in order to recover Sicily, justly revolted, you have thought

that you might arm king against king. Instead of favoring the passage of crusaders to the East, you have prevented it; you have, to the shame of Christianity, turned against the Sicilians, forces assembled at great expense against the Moslems. Everybody sees how contrary this conduct is to the spirit of the church. As Vicar of Jesus Christ, it became you not to abandon his flock, but to defend it. What pleasure do you find in seeing Christians in discord, you who are placed over them to preach to them peace and union? It is time, very holy Father, to return to yourself, and to put an end to the dissensions which you foment between the Sicilians and your Frenchmen. Return to each what belongs to them; and, if you wish to spare us the grief of seeing the remainder of the Eastern Latins perish, do not delay a moment to send them help. Press the sovereigns and all those whom you can, to send as soon as possible reinforcements to the faithful shut up in Acre; otherwise, and if you merely remain in inaction, the conflagration, which you might have extinguished at first, will become general, and will kindle and consume everything.”* Under such circumstances, when even the assistance, now so niggardly afforded them, was diverted from its destination; it is not strange that the Latins, much diminished in numbers, and surrounded by such immense multitudes of Saracens, should finally be compelled to abandon the field of conflict. It had, doubtless, been determined by an All-wise Providence, that an enterprise commenced and prosecuted in so mistaken a spirit, and so unworthy of that Cross which had been elevated over it, should fail by the culpable negligence of the self-styled successors of the Apostles; and by the universal depravity of manners, which we may, perhaps, reckon as a legitimate consequence of the character of the Crusades.

The residence of the military orders in Cyprus was of short duration; less than twenty years elapsing before the headquarters of both were removed. At this time two events of great importance occurred, which we must now notice; the condemnation of the Templars, and the conquest of the island of Rhodes by the knights of St. John. The first of these events, from the various aspects in which historians regard it, no less than from its important influence upon the destinies of the knighthood, deserves our critical examination. To understand the motives which actuated the principal agents in this matter, the reader must fully acquaint himself, with some of the circum-

* Borth. de Necastro, as quoted by the author of the “*Histoire Critique et Apologétique des Templiers*, ad ann. 1289.”

stances in the civil and ecclesiastical condition of Europe at the period of its consummation.

Philip the Fair at this time occupied the throne of France; a man of equal independence and determination, and altogether unscrupulous of the means he embraced to accomplish his ends. The arrogant character which Boniface VIII., the existing pope, possessed in common with his predecessors, soon embroiled him with the French king; who very rightly would suffer no foreign interference in the affairs of his kingdom, whether from a temporal or an ecclesiastical potentate. The quarrel, which the contending pretensions gave rise to, terminated upon this occasion unfortunately for the pope, who, having fallen into the hands of his implacable enemy, died in prison. The devotion, which the Templars manifested towards him, may have been one of the causes of the subsequent hostility of the king. The successor of Boniface was Benedict XI., who occupied the pontifical chair only eight months. For about a year there was a vacancy, resulting from the impossibility of the cardinals to agree upon a successor. At length, through the influence of Philip, who now possessed the strongest party in the conclave, Bertrand d'Agoust or de Got, a man completely attached to the interest of the king, and previously pledged, as there are good grounds to suppose, to carry out his demands, was elected pope in 1305, and took the surname of Clement V. The subjects, upon which the pontiff had promised obedience to the demands of Philip, are said to have been six in number: the first five were specified, and related to the removal of the sentences laid on Philip by Boniface; the remitting of the tithes in France, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Flemish war; the defamation of Boniface; and the creation of certain cardinals. The sixth, the king reserved until a future time to declare, although he demanded and obtained of the pope the promise of its execution. This article there is good reason to suppose, referred to the abolition of the order of the Templars, and the confiscation of its possessions. Such, at least, is the account of credible Italian historians. There is, however, no necessity of dwelling upon contested points, while the more important facts, on which we must base our opinion, are incontrovertible.

In the commencement of the following year (1306), the plan, which we cannot but suppose had long been matured by Philip, began to be carried into execution; and a summons was sent by the pope for both the Grandmasters to repair forthwith from Cyprus to Rome: in order, as he alleged, to obtain their advice with regard to the most advantageous method of succoring the Holy Land. The Grandmaster of the Hospitallers, who was

then engrossed in an enterprise projected against Rhodes, immediately wrote to the pope to apologize for his inability to come ; and the Grandmaster of the Templars proceeded to Rome alone. It is doubtful whether any evil intentions were entertained against the knights of St. John : it seems more probable that the design of the Papal See was merely to delude its victims, until they were fairly within its grasp. James de Molai, the Grandmaster, upon reaching Rome, was consulted on several subjects ; the most important of which was the contemplated union of the military orders, which might, under the direction of a single individual, act with greater efficiency upon the Mohammedan world. This union de Molai, of course, strenuously opposed ; and assigned as a reason, that though their efficiency might be augmented, their competition was of much more importance : a statement amply proved by the subsequent history of the order of St. John, and for which he might have cited examples from the states of ancient Greece, and from the rivalry of Carthage and Rome. Another considerable objection might have been urged : the loss which the united order would inevitably sustain of many privileges which each possessed before, and of that independence, which they enjoyed to so high a degree, of the court of Rome.

The rapacity of Philip occasioned an insurrection at Paris, towards the end of the same year ; in the course of which he was himself besieged in the "*Temple*," where he had often been a guest. The French Templars were accused of implication in this revolt, and this furnished the king an additional pretext for carrying out his designs. According to some historians, the accusations against the Templars were concocted by two criminals in prison in the Toulousain : Squin de Florian, a citizen of Beziers, and Noffodei, a renegade Templar. Others have discredited the whole story as inconsistent with chronology. Be this as it may, the king determined, by a remarkable stroke of policy, to imprison all the Templars in his kingdom. Not that the method he employed was entirely novel : he had tried it before in seizing the persons and effects of the bankers and Jews, and it had succeeded so well, that he resolved to make use of it again. A circular letter was addressed to the various bailiffs, which they were forbidden under penalty of death to open, until the morning of the 13th of October, before sunrise. In this letter, after the expression of much virtuous indignation and sorrow at the failings of the Templars, the officers were commanded to ascertain the number of the houses and the amount of goods belonging to the knights ; and to seize every member of the order who might be found within their districts. The knights were

then to be examined by the Inquisition, upon the articles laid to their charge; and to be exhorted to make a full confession of their faults: but if they persisted in denying them, they were to be threatened with death.

The following are the principal grounds of accusation against the Templars: That they did not firmly believe in God; that the mode of consecration was kept secret, though the ceremony of investment was public; that on the day of their reception they renounced the Savior, treading and spitting upon the cross. They were furthermore accused of adoring a hideous idol, whom they called Bafomet; of having, by their own confession, betrayed King Louis IX., and the city of Acre; of having sold the Christians; and of embezzling the royal moneys deposited in the "*Temple*." In addition to these accusations, various obscene and incredible practices were attributed to them; which the prisoners were said to have revealed. Such were briefly the crimes of which they were accused, and in which the agents in this iniquitous affair sought a pretext to excuse themselves.

In the first place, then, it is said that the Templars did not firmly believe in God: an accusation which could neither be established nor disproved. Moreover we are called upon to believe that those who had publicly devoted themselves to the warfare for Christ, commenced their career by denying him, and, with equal malignity and folly, trampling on his cross. Well might the letters of Philip the Fair style it an unheard-of enormity, a monstrous case! We can conceive that men professing to believe the truth of Christianity should secretly attempt to undermine it. But how are we to suppose it possible that men could be found willing to peril and lose their lives in the service of One whom it was their first object to deny, and whose religion they would constantly aim to destroy? How much more difficult to account for either the institution or perpetuation of a system so completely conflicting with the general notions of the people among whom it was maintained, and even so inconsistent with itself? For it must be remembered that this society was not composed of the dregs of the populace; but exclusively collected from the nobility of the various countries; including among its members princes of royal blood and even crowned heads. What probable ground, again, can there be for the conception, that men of high standing should so abandon all preconceived ideas, as to worship a hideous idol? Here, however, we have negative testimony against the assertion, in the fact that though the arrest of the Templars was so sudden, no such object of worship was met with.

The next article, "That the Templars had betrayed St. Louis,"

is so far from the fact, that no historian had ever hinted it; but, on the contrary, all united in ascribing the highest credit to their valor. At Acre, which they were accused of treacherously surrendering, but ten Templars, we are told, escaped. All the rest fell in the siege and sack of that city. The impudent effrontery, as well as the base calumny, of such a reproach is, indeed, scarcely to be equaled in any page of history. That which follows, that they had openly sold the Christians to the Sultan of Babylon, finds not a shadow to countenance it, in the conduct of the parties, who continually *acted* at least, as if actuated by implacable enmity to each other.

It was further laid to the charge of the knights, that they had embezzled money belonging to the king. The circumstances of the case were these: The chief house of the order at Paris was the "Temple," and such was the splendor of the edifice, that the king himself frequently lodged there during his residence in the city. Indeed, at the very time when Philip was plotting their destruction, when, according to his subsequent professions, he must have deemed them the vilest of mankind, and should have shrunk from their contamination; on the very eve of their seizure throughout France;—he was actually their guest. The Temple was likewise the repository of the public treasury. It was kept in a certain room, in which ten persons constantly remained, one of whom was a Templar. Of the three or four keys of the coffers only one was in the possession of the knights. How, under such circumstances, could there have been room for defalcation; and even had that been possible, why should not the detection have been made previous to this time? The truth is, that this was but a pretext to allow Philip to gratify his avarice by the confiscation of their property.

The remaining articles contain accusations of grossly immoral conduct, which though it may have existed in some instances, (and even this is far from proven,) is stated not only to have been general, but to have formed part of a system of wickedness—an idea too revolting to be entertained, without the most explicit and authentic testimony. That so many members of the noblest families of Europe should, at their entrance, have embraced such horrid practices, and that this state of things should have continued to subsist undiscovered for so many years as was supposed, would be a physical impossibility. We cannot, therefore, but esteem these, as well as the other accusations, to be utterly devoid of truth.

Having secured the persons and possessions of the Templars, by an action which deprived them of all means of defense, Philip the Fair committed the examination of the knights to a

committee of his favorite counselors. The pope began to fear the consequences of his weak compliance, but the terror of Philip's name overcame his reluctance. The knights were now examined by torture; many overpowered by their sufferings, acknowledged the truth of the charges, though most of these even after the fearful ordeal retracted: the greater number remained constant. Fifty-four of them were together burnt at the stake in the city of Paris in 1310. A council was now called at Vienne in France, to take this subject among others into consideration. It met in October, 1311, and was consulted upon the abolition of the order of the Templars. All the prelates, with the exception of four, an Italian and three French, declared the plan to be ill-advised, and opposed it. But Clement V. had cast the die; and assuming plenary powers, he declared the dissolution of the order. The final consummation took place two years later, in 1313, by the execution of the Grandmaster de Molai, and another of the principal officers of the order. Having recanted their confessions, they were publicly burnt on the island of the Seine at Paris, called l'Île de la Cité, near where now stands the equestrian statue of Henry IV.

In England the Templars had at first been protected; but on receiving from the pope a formal accusation against them, Edward II. altered his conduct, and became their persecutor. In Germany some of the princes of the empire and prelates were their enemies, whilst others offered them their protection. In Portugal and Arragon their property was given to two new orders of knights, which the monarchs of those countries instituted, and in which they incorporated the Templars—the orders of the Soldiers of Christ, and of Monteza. Their object was to take the place of the Templars in their contests against the Moors. Ferdinand the Catholic, jealous of their power, assumed the grandmastership of both, and released them from their vow of poverty. They both, we believe, exist at the present day. It was the intention of the pope, to transfer the domains of which the Templars had been dispossessed, to the Hospitallers; but he found it impossible to secure the complete fulfillment of his wishes. Not only did various monarchs confiscate large portions of the spoil, but the heirs of many of the original granters of property insisted upon their claim to a reversionary interest in them. In short the Papal See soon found that it had no prospect of deriving from its iniquitous proceedings the fruits it had anticipated.

Such was the end of the knighthood of the Temple, after an existence of nearly two centuries. For with its condemnation and abolition in 1311, all its importance as a political body ceased

forever ; though it continues even now to possess a nominal being. Upon its ruins the order of St. John arose to a more prosperous condition than it had ever before occupied. But it even then contained the seeds of degeneracy, which afterwards, though retarded by unfavorable circumstances, insured its downfall.

The Teutonic order, as we before mentioned, upon the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land, removed successively to Venice, to Marburg, and to the borders of the Baltic Sea, near the town of Dantzick, where they acquired extensive possessions wrested from the surrounding pagans. These they aggrandized and held in absolute sovereignty, until, in the sixteenth century, they were transferred to their Grandmaster, the Duke of Brandenburg ; whose descendant, the King of Prussia, still governs them. The Teutonic order was abolished by Napoleon in April, 1809 : at that time it comprised about a dozen bailiwicks, some Protestant, others Roman Catholic,

It only remains for us to continue the history of the knighthood of St. John until its dissolution. About the time of the suppression of the Templars, the Grandmaster of the Hospitallers had projected a new enterprise ; which was no less than the conquest of Rhodes. After a contest of two years and a siege of several months, the city of Rhodes and the whole island was surrendered by the natives and Saracens, who had combined in its defense. For about two hundred and ten years the knights of St. John held possession of Rhodes. During this period their influence was constantly augmenting ; especially in the Archipelago, where their name became famous. Their establishments were likewise important, not only on the islands, as at Cas, but upon the main-land, where for many years they preserved their possession of the fortress of Smyrna, an extremely difficult post. But there was a power then rising in the East, whose successive and rapid conquests soon alarmed even the knights in their strong insular home. It was the new state of the Ottomans, who having settled in the territory of ancient Bithynia, had gradually absorbed the provinces of the Greek empire ; until at length even the imperial city of Constantinople became their prey. A few years after the fall of that city, the sultan equipped a fleet to invade the island of Negropont, which, like much of the rest of Greece, had long belonged to the republic of Venice ; and the knights sent succors to it, though unavailingly. As a natural consequence the sultan from that moment determined upon the invasion of Rhodes ; but other wars for a time delayed the execution of his designs. At length, in the commencement of 1480, he landed on the island, with an army, it is said, of more than 80,000 men. Rhodes was at that time, as it had been in remote

antiquity, a place of great importance. It consisted of a town built on the sea-shore, and of an acropolis, which being of great strength, was devoted to the accommodation of the knights; its harbors were safe and protected by moles, on which stood three castles of great size. The invaders soon experienced both the valor of the citizens, and the impracticability of their enterprise; for after an arduous siege, they were compelled, as had been Demetrius Poliorcetes, eighteen hundred years before, to desist from their undertaking. But Solyman, forty years after, renewed the attempt to capture Rhodes, and in 1522 sent thither upwards of two hundred thousand men. So vigorously was the siege pressed, and so numerous were the assailants, that after the knights had shown prodigies of valor, the enemy forced their way into the city, and compelled the besieged to surrender, with the liberty of proceeding with their effects whithersoever they wished.

The Hospitallers were, therefore, once more most unwillingly compelled to retire before the hordes of barbarians, who now threatened to overrun all Europe, and destroy the Christian name. During the interval that elapsed before they found a permanent settlement, the knights resided successively in Crete, at Messina, and at Viterbo. At length, in 1530, Charles the Fifth, the most powerful prince in Christendom, ceded to them the small island of Malta, situated south of Sicily; at that time a barren, rocky piece of ground, with that of Gozo, which is a few miles west of it. The knights immediately took possession of this apparently valueless territory, and soon commenced a series of improvements, than which we can scarcely find in history a more signal instance of patient and successful industry. But their attention was more particularly called to the augmentation of their power; and successive Grandmasters vied in their exertions to make of Valetta, their capital, one of the best fortified places in the world. The naval power of the knights of Malta soon became very formidable, and their very name a terror to the pirates and corsairs whom the neighboring coasts of Barbary bred in great numbers. Their natural enemies, the Turks, again attempted in 1565 with a powerful armament, to drive them from their stronghold; and they succeeded to a degree most alarming. The indomitable bravery of the knights, however, ultimately effected their entire expulsion from the island, and they never again laid siege to the *Bourg*; the only part of Valetta then in existence. From that time forward, if the knights contended with the Saracens, it was either at sea or on the adjacent shores of Africa. The naval force of the order was so considerable, that its assistance was eagerly sought. They partook largely in the expeditions which Charles the Fifth sent into Africa, and were present at the

great battle of Lepanto in 1571; where the Ottoman power received a greater shock than it had ever before encountered, from the united fleets of Spain, Venice and Malta, under the command of Don John of Austria. From this time forward the only exploits of the Maltese knights were the occasional capture of some town of Africa or of some richly laden Moorish galley. Indeed the order had, in a military point of view merely, been declining from the time of the great siege of Malta in 1565. We have now, therefore, only to relate the closing incidents of its history. The order had already, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, been deprived of all its possessions in England; and although they were restored under Queen Mary, they were again sequestered by her Protestant successor. In the French revolution it was naturally impossible that the Hospitallers should retain their possessions; and accordingly, after several preparatory steps, an act was passed in 1792 abolishing the order in France, and confiscating their property. Thus was the wealth of the knights diminished by about two-thirds, and its most important "languages" or provinces destroyed. Little amends were made for this by the institution of a ninth language, that of Anglo-Bavaria. The catastrophe soon arrived. Under the pretense that the knights of Malta had virtually sided with the Allied Powers against France, Napoleon Bonaparte stopped at Valetta on his way to Egypt, and laid siege to it. Through the degeneracy of the knights, the treachery of some of them, and the cowardice of the citizens, the place surrendered, and was for a time in the power of the French government. The order was dispersed over Europe, and the Grandmaster retired to Russia. The congress of Vienna did not, as the Hospitallers had hoped, restore the island of Malta to its rightful owners, deeming them so degenerate as to be incapable of governing it well. It, therefore, allowed England, into whose hands Malta had fallen, to retain it. The Hospitallers now exist, like the Templars and Teutronics, only as an honorary order; having no possessions, privileges or power.

Such has been the varied history of the monastic military orders, whose influence upon mankind during the middle ages was so important. Who is there, that in dwelling with animated interest upon the records of the times of chivalry, to which the imagination has lent such fascination, does not meet with frequent instances of their daring? But the times for such marvels are now past, and it becomes the historian carefully to scrutinize the character of every transaction and of every agent, divested of the halo of romance. We must adopt the sentiment of Nicias: We know that other things would be more pleasing; but we prefer truth to pleasure.

The military orders have been considered in two opposite lights. Some have been carried away by the sounding pretensions of their advocates, and regard them as paragons of perfection; the "poor soldiers of Christ," the "servants of Christ's poor," who, for the sake of humanity and the kingdom of their Savior, had sacrificed wealth, connections and personal independence. Others, believing with too little charity, the accusation of their most bitter enemies, attribute to them hypocrisy, dishonesty, and every crime to which frail humanity is liable; or which might be ascribed rather to incarnate demons. To yield so much to fancy or to prejudice, would be to violate all probability as well as historic truth. In the language of a recent reviewer, it is a great fault in an historian to induce his readers to suppose, that men in any other age have been very different in their characters and motives from those they see about them. They should be continually represented as very little better or worse than those who read their history. As warriors the knights were actuated by that chivalrous love of glory which naturally finds a place in every human breast; and which the state of society was then peculiarly fitted to cherish. As to character, their notions of right and wrong had been modified according to the moral sentiments of the communities among which they sprung. We ought not, therefore, to expect to find among them that perfect regard to the laws of virtue, which a mere religion of feeling does not require. Nor are we so far to depart from probabilities, as to consider any instances of gross immorality a part of a system of wickedness: since in the records of humanity we find no instance of the kind.

We should, however, form very erroneous ideas of both the constitution and character of these knighthoods, by allowing no room for the changes which time could operate. It is an undoubted fact in political science, that a constitution possessing many excellent principles, and formed with the most praiseworthy intentions, may degenerate into the very worst of despotisms, and its soundest provisions be perverted to the worst of ends, solely because of some fundamental error at the outset. It is certainly probable that the motives which actuated the founders of a hospital for the stranger and sick, in the city of Jerusalem, were of the purest benevolence. Compassion for the sufferings of those whom, perhaps, they had often seen worn with fatigue and sickness, reaching the Holy Sepulchre only to die, influenced the kind-hearted merchants of Amalfi. Similar may have been the feelings of the men who united for the defense of the poor and unprotected pilgrim on his way through a country full of concealed dangers. But how can we peruse the history of

these same orders, century after century, without observing how much they altered from their primitive character? And though, perhaps, unable to trace and define every stage of the change, we are none the less certain that it occurred.

To what cause, then, shall we attribute the fact? It was the inevitable consequence of the constitution originally adopted by the orders, and which by the plain teachings of Providence was an unnatural one. They attempted to combine a military profession and a religious character. They aspired to grasp the sword, while devoting their lives to the service of the Prince of peace. They forgot the great law of human brotherhood, and the great principle of universal love. Like St. Peter of old, they were anxious to advance the interests of their Master by drawing the sword. But if no audible reproof reached their ears, the voice of history is not less certain or explicit to us. The combination was unnatural and impracticable. Either the warrior must be lost in the Christian, or the Christian be sacrificed to the warrior. It was an issue which would fain have been avoided, but in which a choice was inevitable. "I acknowledge," says one apologist, "that it was forsaking Rachel for Leah, and Mary for Martha; that it was girding on two swords at once; that in this use of spiritual and material weapons it were difficult for the religious not to disappear to make room for the military; but after all, this alternative was the spirit of the order, the aim and intention of the founder, who thus embraced the opportunity to render himself useful and necessary to the public."

It is thus, therefore, that we may trace in history the gradual development of these fatal consequences. Sacrificing the humility of the followers of the cross to an ambitious strife for the wealth and power of the world, the vow of poverty becomes an unmeaning form; and even crowned monarchs are admitted to their number, for whom such a rule were impossible. The desire of advancing Christianity no longer actuated them in their conflicts with the Saracen, for an insatiable thirst for glory and distinction has usurped its place. They care not to protect the pilgrim in his weary and dangerous journey; but the hope of booty suffices to draw them into any enterprise, however unjustifiable its ends. At this point, too, arise jealousies of rivalry, and bloody contentions for precedence. The arms which they assumed to wage war with the Mussulman, are now frequently turned against those who profess the same faith with themselves. The "poor soldiers of the cross" have become owners of houses, lands and flocks, in every country of Christendom; and many fare sumptuously in their commanderies upon the rents of their

farms. And if we pursue the history of the knights still further down, we can observe more and more distinctly the indications of their degeneracy. From a mere band of warriors, we see them in their island home of Malta, sending forth armaments to devastate the neighboring shores of Barbary, and scouring the sea in search of plunder; in short, but little better than common corsairs and pirates. Finally, their naval resources even are abandoned, and shutting themselves up in Valetta, they live at ease, and at last suffer themselves to be driven from their possessions without the least effort to preserve them. The historian who chronicles the increasing power and magnificence of the military orders, is apt to forget that he is recording the very signs of their perversion and decline.

The patronage which the civilized world had long extended to the knights, they owed to the peculiar services rendered to it. Living in common, and under the direction of one officer, with their constant exercise in the profession of arms, they possessed an experience that made them much more efficient than the troops which either Christian or Infidel could oppose. Moreover, from their individual origin out of families of distinction, and the education which made them esteem personal prowess as the most honorable of qualities, they fought for glory with more desperation than for life. Hence it was that their aid became so important to the kingdom of Palestine, and was so coveted by the European monarchs. These princes, consequently, sought to secure the same privileges, either by engaging them in their own service, as in Spain against the Moors, or in Germany against the Lithuanians, or by instituting secular orders of knighthood. For a time, during the existence of the feudal system in Europe (which in its organization was a species of militia), the assistance of the military orders of St. John, the Temple and the Tentonics, was courted on all sides, and abundantly rewarded with gifts and privileges. Stationed upon the borders of civilization, both in Asia and Europe, they were the outposts of Christendom. But the remarkable state of society in which they were living, was passing away; and the changes which were now wrought in the mode of warfare, were destructive of the power of the military orders. Their superiority was in great part owing to their continual exercise in arms; but when standing armies began to be sustained by the great monarchies of Europe, the disparity was soon destroyed, and they were compelled to yield to superior arms.* Thenceforth the assistance of

* Macaulay (in an essay on the Athenian orators) has assigned a similar reason for the decline of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, whose warriors, previous to their contests with the Macedonian standing armies, in the third and fourth centuries

the knights was of little importance, and could, finally, be entirely dispensed with by the powers of Europe. As a necessary consequence, the kings and nobility, who had granted them possessions and privileges, began to question whether any adequate equivalent had been returned. As they found the knights sunk in luxury and incapable of rendering them any further aid, the inquiry arose whether they had not a right to revoke these powers. Interest readily gave a favorable answer; and soon the design was put into execution. In this manner the remaining orders found themselves stripped of all their influence, and fell into the state in which we now find them.

After this examination of the history and constitutions of these remarkable bodies, the sources of their greatness, and the causes of their decline, we may conjecture with some correctness as to whether it be possible that they should ever recover from their present insignificance, and resume their former celebrity. Judging from the entire change which society has experienced, as well as the decay into which the Ottoman Empire has fallen, it may, we think, be safely concluded that the monastic military orders, however distinguished in the middle ages, can never recover their pristine power, wealth and renown.

ART. VI.—A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HON. SIMEON BALDWIN.

IN our last number we presented a sketch of the life and character of the Hon. David Daggett. The bereaving hand, which gave occasion for that sketch, summons us now to present another. The venerable Judge Baldwin, to whom we then alluded as daily waiting, in his ninetieth year, with the serenity of patience and hope and in the confidence of faith, for his departure, in a little more than five weeks went to join his friend. Having occupied for many years a seat on the bench of the same court, united to him in the fellowship of the same church and in the bonds of neighborhood and affectionate intimacy during a long life, he was scarcely separated from him in death. We are confident that we shall gratify, not only ourselves, but many of our readers, who, during their college life as well as at their subsequent occasional visits to their Alma Mater, were accustomed

before the Christian era, had been brought into conflict against nothing but the militia of the other Grecian states, or the undisciplined hordes of the King of Persia.

to see his noble form and benignant face, if we render to him in our pages the just tribute of a brief review of his life and his virtues.

SIMEON BALDWIN was born December 14, 1761, in the town of Norwich, in what is now the State, but was then the colony of Connecticut; and of course on the day of his decease, May 26, 1851, had passed through five months and twelve days of his ninetieth year: thus extending his earthly pilgrimage through the average lifetime of three generations. He was the youngest among seven children of Ebenezer Baldwin, the grandson of Thomas Baldwin, and great-grandson of John Baldwin, the first ancestor of this branch of the Baldwin family in this country. John Baldwin came from England with the Puritan emigrants from the counties of Bucks, Surrey and Kent, who accompanied their pastors, Rev. Messrs. Davenport, Prudden and Whitfield, and began the settlement of New Haven, Milford and Guilford. Of these emigrants, six families bore the name of Baldwin. John Baldwin's name appears on the records of the town of Guilford, in the tax list of the planters and inhabitants of that town, in 1646. It appears, also, from these records that he was married there in 1653, and had a son born there in 1654, and a daughter in 1656; and it appears, moreover, from the records of Norwich, that he was one of thirty-five proprietors who purchased and settled that town in 1660. At that time he removed with his family to that place, and took up his residence on the town lot assigned to him. On this same spot, were born his son Thomas, his grandson Ebenezer, and his great-grandson Simeon, the subject of the present sketch. The parents of Simeon Baldwin were devout and godly persons, who by prayer, faith and Christian nurture devoted their children to Christ and his church. He had the misfortune to lose by death his own mother when he was a little more than a year old; but her place was in due time supplied so well by a second wife of his father, that he never knew or could see any difference, as he has often said, between her and a real mother. His father combined, as is often the case in the early history of colonies, mechanical and agricultural pursuits. He was a man trusted, honored and useful in the civil and religious affairs of Norwich, an active member of the church, a magistrate of the town, and its representative in the General Assembly.

Mr. Baldwin, thus favored by early parental influence, was also eminently favored in the instruction which for a time he received in studies preparatory for admission to college. He went,

at the age of thirteen, to reside in the family and under the tuition of his oldest brother, Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, pastor of the Congregational church in Danbury, who was then, though in early life, one of the most eminent ministers, accomplished scholars and active philanthropists and patriots in the colony. Judge Trumbull, in a memoir of his own life, and of the various writers on the history of Yale College, makes honorable mention of him as one of an able body of tutors, who, entering upon their office at a period when the college had fallen into disfavor among many of the civilians of the State, and was in a great measure forsaken by its students on account of general dissatisfaction with its administration, by their eminent scholarship, affable manners, efficient authority, and modes of instruction adapted to the progress of the times, contributed much to raise again its reputation, restore it to confidence, and repair its prosperity. The late Chancellor Kent, who was under his tuition at Danbury with Simeon Baldwin, whose classmate he was in college, and through life his admiring and familiar friend, in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1831, alludes to Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, as his early preceptor, with an affectionate warmth which time had not chilled and death had hallowed, and gives a touching tribute to his worth and virtues. He calls him "a great and excellent man," and gives a glowing eulogy on his piety, his learning, his eloquence, judgment and patriotism.

Simeon Baldwin commenced his studies with his brother, in Danbury, at a most trying period of our American history, in 1774, when the colonies were burdened under the oppressive measures of the British Government; and patriotic and courageous men were actively engaged in preparing for the daring, and to any but the righteous and the brave, desperate work of resistance and revolution. His recollections of that period were vivid and accurate; and he has often spoken in late years of the active part which his brother took in that work preparatory to our struggle for civil liberty, thinking that struggle sacred, chiefly because it involved religious liberty. Particularly has he spoken of an address, which his brother published in the year 1774, under his own signature, to the people of the western part of the colony, to rouse them to a sense of the danger in which their liberties were then involved by measures of the British Government, which, as he clearly showed, violated alike their natural rights as men and their constitutional rights as Englishmen; and also of a sermon which his brother preached, and afterwards published by request, on Thanksgiving Day, in November, 1775, that was designed to keep up the spirits of the people in the danger-

ous struggle in which they were then fully engaged, by the events that had occurred during the year then drawing to a close, especially the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. A vivid idea of the vast changes which have taken place during our friend's lifetime is conveyed by a fact that he has often narrated. A rumor reached Danbury that a battle had been fought on Bunker Hill, but no definite intelligence had been received there of its character or issue. This was nearly three weeks after the battle. So, to procure satisfactory information, Simeon Baldwin, then fourteen years old, was sent on horseback fifteen miles to the house of the clergyman in New Milford, to borrow the Hartford paper, which contained an account, official probably, of that engagement. On his return the inhabitants of the town assembled in great numbers around the house of his brother to hear it read. How much is embraced in a life, one extreme of which is in such a period, and the other in a period, when the nerves of intelligence, reaching to all points in a country extended tenfold, are literally operated by the power and with the speed of the lightning.

But the distinguished advantages of Mr. Baldwin under the tuition of his brother, after continuing about two years, were calamitously cut off. In the impending and gloomy campaign of 1776, when the defense of New York, threatened by the British army of 30,000, well disciplined and well equipped, had become well nigh desperate, "Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin (we use here the language of Chancellor Kent) was incessant in his efforts to cheer and animate his townsmen to join the militia, which were called out for the defense of New York. To give weight to his eloquent exhortations, he added that of his heroic example. He went voluntarily as a chaplain to one of the militia regiments. His office was pacific, but he nevertheless arrayed himself in military armor. I was present (adds Chancellor Kent) when he firmly and cheerfully bade adieu to his devoted parishioners and affectionate pupils." This was about the first of August, 1776. Soon after his arrival at New York, Simeon, then fourteen years old, went at his summons on horseback to carry to him some clothing and provisions. He remained a short time in New York, and was sent back by his brother, who anticipated the next day an attack from the enemy's forces. When the anticipated attack took place, Mr. Baldwin's horse was taken with all his baggage. The loss of his clothing subjected him to severe exposure, especially in the chilly nights; which, with other hardships of his service in ministering to the sick and suffering soldiers, resulted in a fever that prevailed in the camp. Intelligence of his sickness was immediately sent to Danbury; and Simeon was dispatched

to New York to convey him to his home; which he accomplished, though they were detained for a time at a town on the way by the severity of his brother's disease. He then went immediately from Danbury to Norwich to summon the family friends. They arrived just in season to hear the last words, and witness the death, at the early age of thirty-one, of this, one of the most promising and heroic of the clerical martyrs to our national freedom. His eminent reputation and worth may be inferred from the fact, that, notwithstanding his youth, he was the favorite candidate for the Presidency of Yale College, then occupied *pro tempore* by Professor Daggett, and would undoubtedly have been chosen to that office, had his life been continued.

Being thus bereaved of the instruction of his brother, Mr. Baldwin pursued his preparatory studies partly at Coventry with Rev. Mr. Huntington, and partly at Lebanon at the school of Mr. Tisdale, then a teacher of high reputation in Connecticut. He entered Yale College in the year 1777, during the Presidency of Rev. Dr. Daggett, and graduated with honor in 1781. Of that class he was the last survivor. On the recent triennial catalogue every name except his is prefixed with the fatal star. The whole of his college life was in the stormy and exciting period of the revolutionary war, and at times the college was wholly forsaken, the students being distributed under the care of their instructors, in different towns in the State. They were in New Haven, however, at the time of the attack on this place by detachments of British troops under Generals Tryon and Garth; and Mr. Baldwin with a company of his fellow students, joined the forces which were hastily collected to resist them, at what was then and is now called "Neck Bridge," a bridge over the western branch of the Quinnipiack river, near Cedar Hill. He participated at that point in a skirmish in which a man standing near him was shot.

During the year after his graduation he commenced the study of the law, in New Haven, with Judge Chauncey; but in the next year, having been appointed, in connection with John Lovett of the next following class, to the charge of the Academy at Albany, he removed to that city; where he resided in the family of Peter Yates, then an eminent lawyer in that city, of whose valuable law library he availed himself for the continuance of his professional studies so far as was compatible with his duties as teacher. He there formed a pleasant acquaintance with Edward and Brockholdst Livingston, who were both pursuing their legal studies at that time under the direction of Mr. Yates. Here again we get a striking view of the changes which his long life has witnessed in this fact, that at that time there were but sixteen counselors at the bar in the whole State of New York, with all of whom

Mr. Baldwin became acquainted. Among his pupils at the Academy in Albany were John V. Henry, who afterwards became an eminent lawyer, and Francis Bloodgood, who was for many years a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. In 1783, two years after his graduation, he entered on the office of tutor in Yale College, which he filled with ability and fidelity for three years, pursuing at the same time the study of law with Judge Chauncey, till 1786, when, with his early and life-long friend David Daggett, he was admitted to the bar of New Haven County, and entered on the practice of his profession in this town. Four years after, in 1790, he was appointed by Judge Law clerk of the District and Circuit courts of the United States, and continued to perform the duties of that office, in connection with an extensive professional practice in the State courts, for thirteen years, till the autumn of 1803, when he was elected a representative from Connecticut of the eighth Congress of the United States, with Roger Griswold, Calvin Goddard, and S. W. Dana as his associates. He attended the two sessions of that Congress, which expired in 1805, when he declined a re-election, resumed his practice at the bar, and was re-appointed by Judge Law clerk of the District and Circuit Courts. In 1806, when he was forty-five years of age, he was appointed by the legislature of the State an associate judge of the Superior Court and of the Supreme Court of Errors. In that office he was continued for eleven years, by annual appointment, which was the custom under the old constitution, till 1817, when the Federal party went out of power in the State. He then returned to his practice at the bar. In 1822 he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the commissioners to locate the Farmington Canal, and was made President of that board. In 1826 he was chosen Mayor of the city of New Haven. In 1830, in his 70th year, after having seen the canal located and completed to the Connecticut river at Northampton, he resigned his position as commissioner, and since that time has held no public office. The practice of his profession, however, as a counselor and adviser, chiefly at his own office, he has pursued, notwithstanding his age, till within a few years.

During his practice at the bar, before he was appointed judge, he occasionally taught in his office students at law, some of whom in after life became eminent; among whom may be mentioned the late Jeremiah Mason, who cherished for him through life a respectful and affectionate regard.

At the age of twenty-six, about a year after he was admitted to the bar, Mr. Baldwin married Rebecca, daughter of the Hon. Roger Sherman, of New Haven, a man justly renowned as one

of the committee who reported the Declaration of Independence, and one of the signers of that instrument, and as one of the ablest members of the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. She deceased in 1795, after a married life of eight years, having been the mother of four children. Of these, two survive him, one of whom has always dwelt under her father's roof in the constant and affectionate exercise of filial fidelity and devotion; and the other is Hon. Roger Sherman Baldwin, late Senator of the United States from Connecticut. Five years after the death of his wife, on the 13th of April, 1800, Mr. Baldwin married Elizabeth, another daughter of Hon. Roger Sherman, and widow of Sturges Burr. With her he was permitted by a kind Providence to live in happy union for half a century, till July, 1850, when she deceased at the age of eighty-five. Five children were the offspring of this marriage, two of whom survive.

The commencement of Judge Baldwin's religious life he was never able to date; and it was partly for this reason, and partly from his very high idea of the spiritual characteristics which are necessary to evince piety, that he deferred to a late period his union with a Christian church. He made a profession of his faith in Christ, and of his devotion to his service, by uniting with the North Church in New Haven, in August, 1831, during his seventieth year. But, for many years before that time, his pastor and his friends had regarded him as truly a religious man. Indeed, from his youth, he seemed to have practiced many of the Christian virtues, and to have maintained a deportment in respect to moral and religious things, which cannot easily be accounted for, except on the supposition that he possessed real piety. From his early days, and especially after he assumed the responsibilities of professional and married life, he was an earnest and liberal supporter of religious institutions, a regular, reverent, and devout attendant on divine worship and the preaching of divine truth, a lover of Christian people, and remarkable for his kind, considerate, delicate, decided and persevering friendship to Christian ministers, especially his own pastors. In the great religious awakening which prevailed in New Haven in 1831, he was quickened, and caused to feel that he ought not longer to defer his union with Christ's professed people. And from that time, though he has never indulged in strong declarations of his religious feelings, and has never felt that he could profitably take the attitude of public religious teaching or exhortation, he has scrupulously attended to religious duties, and has manifestly

been growing in godliness, in spiritual peace, comfort, hope and joy, and in meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light.

The intellectual and moral qualities of Judge Baldwin were such as eminently fitted him for the duties of the high judicial office, which he held for eleven years in the maturity of his life; and also to attract, as he did, the universal respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, and the admiration and love of all his familiar friends. Never was it more true of any one than of him, that none knew him but to love him, nor named him but to praise. His intellectual qualities, as they were developed in his life, were so blended with, and affected by his moral qualities, that it is difficult in any analysis of his character to distinguish them, and set them forth separately. His judgment was uncommonly sound, thorough and well-balanced. He had the power of perceiving truth and evidence clearly and accurately. His own ideas were conceived definitely and fully. He understood perfectly the limits of his knowledge. He always knew what he did know, and what he did not know; and what he did know he knew well, and what he did not know he either learned thoroughly, or let alone. He had a power of perspicuous and exact statement, which enabled him always to communicate to others his knowledge or opinions clearly and accurately. His memory was remarkably ready, capacious, methodical and retentive; and was able to unfold, even to his last months, the large and rich treasures gathered during nearly a whole century. His love of truth and of equity was strong and warm, though never violent; and it always guided and controlled his feelings and conduct. He was candid, impartial and uninfluenced by prejudice, to a degree rarely witnessed and never surpassed. All his acquaintances will agree that a more *fair-minded* man they never knew. His integrity was disinterested, upright and inflexible; and his fidelity was scrupulous, industrious, and thorough. His qualities were not those which dazzled by their brilliancy, or overwhelmed by their rapidity and energy; but they were those which inspired entire and universal confidence. They qualified him peculiarly for the office of Judge of the Superior Court, which he held for eleven years, and should have held for fourteen years more till he reached the age of seventy. It is one of the evils incident among far superior benefits, to popular governments, an evil which should be carefully guarded against, that political conflicts and changes sometimes result in the discontinuance of such men in such offices as that of judge of our higher courts. Such men in such offices should be retained, to whatever party they belong.

Judge Baldwin has so far outlived his generation, that very few in the State have any adequate recollection of his administration of the judicial office. But one of the few, Hon. Thomas Day, who was then, as he is now, Reporter for the Superior Court of Connecticut, has been so kind as to give us a brief statement of his opinion of the judicial character of Judge Baldwin—an opinion with which Chief Justice Williams has expressed entire coincidence. We take the liberty to quote it:—"Everybody," says he, "in New Haven knew Mr. Baldwin as a *man*; a few may recollect him as a *lawyer*. I had good opportunities of knowing him as a *judge*; but all that was distinctive of him in that capacity may be said in a few words. His judgment was sound, the result of thorough investigation and reflection. He was as free from bias as any man that ever gave an opinion. He was not deficient in the learning obtained from books; but he relied more on his own good sense than on the subtleties or refinements of the law. He had less versatility than some other men. Indeed the excellence of Judge Baldwin consisted in his being *always the same*—the same upright, deliberate, intelligent man. His leading qualities as a Judge were those which were conspicuous in him everywhere. Everybody had *confidence* in him whether on or off from the bench."

Judge Baldwin was a man of great amiableness and kindness,—the result of a fine native disposition, cultured by principle, and purified by grace. He was always careful never to harm the interests or wound the feelings of any one, and was disposed to accommodate everybody.

This kindness of heart, united with his love of equity and his sound judgment, made him a true, decided, and wise philanthropist. The poor, the depressed, and especially the oppressed, always found in him a considerate, tender and prudent friend. He imitated, in this respect, our divine Lord, as he is described in the language of poetic prophecy, "He shall deliver the needy when he crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper." In sympathy with the Latin poet, he counted himself a man, and deemed nothing human alien from himself. He was always the friend of that race, who have encountered an extraordinary share of earth's wrongs and miseries; and, in the earlier part of his professional life, was especially active in their behalf. He received a strong tendency in this direction, not only from his own feelings and principles, but also from the example of his brother, Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin. In an unpublished memoir of his brother, which Judge Baldwin prepared only two years since, speaking of his brother, and others who sympathized with him,

he uses the following language: "While contemplating and endeavoring to enforce the sublime idea that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they found that among ourselves these self-evident truths were disregarded in a long-established system of negro slavery. To remove this beam from our own eyes, that we might see clearly to remove the mote from our brother's eyes, Rev. Mr. Edwards, of New Haven (afterwards Dr. Edwards, President of Union College), and Mr. Baldwin, by agreement, addressed the public in a series of essays. While yet a tutor in College, Mr. Baldwin had attended as a delegate, and officiated as a scribe of the council which ordained Mr. Edwards in the ministry at New Haven. They became intimate friends, and as they harmonized in sentiment on the great questions of public liberty which then agitated the country, so also were their opinions in unison in regard to the unlawfulness of slavery. Their essays on that subject, which were published alternately in Green's paper, in New Haven, in the years 1773 and 1774, excited much attention, caused many emancipations, and contributed to produce a course of measures which eventually abolished slavery, not only in Connecticut, but in all the Northern States." One of these measures, adopted after Mr. Baldwin's death, was the formation of "the Connecticut Society for the promotion of freedom, and for the relief of persons unlawfully held in bondage." In the origin and operations of this Anti-Slavery Society, which was formed in 1790, the year after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, Simeon Baldwin, sharing the spirit and principles of his brother, and taking up his mantle, bore an active part. The chief article of the constitution of this society was in these words: "The members of this society shall, individually and collectively, co-operate with such societies as have been, or hereafter may be, formed in the United States of America, or other parts of the world, for the extension of freedom, or the abolition of slavery; they shall endeavor to enforce an obedience to the laws which are or shall be enacted in this State for the progressive extension of freedom, and shall to the utmost of their power afford relief to persons unlawfully holden in bondage; they shall also endeavor to promote the education, enlighten the minds, and correct the morals of the negroes, to render them industrious, and to furnish them with the means of honest employment." Of this society, Mr. Baldwin was the most active member, being its secretary, conducting all its correspondence, and directing in its arrangements. A short time since, he placed in the hands of the writer many documents, published by that society, most of

them sermons against slavery by eminent clergymen, or petitions to Congress to act, so far as it constitutionally could, for the removal of slavery. They all bear his name as secretary.

Judge Baldwin was uncommonly charitable in his judgment of others. Though he had decided opinions, and was strict in his views of right and wrong, he yet always thought and spoke kindly of those who differed from him. He had also singular simplicity and transparency of character. He was always open and frank in his feelings, his words and his conduct. He was wise, but never crafty; prudent, but never cunning,—“an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile.”

Judge Baldwin was a man of public spirit. The interests of churches and ecclesiastical societies, of the town, the city, the college, the country, the world, were near his heart; and, though cautious and discreet, he was always ready, whether in youth, maturity or old age, to partake in any reasonable measure for their advancement. His private interests he never allowed to stand in the way of public advantage.

Judge Baldwin's kindness of heart, his considerate and delicate regard for the feelings of others, his frankness and openness of character, his large acquaintance with distinguished men and cultivated society, and his easy manners and affable conversation, made him remarkable for his courtesy. He was a true Christian gentleman.

The equanimity of Judge Baldwin was rarely equaled. Though he had strong and delicate sensibilities, and though he passed through many severe domestic bereavements and afflictions, and has had a share of trouble from the unjust and hard dealings of the world and the variations of fortune, yet, such were his self-control and balance of mind, and so cheerful and grateful were his views of divine Providence, that his soul was always calm and even serene.

In speaking of the moral qualities of our deceased friend, we have used strong and earnest language: for this alone would justly describe them. And sure we are that those who have known him well will not accuse us of going beyond the bounds of due commendation. Indeed, in describing Judge Baldwin as a sound-minded, fair-minded, pure-minded, and true-hearted man, it is difficult to say anything which is extravagant.

The degree in which Judge Baldwin retained his intellectual and most of his bodily powers was very extraordinary; owing doubtless, partly to a good native constitution, but more to a wise temperance, and his entire equanimity. His hearing was indeed seriously impaired; but his form was, to the last, as erect, and his step almost as firm, as in youth. And in his mind there

was no perceptible failure, even in his four-score and tenth year. Three years since, he appeared before a committee of the Legislature, and plead a cause in which he was interested as ably as if he had been in his meridian. And lately, at a meeting of the bar of New Haven county, occasioned by the death of Judge Daggett, he made a brief address, without opportunity of preparation, with all the clearness, method and justness of thought and expression, for which he has ever been distinguished.

Nevertheless, the time of his death was ordered in great kindness. For a disease, well known to all who looked upon his face,* which, though it has been spreading for a few years past, had hitherto given him pain, only or chiefly, in anticipation, had arrived at a stage, that would have rendered a prolonged life a grievous burden. He was submissively willing to wait all his appointed time till his change should come; yet he desired to depart, not only that he might enter upon his heavenly rest, but that he might be saved from the evils of his threatening disease. In view of the time of his departure, as well as of the whole course of his life, we may well use with slight variations the language of one of our own poets :

“Why weep ye then for him, who having run
The bound of man's appointed years, at last,
Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done,
Serenely to his final rest has past;
While the soft memory of his virtues, yet,
Lingers like twilight hues, when the bright sun is set.

“His youth was innocent: his riper age,
Marked with some act of goodness, every day;
And watched by eyes that loved him, calm, and sage,
Faded his last declining years away.
Cheerful he gave his being up, and went
To share the holy rest that waits a life well spent.

“That life was happy; every day he gave
Thanks for the fair existence that was his;
For a sick fancy made him not her slave,
To mock him with her phantom miseries.
No chronic tortures racked his aged limb,
For luxury and sloth had nourished none for him.

“We may be glad that he has lived thus long,
And glad that he has gone to his reward;
Nor deem that kindly nature did him wrong,
Softly to disengage the vital cord.
When his weak hand grew palsied, and his eye
Dark with the mists of age, it was his time to die.”

* A Cancer.

The exercises of Judge Baldwin's mind, during his last weeks and days, were as pleasant to reflect upon, as his whole life is in the review. The substantial hope of eternal life which for years he had indulged, on the ground of his faith in the Savior of sinners, had gradually increased to a confident assurance, which he frequently, though modestly, expressed. He knew that he trusted the Savior; and he knew that the Savior's promises were sure. He knew in whom he believed, and was persuaded that his soul, thus intrusted to that Savior's hands, would be saved and blest. He delighted in prayer. And when, through weakness, it was difficult for him to direct his own thoughts,—to have another come daily and offer prayer for him and with him, at his bedside, was a pleasure, for which he exhausted the expressions of gratitude.

He had frequently prayed that he might have an easy issue from the body into the joy of his Lord; and it was granted. He passed gradually and quietly away, without apparent suffering.

"How blest the righteous when he dies!
When sinks his weary soul to rest,
How mildly beam the closing eyes,
How gently heaves the expiring breast.

"So fades a summer cloud away;
So sinks the gale when storms are o'er;
So gently shuts the eye of day;
So dies a wave along the shore."

ART. VII.—THE WORLD'S ADVANCE.

The Christian Retrospect and Register: a Summary of the Scientific, Moral and Religious Progress of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. By ROBERT BAIRD. 12mo. pp. 420. M. W. Dodd: New York. 1851.

THE brief Introduction which prefaces this volume sufficiently explains its character and purpose. The author, it seems, at the suggestion of another, undertook to prepare from year to year a *resumé* of facts "bearing upon the progress of the kingdom of God and the most important interests of mankind;" a year-book, in short, of the world's history. The present volume is preliminary to that contemplated work, and is designed to form a point

of observation from which to survey the opening scenes of providence in years to come.

The plan strikes us favorably, and if carried out as it may be and ought to be, will prove one of no little benefit to the public, particularly to the religious portion of it. Nor do we know the person to whom we would sooner trust a work of this kind than to the author of the volume before us. Connected as he is with a Religious Association which is necessarily brought into contact, more or less directly, with almost the entire habitable globe; and himself, by a wider range of travel than ordinarily falls to the lot of men, made acquainted personally with more of the countries and more of the people of the earth than almost any one living; he has peculiar facilities for the compilation of such a work as he has undertaken. The only fear we have is lest the pressure of other engagements may leave him too little time to accomplish properly what otherwise would be for him sufficiently easy.

In this view, we hope the preliminary volume which he has just given us, is not a fair specimen of those which are expected to follow, for we are compelled to say that this is far from being satisfactory, far from being a proper treatment of the subject in hand. And this has resulted, we are convinced, simply from a failure to give to the work that amount of attention which it imperatively demanded; for there are portions of the volume which show that the whole might have been such as to commend itself to the most critical reader. There may be in the present case some peculiar ground of excuse, but we hardly know how to pardon, in a grave retrospect of a half-century just closed, such errors and mistakes as are to be met with in this book, and which a moderate degree of care and consideration would seem enough to obviate. The author tells us that the work was begun in the early days of March of the present year, and the Introduction bears date the ninth of the following May. The history of a half-century composed in two months! This might perhaps do for some half-century during the dark ages, but when it comes to the first half of the Nineteenth century, that is quite another thing. We doubt whether any one has a right to undertake such a task, and were not the last half-century fairly dead and gone, we should expect it to resent the handling which it here receives.

Under such circumstances of composition we cannot, of course, expect correctness either in an author's language or his facts. No one, therefore, understanding how the thing was done, would betray any surprise at seeing one write (p. 77) in reference to the discovery of certain planetary bodies, "these discoveries attracted great attention, and *their* orbits and perturbations were

speedily computed." Otherwise he might ask to what "their" in the above sentence refers. So again when this sentence should meet his eye (p. 151): "In October, 1849, the first steamboat began her trips upon the inland waters of California; by the close of the next year *they* numbered 47;" he would be almost compelled to think that the writer's pen, in its haste, neglected to put on paper a part of the sentence which was really in the mind. To say too (p. 187), that "all standard works of literature, all approved school-books, and many other works, especially on the subject of religion, are *immensely* stereotyped," savors more of the style of the author of "Napoleon and his Marshals" than of that of either of the compilers of the present work when they write as they can.

But these are trifling blemishes, and perhaps we should not advert to them at all. There are, however, those of a more serious character. We have not examined the whole book critically, for we have not had time. Our attention has been bestowed more especially on the first part of the volume, and the mistakes and omissions which we have noticed will be found principally in connection with that.

The section on Astronomy opens with the declaration that the progress of this science "was not distinguished by any very remarkable discoveries for some time after the commencement of the present century." But at a time when the solar system included, all told, barely the sun, seven planets with their satellites, and a single comet of ascertained orbit, we should suppose the discovery, within the period of only six years, and at the very opening of the century, of no less than four new planetary bodies would be deemed *very remarkable*. It certainly has been enough to keep the whole astronomical world alive with interest on the subject until now. Nor is it true, as stated on page 77, that there were then fifteen of these smaller planets, or that "the satellites of Uranus are now again found and computed." There were but thirteen of the alleged planets, though another has since been found, while of the satellites of Uranus four only are known to exist, and but two are computed. Nor is it true again that (p. 87) "the western coast of North America was carefully examined through nearly its whole extent by the United States exploring expedition under Captain Wilkes." The most that can be said of that expedition in this respect, is, that it made a careful survey of the mouth of Columbia River, Puget's Sound, and the bay of St. Francisco. So in regard to the assertion that Lieutenant Fremont's second expedition "disclosed the existence and character of the great Salt Lake" (p. 87-8), we have a recollection of looking out from time to time

on the map, in our school-boy days, such things as Salt Lake and Lake Timpanogos, which were located very much where Fremont's Salt Lake is. It would seem also that the account of the discovery of the planet Neptune ought to include the mention of the fact that similar computations to those which have immortalized the name of Le Verrier, were made independently by Mr. Adams of England, and the true place of the planet announced by him to Mr. Airy, the astronomer royal.

Leaving the section devoted to Astronomy, and coming to that which treats of Medicine, the book before us says (p. 130): "The introduction of anæsthetic agents into surgical operations took place in Boston, in 1846. The first surgical operation, upon a patient rendered thus insensible to pain, was performed by Dr. J. C. Warren, Oct. 17, 1846." Now it is susceptible of proof, it has been proved, and ought never more to be denied or doubted, that two years at least before the date here named, such an agent was introduced to the knowledge of the public by Horace Wells, an ingenious dentist, of Hartford, Conn., and who received from the French savans, sitting for the investigation of this very subject, their medal and the credit of having given this remedial agent to the world. He used, indeed, *nitrous oxide*, for the purpose of preventing the sensation of pain. And in his hands this gas was effectual, and sulphuric ether and chloroform were, so to speak, but modifications of his original principle. The application of ether, like the self-acting valves of the steam engine, was more the happy accident of laziness than anything else, a chemist having given an operator, to whom Dr. Wells had made known his discovery, ether instead of the nitrous oxide, as he said, *because it was too much trouble to prepare the latter*.

Under the head of Steam Navigation, the representation is made (p. 152-3) that the Atlantic was first crossed by steam, in the year 1838, by the Sirius and Great Western steamers. The truth of the case is, as almost the slightest research would have shown, that the practicability of ocean navigation was first proved by our own countryman, Captain Rogers, who, we believe, is yet living, and who made the voyage from New York to Liverpool, during the summer of 1819, in the steamship Savannah, of 350 tons, and in the then short period of twenty-six days.

We shall not go further in the work of pointing out and correcting errors of fact. There are some sins of omission, however, which we feel bound to notice along with those of commission.

We find nowhere in the sections devoted to scientific dis-

covery, or the application of science to the arts, any mention of the photographic art, or the name of Daguerre. Now, we are very certain that Dr. Baird has sat for his portrait to the sun more than once, and it would seem that no one could walk through the streets of New York, for a single day, without receiving an indelible impression of the existence of that beautiful art which has already contributed so much to the sum of human happiness. The extensive introduction also of india-rubber and gutta percha into the arts, we should hardly think one could fail to notice in a review of the history of the last fifty years; but we have found no mention whatever of these contributions to human comfort. The use of gas, also, for purposes of illumination, though it belongs entirely to the present century, is not spoken of. Little mention either is made of steam, except in its application to land and water carriage. And when we come to those things which more manifestly concern the moral interests of men, we cannot but notice the lack of any allusion to many reformatory associations and organizations whose avowed and special object is the reclamation of the bad and the melioration of the condition of the unfortunate. Asylums for the deaf and dumb; hospitals for the insane, and the diseased poor; houses of refuge and correction; reform and ragged schools; associations for the relief of the indigent; model lodging-houses and societies; peace congresses, with their honorable delegates from all the civilized world; and peace societies with their books and tracts,—these, and other matters of like character and import, we look in vain for any account of in this retrospect of the last half century. We had supposed, too, that the question of human freedom had made some stir and some advance toward settlement during the last fifty years. We thought it had agitated our own country as well as France and Great Britain, and we had an indistinct recollection of having heard it mentioned even in connection with Turkey and Algiers. The volume before us, by its almost utter silence on this subject, would lead us to doubt, if possible, our clearest knowledge and most painful convictions. There is a saving clause, however, in the author's introduction which, perhaps, has a bearing upon the omission in question. He writes, "It only remains to say that, from the nature of the case, many movements, to which some persons attach no little importance, could not be treated in this volume: some, because of their comparative want of merit; some, because it is not clear that they have had, or will have, the influence which their advocates claim for them, upon the best interests, temporal or spiritual, of mankind, and some, because the size of the volume would not allow of their being introduced." We do not know under which of

these categories our author considered the subject of slavery as coming. We will not undertake to decide for ourselves. But, seriously, a history of the last half-century, or the most casual retrospect of it, in which the question of human freedom and personal liberty does not hold a place, is like the play of Hamlet with the Hamlet left out.

We have been led so far in these strictures, which truth seemed to us to demand, and which we have made in an altogether friendly spirit, that we have left ourselves little room for the commendations we would make, and these we must offer in the most general terms. Aside from the imperfections and drawbacks to which we have adverted, and which must prevent the work before us from taking its place upon the shelf as a thoroughly reliable history of the period of which it treats, it is a valuable contribution to our store of general information. So far as it is free from error, it presents, in a convenient form, and in a single view, a summary of events of which no one can afford to be ignorant. And while it will seem meagre to every scholar, in his own special department, to the general reader, who neither cares to be, nor needs to be, very exact in his knowledge, it will be quite acceptable and useful. We have been particularly pleased with the opening chapters, on the political changes of the half-century and the progress of political liberty and education. The statistics here given are, so far as we know, reliable, and they give, in their naked figures, a history of thrilling interest. The chapters which treat of science and its applications, written with equal haste as the previous portions, but with less familiarity with the subjects treated of, would naturally be less satisfactory because less correct. The ordinary reader cannot fail, however, to be much interested in this survey of the field of science. The latter half of the book, which is occupied with the strictly religious history of the half-century, we have examined less carefully than the previous portions; but so far as we have given it our attention, we have seen no reason to find fault, and we should presume that Dr. Baird would make this what it should be.

On the whole, then, while we cannot commend the volume in question as one to satisfy the wants of the scholar, or those whose facts must be facts, and exact facts, too, we do regard it as an important contribution to the reading and information of the general public. It is not what a history of the last half-century should be, and for such a history we must wait, meanwhile thanking our author for this essay in that direction. We believe a work is in progress in England, in some four volumes, which aims to record the events of the fifty years past. We

shall await its arrival with no little interest, and will wait any reasonable time, if thereby we may escape the mistakes of undue haste in its compilation. A man should set himself down to write such a history as he would to write that of a great kingdom or hero. The last half-century was a hero among the half-centuries. It towers above them like Saul, "who from his shoulders and upward was higher than any of the people;" and he who undertakes its history, must not think to accomplish his task by using the odds and ends of time which are left unconsumed by the ordinary calling and occupations of life.

The most casual glance at the half century just closed, is sufficient to show that in the number of great events which characterize it, and the forces which it has set in operation, it is equaled by no other in the world's history. It is true, indeed, that we are, at the best, so short-sighted, that it becomes us to be diffident in measuring events with one another, and assigning relative values to them. What to-day looms up in the attitude of greatness, may soon have spent its force, while that which now is hardly noticed may be but the seed whose harvests are yet to cover the earth with their fruit. And yet there are certain weights and measures by which we may estimate the value of principles and events, and calculate their probable effects with well nigh as much accuracy as we do in the case of physical and mechanical substances. We have the word of God, giving us its faultless standard of truth, and its prophetic calculus by which we may measure causes as they project their effects far into the future beyond us. We have, too, our own nature, answering even amid its perversions and defects, to all that is fitted to be of permanent value to it, and indicating, as by a divine mechanism, what bears most directly and strongly upon that final consummation of the world's history, when all shall be redeemed unto God, when the evils of the fall shall be corrected, when the reign of peace and righteousness shall be fully established upon earth, when holiness to the Lord shall be written upon all things here below, and man shall be in league with the stones of the field, and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with him.

While, therefore, no half century, or century, since the world began may compete with that which witnessed the advent of Christ, as being marked by the greatest single event in history, it is equally true—we may say with confidence, and expect the testimony of a long future to sanction the declaration—that no half century has beheld the occurrence of so many events of great and lasting importance as that which has just been completed. Whether we look at the arts of physical life, the arts which contribute to our bodily and social comfort, or, rising to a

higher level, examine the advancement made in the domain of taste and intellectual cultivation, or, taking a still more elevated point of view, contemplate the history of religion and notice what has been accomplished for the personal salvation of man, in either case we shall discover enough to satisfy us that the world has never before, in an equal period of time, had so many forces of power infused into its bosom, and made operative upon its character and destiny. Whether the half century now opened upon us will be equally fruitful in great events, it is not for us to say. We have no right to predict that it will not. And yet it is quite possible that the period which we are now reviewing, has set in operation as many forces as are needed for a long period to come, and that half a century, and even more, may be necessarily occupied in establishing them and furnishing scope for their full development. "The past at least is secure;" and that teaches us that the world is rising out of the pit into which it was cast by the apostasy, and is constantly, by a slower or swifter progress, coming to its reinstated condition of perfection. The present is a position in advance of all that has gone before it. And while it is fitted to make us truly thankful for the past, the results of the deeds and labors of which we are enjoying, it bids us look forward to the future with cheerful hope and in the confident expectation that the time to come will be even better than the time that now is.

In casting the eye over the last fifty years, one cannot but be struck with the frequency and importance of mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries. The nineteenth century thus far might well be characterized as the Age of Inventions, were it not made equally if not more noteworthy in other respects. The invention of a machine for separating the seed from the down of the cotton-plant, though actually made in the latter part of the last century, may be said to date its realization and practical efficacy from the beginning of the present. The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Watt stood waiting for this in order that their value might be made to appear. Speaking of these four inventors together, a statistical writer has well said "there is hardly an individual in any country, how remote or barbarous soever, who is not indebted to them for an increase of comfort and enjoyment." How much the invention of a cheap method of cleansing cotton and fitting it for the loom has contributed to the prosperity and physical comfort of mankind, and so, indirectly, to their intellectual and moral advancement, it is not in the power of any to determine. Enough to know that it has stamped its impress most visibly and deeply upon the history of the world during the half century now before us for consideration. It

is calculated to have been worth already, to Great Britain alone, more than 5,000,000,000 of dollars, and the annual export of cotton from the United States, has now reached in value 70,000,000 of dollars.

The last half century is also specially marked as the era of the application of steam to the mechanic arts and for purposes of locomotion. Watt had indeed, in the last century, so improved the steam engine as to make it of great practical value. But the perfection and triumphs of this mighty agent of comfort and civilization were reserved to be developed in the century within which we live. Had it not been for the improvements and new applications of the steam engine which have been made within the last fifty years, it would have been far from the invention which we see and feel it to be. It has now become man's commonest helper. It has been harnessed to the wheels of transit, and mankind now pass with breathless speed across wide continents with as brief preparation and with as little fear as in the last century, they started on the journey of a few miles. It is taken into the vessels of commerce, and the winds dismissed for their fickleness and defied in their wrath, the merchant and the traveler cross oceans and circumnavigate the globe itself as readily as, in the days of our fathers, they passed from the seat of government to our country's metropolis of trade. It is in the workshop and the factory, and fabricates the thousand instruments of human comfort and convenience with a precision and perfection before unattainable. The farmer has called in its aid to do for him what it can do better than horses and cattle can. Yoked to the press, it sends forth its printed sheets like the falling leaves of autumn, and makes the Bible the possession of the poor as well as the rich, while it scatters the religious tract and the newspaper at every door and along the highways of trade and the channels of commerce, free and cheap as the water and the air. Volumes would be necessary to set forth adequately the effects which the last half century has experienced as the result of the various applications now first made of this one agent alone. It has almost created the world anew. It has opened all parts of the globe to the visitation and exploration of mankind, and so virtually compressed the globe to less than half the size it had within the memory of many now living. The time is close at hand when our commercial center will be within sixty days of every important point on the face of the globe.

But even the last twelve years have been marked by yet another application of science to the conveniences of practical life, the benefits of which we have but just begun to realize. Along our highways and parallel with the iron tracks of our railways are

stretched the slender wires which have, as it were, endowed the insensible rocky earth with nerves of sensation and voluntary motion. Whole continents quiver with simultaneous impulse and emotion. The fugitive from justice though he takes the winged fiery horse finds the lightning swifter than that, and as he alights from the car in the fancied security of escape is touched on the shoulder and made a prisoner by the waiting sheriff. The message goes in the morning to inform a father at the distance of a thousand miles, of the alarming illness of a child, and the answer comes back before the sun goes down that the parent has received the unwelcome intelligence and is speeding homeward as fast as steam can bear him. The packet comes flying over the ocean to tell us all that had happened and was happening ten days before in a large portion of Europe, and while the busy fingers are hastening to put it in type the telegraph has announced it at the Gulf of Mexico and brings back its effect upon the stock exchange and cotton market at New Orleans in season to be embraced in the newspaper as a postscript to the foreign news by the last steamer.

Indeed this is a different state of things from that which existed at the close of the preceding half century! Then the comforts of domestic life required that the spinning wheel should be heard in every dwelling and cottage upon the hillsides and in the valleys, and every housewife was 'good' in proportion as she, by her own good hands, wrought the fabrics which clothed her household. Then the farmer and the tradesman jogged on to meeting or to market as their horse-of-all-work chose to take them, and in their eyes a turnpike was the very perfection of road and the last and complete triumph of human art in that department. Then the passage from Albany to New York was quick if made in three days whether by water or by land; and he was specially fortunate who could send a letter from the latter place to Boston and receive an answer after the lapse of only a month, while a voyage to Europe, if it did not quite require a life-time for its accomplishment, was yet enough almost to make the after life-time famous.

But these more conspicuous changes do not comprehend by any means all that have taken place within the lapse of the last fifty years. Within that period the arts of stereotyping and lithography have arisen. Within that period Volta has given us the galvanic pile, leading in its train the various forms of electro-galvanic and electro-magnetic apparatus, and letting us far into the most recondite secrets of nature. During this period Sir Humphrey Davy has brought the safety lamp as a gift from Science to those whose calling is to explore the bowels of the earth for mineral treasures, and by which they are enabled to

pursue their labors with impunity in the midst of an atmosphere as explosive as gunpowder. Within the same period Daguerre has made the sun tributary to human art and human happiness, by causing it to preserve to us the lineaments of those we love and the beauties of natural scenery drawn by an unerring pencil. Another has given us the magnetic clock, with its present advantages to science and its future contributions to the common welfare. Another still has demonstrated the practicability of locomotion by means of electro-magnetism. In the same time we have applied the illuminating power of gas to impart additional comfort to our dwellings and offices, and by shedding its light in our streets, to make the night less than formerly a cover for deeds of darkness and crime. The sciences have all been enriched, and through them the world has been enriched during the period in question as never before. The instruments of astronomical observation have been greatly advanced toward perfection, and no fewer than fourteen planetary bodies have been added to the before known heavens. Chemistry is almost a science of the nineteenth century, and its contributions to physiology, agriculture and the various arts of life would be enough to distinguish this era from all that have gone before it. The oxyhydrogen blowpipe, the deflagrator, and the galvanic battery in its different forms, together with the varied apparatus which now adorns the laboratory of the chemist, have revealed to us the ultimate constitution of the physical world and laid open to view the profoundest secrets of nature, and thus contributed directly and incalculably to the comfort and economy of practical life. The stores, the workshops, the farms, the dwellings, the ships, and the offices of those who practice the healing art, all, all bear testimony to the contributions which chemical science has made in the last half century, to the physical well-being of man.

The discoveries made in the kindred domain of natural philosophy by the students of the schools and the students of the workshop, by the professional and not unfrequently by the non-professional observer of the laws under which the Great Creator has framed the world, have also laid the entire family of man under lasting obligation to them, and will bestow their benefits upon centuries yet to come.

Such are some of the discoveries and inventions and some of the applications of scientific knowledge to purposes of practical life which characterize the first half of the nineteenth century. The winds and the waves have, in a sense, been made to obey us. The great powers of nature, which the world of mankind so long feared as demons threatening their torment or destruction, but which were really God's gifts reserved for the blessing of a

riper age, have in a marvelous measure, within the period under review, been made tributary to the comfort and advancement of man. The moral advantages resulting from these applications of the powers of nature to the various purposes of human life, while not so obvious to the cursory view of things, nor so directly tangible as their physical and pecuniary results, are yet too plain to be overlooked, and too important not to demand a grateful recognition by a Christian people. As the physical ever precedes the moral, and acts as the handmaid of that which is highest and best in human history, so it will be seen, if it is not already, that these great and manifold discoveries and inventions of the last fifty years, if they have not led along with them discoveries and advancements in the mental and moral domains have prepared the way for their advent on a magnificent scale in years and even centuries to come.

But turning now from these distinctively physical discoveries and improvements, we shall find in other spheres of inquiry a progress not less remarkable. The last half-century has been distinguished, as none before it ever was, by great mental activity pervading entire masses of men and even the whole civilized world. That a quickened activity has sprung up in the mental action of men, has been in part the effect, and in part the cause of those great discoveries in physical science which have just been noticed. Individuals, whose minds were awake and busy with inquiry and investigation, there have always been. No age of the world has been entirely barren of discovery or destitute of advancement. But never, as since the opening of the present century, have the masses of mankind been seen arousing themselves to a quickened activity of thought and emotion. Kings, statesmen, charlatans and philosophers have hitherto been alone, and separated by a wide interval from their subjects, their dupes, or their disciples. But, beginning with the discovery of this continent and the revival of letters, a power has been working like leaven in the great mass of humanity. Humble men, soldiers in the ranks, peasants on the hillsides, serfs of lordly barons, begun at length to think for themselves, to consider their souls, if not their bodies, their own. Beginning to think, they came naturally and necessarily to see a worth and importance belonging to themselves as men, which had not previously been acknowledged by the customs and laws of society. Our fathers, the puritans and the pilgrims, made at length a very important stand for individual rights, and while opening this land as the abode of freedom, achieved also, in no inconsiderable measure, the liberty of the mother country, by the revolution which took place there a few years only after the pilgrims left

Holland for this hemisphere. The contagion spread. The great right of individual thought and private judgment, and the right of *habeas corpus* or personal liberty, began to be more generally claimed and throughout a wider extent of territory. The duty of toleration was maintained more and more generally, and the natural equality of men, first practically admitted in the constitutions of our American States, was more and more widely asserted in other lands. At length the French revolution, at the close of the last century, gave manifest token of the secret power that was working in the depths of society and in the chambers of the human heart. That revolution gave new courage to the humble and the unarmed; gave new courage to the masses. The opinions hitherto held in silence by individual minds, were now more freely thrown out to the public. The principle of legitimacy, whether in church or state, was more openly questioned. The divine right of kings, as hitherto asserted, was denied more pointedly and strenuously than ever. And so this freedom of thought, this freedom of the individual mind, has gone on to exercise itself with special boldness throughout the first fifty years of the present century, and the result of it has been the abolition of many abuses and oppressions hoary with age, the introduction of new principles of liberty into many existing constitutions both of church and state, the severing of long clanking fetters of servitude and cruelty, the overturning of thrones, the deposition of kings, and the establishment of free charters and constitutions. The record of the declarations of independence, the overthrow of monarchies, the adoption of new and freer constitutions, and the establishment of republican forms of government, which have taken place during the present century, is one to astonish any reader of it. In Europe alone, where at the beginning of the century there were but eleven constitutional governments, there are now no less than forty-seven. From the Ionian Islands to the States of Central and South America, and even to the islands of the Pacific, the tide of free thought and civil equality and freedom has rolled its course till it has nearly belted the globe.

It is true indeed that we have been made occasionally to witness a retrograde movement, and the course of free thought and free principles has seemed at times to meet with a check. But this is the way of almost all improvements. They come like the rising tides, in alternate waves of advance and recession. The enthusiastic desires and purposes of individuals or of collective masses carry them at times somewhat too far, or cause them to act before all is ripe for action. Nevertheless all that was gained is not lost again in these relapses or retrograde move-

ments. Even though the outward shape of things may sometimes be restored, the inward spirit remains changed. Though a king comes back to sit on a throne reared upon the wreck of a republic, it is yet a different throne from the one which stood there before that republic was called into being. The attentive and close observer will see that, amid all the apparent alternations of victory and defeat, the masses have been continually enlarging the area of their freedom. The human mind has become more and more free, and conscious of its worth and capacities, with every rolling year. The officials of power may watch it, a political censorship may threaten it, ecclesiastical authority may endeavor to awe it into silence and to frighten it with priestly threats, but having once tasted freedom, the mind will evermore hunger and thirst for it; having once tried its new fledged powers, it can never again be induced to fold its wings except as it is wearied in the long flight of free discovery, and pauses to regain its strength for a new excursion.

Time would fail to review the evidences of advancing freedom in the different portions of the earth. The story of the various revolutions of the fifty years just passed is a familiar one. We have witnessed the different people of the continent of Europe achieving one degree of political freedom after another. Indeed nothing has more decidedly marked the first half of this century than the widely extended acknowledgment of the equality of men in point of rights, and the essential worth of man as man. As both the fruits and evidences of this, the history of England records the passage of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, the act of Catholic emancipation, the reform bill, the emancipation of the slaves in her West India possessions, the abolition of the corn laws, and the repeal of the navigation act. In our own country too, free as we have been called and as we have claimed to be from the first, progress has yet been made on the side of liberty. The present century has abounded in discussions of the ground and reasons of civil liberty, and the natural and political rights of man. The minds of men, here as well as elsewhere, have been led to contemplate, as never before, the inherent dignity and worth of man as an individual, and as a spiritual being. The pulpit has held him up in the light of the gospel and in the light of immortality, and exhibiting what man is made for and what a future opens before him, has caused his present worth to assume an importance which has never before been accorded to it. Everything that contributes to human comfort, everything that tends to educate the human faculties and develop their proper power, has consequently assumed a new importance in the general estimate of men.

The old distinction of color too has lost in no inconsiderable degree its former power to shut out a large portion of the race from the sympathy and from the rights to which they were entitled by their creation. Humanity is no longer, in the degree it once was, supposed to be dependent upon a white skin or a particular calling or station in life. Accordingly, in common with Great Britain and other countries, we have abolished the slave trade and declared it to be piracy. And we are fast getting to think that, if the selling men from abroad *into* slavery is piracy, the *holding* them in slavery can be but little, if at all, better. Our fathers, in forming our federal constitution, saw and felt the incongruity between the unqualified assertions of freedom and equality in our declaration of independence, and the existence of chattel slavery within our territorial limits. Accordingly, they refused it so much as mention by name in the constitution, treating it as an intrusion or an accident in the body politic, and in itself an evil and a wrong not to be countenanced by the laws or the spirit of a free people. The mass of the delegates, including many who came from the midst of slavery, were unsparing in their denunciations of human bondage, as a thing disgraceful to man and offensive to God. Mason of Virginia, was even up to the present feeling of New England in his expressions against it. A large number of the convention were disposed to abolish it at once, if in no other way, by refusing to recognize it as an object of public sanction or protection; and they only yielded to what seemed to them a present necessity, when they agreed to guarantee to the slaveholder the right to retake a fugitive from bondage, while, in the same breath, to indicate their sober judgment on the subject, they agreed that the slave *trade* should cease in twenty years from that time, supposing of course, and expecting it to be understood, that the abolition of the slave *trade* would deal the deathblow to *slavery*.

The difficulties which then beset the matter were these. In the first place, a constitution was, if possible, to be formed, which should be acceptable to thirteen different sovereignties, all having their peculiar and, in some cases, antagonistic interests. Of course this disposed that patriotic body in convention assembled, to the exercise of a spirit of concession to the farthest practicable extent. Then, secondly, there were few probably, if any, in the convention, who were quite satisfied that a black person could have the full complement of human faculties as well as the white. That is a conviction which belongs to the present century, and one that is and ever will be an honor to it. We ought not, indeed, to expect to find it in manifest existence sixty years ago. All honor to our fathers of that age, that they had, at least,

a true theory of freedom, even if they did not fully discern or recognize all its applications. Be it ours, with the education which they have given us, and another half century of experience, to be as true to principle and freedom as they were. The world is progressive, and we ought to be in advance of the eighteenth century in the application, if not in the discovery, of truths and principles.

But there was still a third occasion of difficulty in the case now in question. At the time of the colonization of America, the English people were divided into two great parties. On the one side were the puritans; on the other the king, the nobles, the hierarchy and those who sympathized with them. The one party were the champions of freedom and equality of rights; the other stood for privilege and monopoly, and civil and ecclesiastical orders. From the puritan side went out those who settled New England. From the party of the court and the established church went out those who colonized the more Southern States. And now, though their common wants in a new country, where they were surrounded by hostile tribes of savages, mitigated of necessity the spirit of hostility that embroiled the parties at home, yet they could not forget on which side of the dividing line of principles and feelings they were properly ranged. As late as the formation of the federal constitution, the men of the South boasted their descent from the cavaliers of the time of Charles the First. They possessed, too, some taint at least of the aristocratic spirit of the cavaliers, and of the church of James and of Charles. Their ideas of life and society were those of different ranks and orders in church and state, of privilege on the one side and disability on the other, of nobility on the one hand, and of serfdom, qualified at least, on the other. To them, therefore, the servitude of the African had not the repulsive features and character that it had in the eyes of the sons of the puritans. They had little scruple in asserting their right to hold, as chattels, a body of black servitors and retainers. They asserted it with the same innocent ignoring of the moral principle involved, which not a few of the feudal lords of South Carolina and Mississippi are tainted with to this day.

No wonder then that the point was yielded for the time, and twenty years allowed slavery to begin to die. The point was yielded for the sake of peace. The point was yielded as a temporary concession, but in the confident expectation on the part of the sons of the puritans, and on the part also of a large portion of the South, that human bondage in this country was soon to become extinct, and we have no warrant for saying or believing that but for such an expectation the point would have been

yielded as it was. That expectation has been disappointed. The invention of the cotton-gin and the spinning-jenny have hitherto given the grand staple of the South such a value, that pecuniary interest has been added to natural feeling as an incentive to the continuance of slavery. But the half century just closed has, after all, carried out the principles of human liberty in a fuller, juster application than was before known or deemed obligatory. The right of property in man has been called in question, sifted, and extensively pronounced no right, but a robbery and an usurpation wherever found. The free spirit and principles of the pilgrims—the God-fearing conscience of the pilgrims, yet live in their sons. The cries of millions of souls, for whom Christ died, and for whom the gospel of salvation has been given to the world, have broken upon the ears of Christians throughout the land, and touched the Christian conscience and the Christian heart, and the conviction has become established that this foul oppression must cease. The first half of the nineteenth century has not indeed seen its power relaxed or its limits visibly curtailed, and the last half of the nineteenth century possibly may not see this land perfectly free—free to the black as to the white. But as the principles embodied in our constitution, and on which it rests are true, as the principles of our pilgrim fathers are true, yea, as the word of God is true, and he has purposed to redeem this world, so we may not doubt that this outrage upon humanity, this mockery of God, will come to an end.

And so everywhere, the rights of man as man, the rights of freedom and equal laws and just government, are asserted and maintained as never before. China is restive under her celestial scheme of civil polity. India requires hundreds of thousands of British soldiers to keep her in subjection. Turkey is not quiet under the rule of the Sublime Porte. Hungary, we know her story. Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Italy, France,—where is there a spot in Europe that is not ready even now to be rent asunder by some outburst of the pent-up forces of freedom? Yes. Man is no longer to be the bauble or the serf, as he has been, of his brother man, whom intrigue or prescription may have seated in the throne of power. Man is to be free. Men are to be equal in the enjoyment and security of their equal rights. The law of the strongest is to give place to the law of truth and justice, the law of nature and of God.

Closely allied to the advancement of civil freedom and the development of the new ideas and principles which have already been noticed as marking the last fifty years, are those various reformatory movements which have been so abundant. Those voluntary associations for the melioration of the civil and social

condition of mankind, have mostly had their birth in the present century. The various peace societies, for the mitigation and abolition of war; the prison discipline societies for the reclamation of criminals; the temperance societies, and the various other reform associations of this and other lands, most of them have sprung up within the memory of many of us.

And what a glory has been shed upon the age in which we live by our hospitals and asylums, our various beneficent associations and institutions, and the noble company of the so-called charities, which have sprung up so thickly in this and other lands during the period under review! The lunatic sits again clothed and in his right mind, the deaf hear, the blind see, and the maimed and diseased are made whole again.

The different educational movements of the period now before us, are eminently worthy also of being named in this connection. Those who judge the rest of the world by the condition of our own country in respect to education, know little of the state of things elsewhere. Schools of learning, indeed, there have always been, from the time when Moses furnished himself with the wisdom of the Egyptians, and the scholars of Greece resorted to Alexandria, until now. But education, as we understand it, the education of the masses in distinction from the privileged few, this is a thing almost exclusively of the present century. And while it is interesting and important to note the increase in number and the improved endowment of colleges and the higher seminaries of learning which have taken place during the last fifty years, it is in its relation to the masses of the people that the subject of education preeminently demands attention, and becomes a distinguishing feature of the age. We need not speak of our own country, where the education of the people, the whole people, is universally regarded as a first duty of the State. But if we look across the ocean, it is only a recent thing that any attempt to found a system of schools for all classes has been made in Great Britain, if we except the school system of Scotland. Now, however, the attention of the public is so awakened upon the subject, that even the thieves and vagabonds of London are gathered into their ragged schools. Ireland is just laying the foundation of a school system, despite the natural opposition of the Romish church. And if we pass over to the continent, we find in Prussia a system of schools, as rigorous in its embrace of the whole people as the system of taxation itself. Forty years have so far perfected what is called the Prussian system of education that we have deemed it worth our while to import some of its excellences into this land of common schools. France has had a system of schools supported by law for nearly twenty

years, for which she is much indebted to her former minister of public instruction, M. Guizot. Belgium, Holland, and Denmark likewise possess a public school system. Sweden has none as yet, though she is awake to the importance of public education, and we have made her queen of song a donation of well-nigh half a million dollars, during the last eight months, for the avowed purpose of establishing a school system in the Scandinavian kingdom of Northern Europe. Half a million of scholars of all grades are said to belong to the public schools of Russia. Spain and Portugal are yet in the slumber of priestly indolence and ignorance. Italy, however, is awake in part to the importance of popular education, and even Turkey is talking about it, while Greece, since the achievement of her independence, is attaining a stand on this subject worthy of her name. For the rest, the history of popular education in Asia, Africa, and Southern America, we must leave for the retrospect of the last half of the nineteenth century. But no one will gain a just idea of the educational movement which has been and is now going on here and in Europe who does not take into consideration the press and the post-office. The one, no longer pulled slowly by hand, but driven by the agency of steam, and shooting off from its whizzing cylinders its many sheets simultaneously; the other, taking them up, and on its cars and swift-cleaving boats, hurrying them to every man's fireside, he who runs may read, and the most scantily furnished cabin of our western frontier, or the humblest cot in England's glens, needs not lack the furnishing of the mightiest minds of present or of ancient time. And when our postage system gets perfected, by sea and land, so that a penny will enable any one to speak to any other, however distant, on the face of the globe, then there will be at work an educational power which no force or schemes of despotic authority or hierarchical opposition will be able to withstand.

We have left ourselves no room to speak as we designed to do of what is most important of all, the peculiarly and more manifestly religious history of the past half-century. We can only say, in a word, that it is but since the beginning of the present century that the church has seemed to have it as a settled conviction that the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the church has had it for her direct and practical work to bring the whole world to a knowledge of Christ as a Redeemer from sin. Accordingly this has been, in a special sense, the missionary age of the world. It is but about fifty years, within the memory of many of us, that the first movement of much importance was made in this direction. It is but forty years, and hardly that, since the first com-

pany from New England went forth to preach the Gospel to the heathen. And now let the Sandwich Islands, become already an important member of the family of states and kingdoms, and even while we write presenting themselves and asking admission into our confederacy of states, and let the various civilized and christianized places of heathendom, tell what has been accomplished now that the church has become somewhat in earnest for the salvation of the ignorant and barbarous millions of the earth's inhabitants. "Lo, what hath God wrought!" we may well exclaim when we compare the obvious religious aspect of the world now with what it was when the century began. Heathen lands are everywhere open to the preacher of the gospel, and Christendom already includes more than a third of the entire population of the globe.

In Christian lands a better tone of piety prevails. Sects have learned to be more tolerant of each other's peculiarities of doctrine and order. Evangelical and Christian alliances have been formed. Even now the Pope suffers a protestant chapel to open its doors under the shadow of St. Peter's, and the head of the Protestant Anglican church in turn allows Cardinal Wiseman to occupy the precincts of Westminster Abbey in the name of the Pope. The principle of toleration is in the ascendant as never before—the principle, which demands that all shall be equally free to believe and to preach the word of God, trusting that where there is most of truth there will be most of success. The Queen of England in her replies to the many loyal addresses recently sent her by reason of the alarm excited by the papal movement, makes no threats of legal expulsion, but studiously admits the right of all her subjects to worship in undisturbed freedom. This shows, as nothing could better show, the progress of religious freedom, and the confidence which the world has come to place in truth. Nor should we fail to mention here that the last half-century has done more than all previous ones together in furnishing a reliable interpretation of the less obvious and intelligible portions of Scripture, and in settling the true philosophy of religion. Fifty years ago there were but few commentaries on the Bible worth being purchased, even if any were able to purchase them. With some exceptions all professed expositions of Scripture were worthless just where some worth was expected of them. Now the poorest apprentice may read his Bible with all the helps which the lifelong labors of the best scholars in this and other lands can afford.

Such then, in brief, is the religious history of the last last half-century. Religion has become better in its tone, more in harmony with natural truth, less open to the attacks of infidelity and skepticism. Religion has become more extensively recognized

as the one great business of life, or rather as the life itself, than ever before. It has also girded itself as never before, at least since the age of the Apostles, for the spiritual conquest of the world. It has entered into alliance with all the discoveries of modern science and made them tributary to the accomplishment of its grand work of salvation.

But time forbids us to go farther in this review. The history of a half-century ! And such a half-century ! Volumes would be requisite to give a proper account of it. The compass of our pages, therefore, can only serve to call up the merest outline of the great subject. Many matters of importance must even be omitted entirely. And yet may not even such a review as the one through which we have now been taken do something towards impressing us with proper ideas of the field which we have surveyed and prepare us to reap advantage therefrom for the future ?

Have we not, in view of the history of the half-century recently completed, reason for hope and encouragement ? Science, arts, liberty, religion, all have been going forward, and advancing, like the orbs of heaven, in the strictest harmony with each other. There has been no going back ; all has been onward. Every conspicuous event has made some contribution to man's temporal or eternal happiness. Every invention and discovery has poured new comforts into his lap, or given him a lesson of everlasting wisdom. The gospel has shown its power, as never before, in mitigating the evils of depraved habits in enlightened lands, and in civilizing and christianizing the barbarous tribes of heathendom. The word of God has met all the objections that could be brought against it, arising out of the discoveries of modern science and the most impartial laws of interpretation, and it has met them triumphantly, and now commands a more unhesitating reception and belief than ever before. The pulpit has, during the last half-century, manifested more power than before and has better accomplished its true purpose. The professedly religious newspapers and periodicals which have sprung up within comparatively a few years, and the tracts and volumes of our benevolent societies, have given divine truth a wider range and a more searching application to the hearts of men than has ever been the case hitherto. False forms of religion are giving way continually in all portions of the world, and Christianity never had the air and power of a universal conqueror, not even when she took possession of the throne of the Cæsars, as she has at this opening of the second half of the nineteenth century. Equally encouraging is the state of the world in other respects. The physical comforts of life were never more widely diffused. The civil rights of man were never before so well

secured and so generally acknowledged. The mind of the race was never before so well informed. The means of a true education, in the completest sense, were never so abundant as now. And so, wheresoever we look, we see the amplest evidence that, during the last fifty years, the world has been steadily advancing toward an improved state, and advancing more rapidly than at any former period. Let us then derive hope and encouragement from the past. As Christians let us hope with new confidence in the final and complete triumph of the cross. As men let us believe that, under the guidance of divine providence, and in the light afforded by the gospel, the sorrows and degradations of sinful humanity are to be cured, and the whole family of man are to bear again the undefaced image of God.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A Greek Grammar, for the use of High Schools and Universities. By PHILIP BUTTMANN. Revised and enlarged by his son, ALEXANDER BUTTMANN. Translated from the eighteenth German edition, by EDWARD ROBINSON. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1851. pp. 517.

It is unnecessary to descant on the merits of Buttmann as a grammarian. His fullness of learning, his thoroughness of research, his happy equilibrium of ingenuity and judgment, his analytic method, practical and perspicuous style, are understood and appreciated by every scholar. He was the first to treat the grammar of the Greek language in a truly scientific manner. He shook off the fetters of tradition, observed and studied for himself, rejected old absurdities and errors, and strove to build up his facts into a simple and harmonious system. He revolutionized his department of science: yet there was nothing revolutionary in his aims or disposition. He had no love of innovation for its own sake. He adhered, as far as possible, to the established forms and names, adopting them, in some cases, with evident reluctance, because he did not think it worth his while to incur offense and opposition, by rejecting them and introducing better. By this prudent method, he secured for his grammar a degree of popularity seldom accorded to a text-book containing so much that is peculiar and original.

Among the grammatical works of Buttmann, the one translated by Dr. Robinson is that which deserves to be called, *par excellence*, the grammar. His *Schul-Grammatik* was a mere abridgment, designed for elementary instruction; his *Ausführliche Sprachlehre*, a *thesaurus* of copious critical discussions on points of Greek etymology: the one was intended for beginners only, the other only for professional scholars. But the intermediate work (for such it is in extent, though of earlier composition than either of the others,) was designed, as its title shows, for general use in high schools and universities. That it was well suited for this purpose, at least in the judgment of the public, is fully proved by the thirteen editions which were called for in quick succession, during the author's life-time. In our own country, too, the excellence of the work has been proved by the test of successful experience. Many of our readers are, no doubt, ready to acknowledge the benefit they have themselves derived from it. The transla-

tion of Dr. Robinson, made from the thirteenth German edition, and printed in the year 1833, was reprinted in 1839, and has been for several years out of print.

It is, perhaps, this last circumstance, withdrawing the work for some time from public view, while other works of approved excellence have appeared in the same field, which has given rise to the impression existing in some quarters, that Buttmann's Grammar, however valuable in its own day, has had its day, been superseded and gone out of use. As regards Germany, the native country of the work, this opinion is far enough from being true; and we shall be disappointed if the public reception given to the book before us do not prove it equally untrue for this country. The new version is made from the *eighteenth* German edition: the original work has been reissued five times, in large editions, since the decease of its author, in the year 1829. It still maintains its ground as a text-book for school instruction. It is constantly referred to in those commentaries on the Greek classics which are intended for the students of gymnasia and universities.

Of course the Grammar could not thus have held its popularity, if it had retained, without alteration, the form last given it by Buttmann himself. The advancing march of science would have left it in the rear. The shifting taste of teachers and of scholars, which is subject, in some degree, to the caprice of fashion, and may vary without advancing, would have turned away to newer things. The work has had the editorial care of Alexander Buttmann, son of the author, who has introduced, from time to time, the necessary changes. He seems to have discharged his task with judgment, correcting errors, supplying deficiencies; yet avoiding all unnecessary change, and evincing the natural desire of a son to preserve, as far as possible, his father's work and words.

The greatest alteration has been made in the Syntax. No one can have used the work in its former shape, without feeling that this part was far inferior to the rest. It was full and thorough on the particles, but elsewhere defective and unsatisfying,—a collection of general principles, without the requisite illustration and detail. In the present work, we find a new body of syntax, much more copious and thorough; the independent composition, for the most part, of the German editor. Without exhibiting any great amount of personal research, or original speculation, it is carefully written, judicious in selection, clear in arrangement, concise, yet perspicuous in expression. The construction and idiom of the language are stated in a simple positive way, with little attempt at philosophic explanation and development. The editor was, perhaps, too much afraid of the chimeras and absurdities which have often been the result of an effort to account for everything on philosophical principles.

The Etymology, to which Buttmann directed the labor of his life, retains substantially the form in which he left it. Yet even here, we find everywhere the hand of a careful editor. The Catalogue of Irregular Verbs, which has always been regarded as one of the best points in this Grammar, is little altered on the whole; yet some slight alteration, rendered necessary by the progress of research, will be found in almost every article. The extended criticism and discussion, which were often found in the old Grammar, and were designed generally to defend the views of Buttmann from objections to which their novelty exposed them, have been greatly shortened, and sometimes altogether omitted by his son. Some things have been retained, which, we believe, Buttmann himself would have rejected, if he had lived to this time. We may instance the remark in which the *ν movable* is treated as an original element of the forms, which admit of it. The slightest comparison of kindred languages will suffice to show the purely euphonic nature of this affix. The assertion of Buttmann, that the dual number in Greek should be regarded as an ancient form of the plural, which was afterwards limited to the number two, is now qualified by a "perhaps;" it might have been better to strike it out altogether, and give a

different explanation of the two or three cases which were considered as supporting it.

We need only add that the typographical execution, as regards both beauty and correctness, is worthy of a work so admirable: it is in the best style of American printing.

First Annual Report of the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia.

Presented at the Annual Meeting, January, 1851. Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin, 42 Congress Street. 1851. pp. 32.

"THE Trustees of Donations" are an incorporated body, having the power, in the language of the act of incorporation, "to hold real and personal estate to the value of one hundred thousand dollars, the income whereof shall be applied to the promotion of collegiate education in Liberia, by the establishment and support of one or more seminaries of learning; and, also, if necessary, to the training of proper instructors for the same, at the discretion of the Trustees." The President of the Board of Trustees is Hon. George N. Briggs; the Treasurer, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks; and the Secretary, that veteran in the cause of Africa, Rev. Joseph Tracy. The Trustees, in addition to the President and Treasurer, are, Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL.D., Hon. William J. Hubbard, Hon. Joel Giles, Hon. Albert Fearing, and Amos A. Lawrence, Esq.

The present is the first Report of the Trustees, and is properly concerned in showing that the "regeneration of Africa has so far advanced, as to call for such an enterprise" as that which is proposed. The report is drawn up by the Secretary; and in point of accurate and condensed statement, of orderly arrangement, of fullness of information, and of judgment in the selection of facts, is a model of what such reports should be. As this is a new enterprise, we will briefly state from the report itself, some of the principal considerations, which prove its necessity and importance.

The continent of Africa may be divided into three great portions, distinguished by different races, and by distinct classes of languages. The report gives a very precise and condensed account of these divisions, and of the missionary operations in each. We shall quote the whole of this part of it, although the quotation will be somewhat long:

"The population of Africa is seldom estimated so low as 90,000,000; often as high as 150,000,000. Excepting the Hottentot and some other unimportant tribes, they may be ranged under three grand divisions. The first includes the Caucasian races in the valley of the Nile, along the coast of the Mediterranean, and on the few habitable portions of the Great Desert. They are mostly of Egyptian, Arabian and Phœnician descent. To this portion, all the ancient civilization and Christianity of Africa was confined. This population extends, at least by intermixture of races, into some of the fertile regions south of the Great Desert. The second division comprises what some have called the Zingian races, including nearly all south of the Equator, the people on the western coast for two or three degrees farther north, and on the eastern, the Gallas and others, who are occasionally found as far as the tenth degree of north latitude. The languages of the numerous Zingian tribes are all so closely related, as to leave no doubt of their common origin. The third division comprises the vast and populous region between the Great Desert on the north and the Zingian regions on the south. This region, known under various names, as Sudan, Nigritia, Negroland, and Upper Guinea, is inhabited by tens, and probably by scores of millions, who, in complexion, and all other characteristics, physical, mental and moral, are most strongly marked as negroes. From the days of ancient Egypt and Carthage, they have furnished the most numerous victims of the slave trade. This division is our immediate field of labor.

"The people of the first of these divisions are mostly Muhammedans. The principal exceptions are, the French colonies in Algiers, the Copts of Egypt, and some fragments

of the old Abessinian* empire, which are nominally Christian. Throughout the whole, there is a priesthood, having some knowledge of letters. A French Protestant Mission was attempted at Algiers, soon after the subjugation of that country; but nothing has been heard of it for some years past. The English Church Missionary Society have attempted a mission in Abessinia, but without success. The mission of the same Society at Cairo had formerly an Institution for the education of Coptic clergy; but it has proved a failure, and is closed. The educational establishment of the mission is now reduced to a school for boys, with 96 scholars, and one of 82 girls. This is all that Christendom is now doing for the education of this portion of Africa.

"The barbarism of the second great division, the Zingian, is attacked from three important and promising points.

"The numerous missions in the British dominions in South Africa at first directed their efforts almost wholly to the Hottentots; but they have long since reached the Kafirs and other Zingian tribes. Here, in a fertile, elevated country of the south temperate zone, highly favorable to health, English, German, French and American missionaries are laboring with encouraging success. Here, the English Wesleyan Methodists alone report nearly 50,000 attendants on public worship, 47 day-schools, and more than 5,000 children under instruction. The London Missionary Society (Congregational,) is, probably, exerting an equal amount of influence. The operations of the Paris Missionary Society, the American Board, and some others, are extensive and efficient. The explorations of these missions already extend at least a thousand miles into the heart of Southern Africa. Their influence, in its northward progress, will nowhere encounter any sudden change of climate, or radical difference of language. It must, therefore, continue to advance, as it is advancing, till it meets other enlightening influences on the north.

"At the Gaboon river, about half a degree north of the Equator, and in the north-west corner of the Zingian portion of the continent, is a mission of the American Board. Though distant more than 2,500 miles from the mission of the same Board to the Zulu Kafirs, near Port Natal, in south-eastern Africa, the languages are evidently of the same stock, and closely related. This mission is young; yet it has extended its stations nearly 100 miles up the river, and two languages have been in a good degree mastered. In one, a grammar and a vocabulary and the Gospel of Matthew have been published. In the other, a grammar and vocabulary are nearly prepared. In both, the gospel is preached, and schools are taught. The region is among the most healthy on the Western Coast.

"About one degree farther north, the Missionary Board of the Presbyterian Church has commenced a mission on Corisco Island, to be extended to the main-land. The people here are of the same race. From three to four degrees north, there is an English Baptist mission on the Island of Fernando Po, and a Scottish Presbyterian mission on the continent. Whether they strictly belong to this division of Africa, we are not informed. Neither has yet had time to exert any very extensive influence.

"On the eastern coast, near Mombas, in latitude 4 deg. south, about two thousand miles east from the Gaboon river, and about the same distance nearly north from the Zulu mission, the English Church Missionary Society have a new mission. The languages here are almost identical with those around the Gaboon, on the Western Coast. Their explorations have extended inland some 300 or 400 miles. A short distance from the coast commences the ascent of the famous 'Mountains of the Moon,' which form the eastern barrier of the continent, as the Andes do the western of South America, and the lofty summits of which are covered with snow. The climate appears, for a tropical one, favorable to health, and the prospects of the mission are thought highly encouraging. This mission seems to touch the original seats of those hitherto mysterious races, the Gallas, who began to ravage Abessinia about the year 1500, and the Jaggas, or Giagas, who, about the same time, spread terror and desolation southward for a thousand miles, and westward even to the Atlantic ocean. The language of the Gallas makes it certain that they are related to the great southern race.

* So the name is now written by the best authorities. In Arabic, the elevated plateau on the east of the Nile, from which most of the waters of that river are derived, is called Habesh, and its people Habshi. The Latin writers transformed Habesh into Abessia, which in time became corrupted into Abyssinia, and restricted, in its meaning, to the northern part of the plateau.

"All these missions near the equator have established schools, which will be increased in number and power as time and means shall render practicable; but some years must elapse before they can make any great impression on the surrounding darkness.

"It will easily be seen, that these missions almost necessarily form one system of operations. They are all directed to one family of nations, lying in one compact mass in the southern half of the continent. Any success which any of them may achieve, inevitably aids all the others; as it must contribute something to that knowledge of geography, of language, of character, or that supply of converted native agency, which they all need. And this is well understood by the leading societies engaged in the work, and by their missionaries. A line of missions across the continent, connecting those on the Gaboon with those near Mombas, is already under consideration as an object of hope, and of such efforts as the progress of events may render prudent; while the southern missions are boldly and industriously advancing northward. We may, therefore, leave the work of regenerating Southern Africa to them, and to such agencies and institutions as shall be found needful to supply their deficiencies.

"It is obvious, too, that this southern system of operations will confine itself, at least for many years, to the great southern family of nations. Covering a territory of probably 4,000,000 of square miles, equal to a tract of 2,000 miles square, nearly all of which is peopled, and some parts of it thickly, they must amount to many millions. The work to be done is vast, and must fully employ all the energies of those engaged in it, for a long time to come. The similarity of language, character and usages among these nations will greatly facilitate the advance of civilizing influences from one to another; and these advantages they cannot enjoy, if they direct their labors to more northern tribes, who are not of the same great family. We may, therefore, consider Southern Africa as provided for by a system of agencies which will confine itself to that division of the continent.

"There remains yet to be considered, the vast region of Sudan, north of the Equator, south of the Great Desert, and extending from the Atlantic ocean eastwardly without any definite limit. As negro nations of this division are found to the eastward of the main branch of the Nile, it is certain that they are spread over a region extending about 3,500 miles from east to west; and notwithstanding the encroachments of other races in certain parts, we may estimate the extent from north to south at 1,000 miles; making an area of 3,500,000 square miles. Its Atlantic coast extends south and south-east, from the Senegal to Cape Palmas, more than 1,100 miles; and then eastward to the Bight of Biafra, about 1,250; making a sea-coast of about 2,300 miles."

It is for the benefit of this last division of the continent, that it is proposed to establish a College at Liberia. We have then to inquire, in the first place, whether there is any necessity for such a College at all. This we may determine by examining the state of religion, education and civilization in those colonies or independent states, from which the scholars would come.

Beginning in the north, we find first, a British settlement of recaptured Africans, at the mouth of the Gambia; and another, on an island in the Gambia, called Macarthy's Island. Here the Wesleyans have 5 chapels, 3 day-schools, with 6 teachers, and 521 scholars, and including Sabbath-scholars, 751; communicants, 476; on trial, 136; attendants on public worship, 1,250.

We come next to the British Colony of Sierra Leone, inhabiting a small territory of about twenty-five miles by fifteen. We here find a population of 50,000: 64 schools, three of which are of higher grade, with 8,206 scholars, 6,773 communicants, and 14,464 attendants on public worship.

We next meet with the Republic of Liberia, including the Maryland Colony. Without entering into details, we give the summary in the language of the Report:

"Here, then, we have a Republic of some 300,000 inhabitants, of whom 7,000 or 8,000 may be regarded as civilized, and the remainder as having a right to expect, and a large part of them actually expecting and demanding, the means of civilization and Christianity. We have—supplying as well as we can by estimate, the numbers not definitely given—more than 2,000 communicants in Christian churches, and more than

1,500 children in Sabbath-schools; some 40 day-schools, containing, exclusive of the Methodists, who are the most numerous, and of whose numbers in school we have no report, about 635 scholars. The whole number in day-schools, therefore, is, probably, not less than 1,200. We have the Alexander High School at Monrovia, where instruction is given to some extent in the classics; the English High School, at the same place, under Mr. James; the Methodist Manual Labor School and Female Academy at Millsburg; the Baptist Boarding School at Bexley; and the Protestant Episcopal High School at Cape Palmas. These institutions must furnish some students for a higher seminary, such as we propose to establish; and such a population must need their labors when educated."

The line of coast east of Cape Palmas and east of the Maryland Colony, is occupied by missionary stations of the Wesleyans, and of the Church Missionary Society. The former report 10 chapels and 13 other places for stated preaching, 23 day-schools, with 54 teachers, and 1,014 scholars, 809 communicants, 102 on trial, and 4,700 attendants on public worship; the latter, 5 European and 1 native ordained missionaries, 9 native teachers, 6 schools, 418 scholars, and 123 communicants.

We sum up the whole in the language of the Report:

"We have, then, a line of coast of more than 1,800 miles, from the whole of which, as has been officially reported to the British Government within the past year, the slave trade has been exterminated. On this coast is a population, subject to British and Liberian law, of not less than 400,000, and probably much greater; and a heathen population, on the coast and inland, to whom Christian civilization must penetrate through them, of tens, and, probably, scores of millions. The regular attendants on public worship, counting those of the Church mission on the Gold Coast at 500, and not counting any in Liberia, are 23,164. Counting Liberia, it will be a low estimate to place the whole number at 30,000, and the other members of their families at as many more, or 60,000 in all. The communicants, estimating those in Liberia at 2,000, are 10,280. The day-schools, estimating those in Liberia at 40, and their scholars at 1,200, are 137, with 11,505 scholars. The teachers are nearly all native or Liberian. Of these schools, at least seven may be ranked as high schools; and at several of these, youths may be well fitted for College. All the parts of this system are intimately connected with each other by their history and circumstances, and easily accessible to each other by water. That part of the world, then, is ripe for the commencement of a College."

We think this last statement, which is founded on a careful induction of facts, will settle the question of the necessity of a College, in the mind of every intelligent man.

Two questions remain. The first is, whether the establishment of the College should be undertaken by any one of the Missionary Societies, or by a body independent of them all. We think, both on general principles, and for reasons peculiar to this case, it will be much better to have the College an independent institution. The second question is, whether Liberia is the best place for the College, and upon this, too, we think there can be no doubt. The fact that it is an independent Republic, that it is the most highly civilized and best educated part of the coast, that it is advancing also the most rapidly in numbers, wealth, and influence, and that it is the most central point for Western Africa—is sufficient to settle the question.

We welcome this new enterprise, as one of the most important movements of the age, for the benefit of Africa.

Report of a General Plan for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health, devised, prepared, and recommended by the Commissioners appointed under a Resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a Sanitary Survey of the State. Presented, April 25, 1850. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers, No. 37 Crosby Street. 1850. pp. 544.

In Vol. VII., Number 2, of the *New Englander*, we gave a brief notice of the Report of the Joint Special Committee in the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on a Sanitary Survey of the State. Founded upon this report, a resolution was passed, authorizing the Governor and Council to appoint Commissioners "to prepare a plan for a Sanitary Survey of the State, embracing a statement of such facts and suggestions as they may think proper, to illustrate the subject." Lemuel Shattuck, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jun., and Jehiel Abbott were appointed on this commission, and we have the result of their labors, in the report before us,—a report equally honorable to the wisdom which established the commission, and to the judgment which selected the commissioners. We have always felt a deep interest in this enterprise, regarding it as one of the most important, if not the most important, legislative movement of the age. It has opened, indeed, a new field for the beneficent action of government, and has afforded one more demonstration of the vast and far-reaching influences of the inductive philosophy.

The Report surveys a wide field. It first gives a history of the sanitary movement, both at home and abroad. Under this latter head, we find an accurate and satisfactory account of the various steps which have been taken in this cause in England, as well as an equally useful and interesting one of what has been done on the Continent. With respect to our own country, the commissioners have carefully collected all the facts within their reach, which could illustrate the history of public health, and prove the importance of beginning to do something on an enlarged and systematic plan.

The Report next presents a Plan for a Sanitary Survey of the State. This plan consists of a series of fifty different measures, each of which forms a part of one system. It should be observed that a *Sanitary Survey* differs from a *Geological Survey*, inasmuch as the former contemplates a permanent supervision, to be carried on by a body of officers, and founded on public laws. The groundwork of such a system can be stated in a few words. It is an undoubted truth that the physical vigor of the race is much less than it should be—that there is a great deal of *unnecessary* sickness—and that the larger portion of mankind die before they ought to die. It is equally true that physical vigor may be increased, sickness prevented, and the average duration of life lengthened. To obtain these results is the *aim* of health laws. The *means* of obtaining them are: first, a careful *examination* to ascertain the causes which affect, favorably or unfavorably, the health of the inhabitants of any given place; secondly, *laws and regulations*, founded on such ascertained knowledge, to remove the unfavorable causes, and to augment the force and increase the number of the favorable ones. In order to give some idea of the multiplicity and importance of the subjects coming within the Department of Public Health—as well as the thoroughness with which the commissioners have pursued their inquiries, we will set down the titles, barely, of a few of the fifty measures which are proposed. They are such as these: "Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths;" "Laying out new Towns;" "Public Buildings;" "Manufactories and Private Dwellings;" "Over-crowded Lodging-Houses and Cellar-Dwellings;" "Public Squares" and "Ornamental trees;" "Mill-Ponds and Stagnant Water;" "Observations concerning Consumption;" "Interment of the Dead;" "Refuse of Towns for Manure;" "Adulterated Food and Drugs," &c.

The statement of the plan is followed by a consideration of the arguments in

its favor, of an answer to objections, and an appeal to different classes of the community. We have next "the bill," which is recommended to be enacted. To this is added an Appendix, of over two hundred pages, containing a great variety of interesting matter. The whole is concluded with a good index.

We are not a little surprised that the application which has been made so extensively in England, of the great principle of the Inductive Philosophy to matters of legislation, by means of commissions of inquiry, has not been before imitated in this country. If we mistake not, this is almost the first attempt looking in that direction. For the investigations relating to intemperance were conducted by private individuals, and did not and could not possess the thoroughness and accuracy which are attainable by a government inquiry. It seems to be thought that a good share of common sense—which, in this connection, means a good judgment, exercised within a small field of observation, as contrasted with a philosophical judgment employed in the broad investigation of facts—together with skill in ringing the changes upon some of the trite maxims as to the abstract rights of man, is all that is necessary to make a statesman. But all useful legislation must be founded upon comprehensive induction, and every true statesman will be, to a considerable extent, a genuine philosopher of the Baconian school. We wish this report might go into the hands of all such in the land, although we are not sure but that such a distribution might be made without exhausting the edition.

The Autobiography and Memorials of Obadiah Congar. For fifty years Mariner and Shipmaster from the port of New York. By REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER, Author of "The Island World of the Pacific," and "The Whale and his Captors." New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, 82 Cliff Street. 1851.

WITH a single exception, we see nothing in the life and experience of Captain Congar to distinguish him from multitudes of Christian men and women, whose biographies it is not deemed necessary to write. This exception, however, is an important one, both in itself, and as showing how much good can be accomplished through Christian principle, by men even of no more than ordinary talents. Captain Congar was the first to make a serious and successful attempt to practice on shipboard all those Christian duties which are universally acknowledged as binding on land. The steps by which he gradually came to the full performance of these duties, it is interesting to trace. It was some time in the year 1809, when he was forty-one years of age, that his mind seems more particularly to have been directed to the duty he owed the seamen under his care. He says: "Since I have been preparing for this voyage, my thoughts have been much employed on the importance of endeavoring to instruct those who might fall under my care, in the great business of religion. I have viewed with concern that this class of men, whose occupation is on the mighty waters, are necessarily excluded from the common opportunities of religious instruction and means of grace with which people on land are favored, and *I could not see how their situation was ever likely to be otherwise, except those who have the command feel it incumbent, and undertake to supply the place of others more capable. And I have often thought our particular situation at sea would greatly assist the feeblest efforts which might be made to lead men to consider their ways.*" But, although these considerations were weighty, and the path of duty seemed clear, Captain Congar shrunk from the great responsibility of a religious teacher, and was on the point of giving up the whole as impracticable. But he persevered; and on the first of January, 1810, he called his crew together, and informed them of his intention of having religious exercises on shipboard. The crew listened with apparent readiness to unite in the duties proposed. At six o'clock in the evening they met

in the cabin-gangway, the cabin being filled with cargo, and Captain Congar read the Scriptures with remarks, and concluded the exercises with prayer. He says: "In the performance of these duties, I experienced much less difficulty than I anticipated, and I can say, to the credit of the crew, they all behaved with very becoming deportment." These daily religious exercises he ever afterwards continued.

The attention of Captain Congar was next directed to a consideration of what Christian duty required as to the manner of spending the Sabbath on shipboard. We will here again make use of his own language. "Sabbath, January 7th. Feeling it important that the day set apart for religious worship on shore should be observed in something like such a manner at sea, I made some observations to the crew on the propriety of considering the Sabbath of God's appointment, and as a day set apart for religious worship, and therefore binding upon all men and in all places, as circumstances would admit; adding, that it was my desire we should meet at the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, for the purposes before mentioned. When the hour arrived, we came together and spent some time in prayer, reading the scriptures, and something from the works of Mr. Bellamy. While attending to these exercises, they all behaved orderly and decent, and indeed, throughout the whole day. On the whole, the day has been comfortable to me, far beyond I have experienced many Sabbaths at sea, and I am not without hopes these feeble attempts to restrain the prevailing vices of those whose business is on the great waters, and to teach the fear of God even in a ship, may not be altogether in vain." This practice, too, he ever afterward continued. The effect of these exercises on the crew was quite apparent. Captain Congar, in the review of the voyage, says: "I think I can say with truth, that in general the crew behaved much less immoral, and for the most part more orderly and decent in their conduct than is usually the case on board of ships, and one of them, a native of Sweden, gave considerable evidence, on his return home, of his having experienced the power of religion in his heart." Captain Congar, on his return, thought it advisable to acquaint some of the clergymen of New York with what he had done, and if they approved of it, to ask further advice and assistance. For this purpose, he saw Dr. Romeyne, who gave him much encouragement, and advised him to procure bibles and tracts to distribute among the sailors, which he accordingly did.

The interest which Captain Congar took in the spiritual welfare of his crew led him to consider the question, which has since assumed so much importance, of the treatment of sailors in the government of the ship. We find from his journal, that in a voyage in the latter part of the same year, he had become convinced "*that the notion which many masters and officers of ships entertain, that sailors cannot be governed without rough usage and bad language, is altogether void of weight; since I have found, by considerable experience, much less difficulty in the matter than when, as formerly (with shame I confess it), I have myself used these practices.*" Thus the experience of a few months of Christian kindness revealed a practical truth which had never before been discovered, and which has since wrought a very general reformation in the treatment of sailors, and has been made the foundation even of legislative enactment.

But Captain Congar having begun in this course of Christian duty, could not stop here. There were other questions of duty which were closely connected with those which he had already had before him and decided. If the sailors were under obligation to keep holy the Sabbath day in religious worship, were not shipowners bound not to send forth their ships on the Sabbath day? And were not shipmasters bound not to press sail on the Sabbath day? But it was not till some time in 1813 that the former of these questions was seriously considered by Captain Congar. The circumstances under which it was first directly brought before him, and the conclusion to which he arrived, we will state in his

own words. "Friday, April 9th, our ship being loaded, and seeing but little prospect of getting out to sea before the Sabbath, my mind became concerned to know how far it would be consistent with the command to remember the Sabbath to keep it holy, to proceed on the voyage should a favorable wind offer me on the Sabbath day. My mind had been more or less exercised on this subject for a long time past, and I had come to the conclusion, that when no unavoidable occurrence made it necessary, we ought by all means to refuse commencing the voyage on that day, which was not only set apart as a day of worship, but as a day of rest from worldly concerns, 'that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.' Sabbath morning arrived, the wind was favorable, and my employer anxious, fearing a blockade from the British, we proceeded. But, as though the Lord intended to show us that our exertions and anxieties were fruitless, when we reached Sandy Hook, the wind became unfavorable, and continued so for three days. I now had time to reflect upon what we had done, and from the reasons enjoined in the Scriptures, my own feelings on the subject, and the remonstrances of conscience, I formed this resolve, *that, through the assistance of divine grace, should I ever have the command of a ship offered me again, I would, at the same time, give my employer to understand my determination not to commence the voyage on a day clearly instituted by divine wisdom for the most exalted employment of which man is capable.*" It is hardly necessary to say that this resolve was kept.

The second of the questions above mentioned, does not appear to have suggested itself to him as a practical one to be decided till the year 1817, at least we find no earlier record of it. In this year, while on a voyage to Liverpool, we find in his journal the following; "Sabbath day, September the 7th. Last evening the weather had been blowing hard, which obliged us to shorten sail; and as I felt conscientious about making all the sail we could on the Lord's day, the passengers were not a little dissatisfied, which they expressed to me. I stated to them my reasons for not making the same exertions on the Sabbath day as at other times, but they were no better satisfied." Feeling much at a loss what to do on this subject, Captain Congar, on his arrival in England, wrote a letter to the Rev. Dr. Scott, the commentator, asking his opinion on the matter. If we had not already taken up so much room in quotations, we should be glad to print the whole letter. It sets forth the case with precision and states all the arguments with much force and candor. Dr. Scott replied—saying that it was the first time he had ever been consulted on the subject, and in the main agreeing with the opinions of Captain Congar. This completed the reforms which in divine providence he had been called upon to undertake.

Captain Congar left the sea-faring business in 1820, and spent the remainder of his life as a merchant in the Southern States. He was born June 27, 1768, and died September 22, 1848, in his 81st year.

The Conquest of Florida, by Hernando de Soto. By THEODORE IRVING, M.A.
New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1851. pp. 457.

HERNANDO DE SOTO was born about the year 1501, in Villa nueva de Barcarota. The family belonged to the ancient Spanish gentry, but De Soto himself began life as a mere soldier of fortune. He was with Pizarro in his conquest of Peru, where he distinguished himself as the second best warrior in the army, being inferior only to Pizarro himself. He returned to Spain enriched by the spoils of the New World. "He now assumed," as Mr. Irving describes it, "great state and equipage, and appeared at the court of the Emperor Charles V., at Valladolid, in magnificent style, having his steward, his majordomo, his master of the horse, his pages, lackeys, and all the other household officers that in those

ostentatious days swelled the retinue of a Spanish nobleman." De Soto was now about thirty-six years of age, and of commanding height and figure. With such advantages of fortune and person, he soon succeeded in winning the hand of a lady of a distinguished family, Isabella de Bobadilla, daughter to Pedrarias Davila, Count of Puño en Rostro. This marriage connected him with a powerful family.

About this time news arrived in Spain of great discoveries in Florida. Florida was first discovered by Ponce de Leon in his search after the "Fountain of Youth." Ponce made a second voyage of discovery to the same port, but was mortally wounded in a contest with the natives. A few years afterwards a captain of a caravel, named Diego Miruela, was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Florida, where he obtained a small quantity of gold and silver from the natives. The news of gold and silver found in the newly discovered lands spread the fame of Florida. Pamphilo de Narvaez was the next to make a descent upon its coasts: he obtained from the Emperor Charles V. authority to subdue and occupy the country lying between its extreme cape and the river of Palms. On the 12th of April, 1528, he anchored at the mouth of an open bay on the eastern coast, with a squadron of four barks and a brigantine. Here he landed with a force of four hundred men and forty-five horses. But after incredible hardships, they all perished, with the exception of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and four of his companions. Nuñez reached Lisbon on his return in 1537—just about the time of the marriage of De Soto.

Notwithstanding the disastrous overthrow of that expedition, yet, such was the spirit of wild adventure, aided, in part, on the present occasion, by the mysterious reserve of Nuñez, who seemed to know much more than he was willing to communicate, that there was a general desire to renew the enterprise. In particular, "the imagination of De Soto," to use the language of Mr. Irving, "took fire from what he gathered from the narrative of Alvar Nuñez. He doubted not there existed in the interior of Florida some regions of wealth, equaling, if not exceeding, Mexico and Peru. He had hitherto only followed in the course of conquest; an opportunity now presented of rivaling the fame of Cortes and Pizarro; his reputation, his wealth, his past services, and his marriage connections—all gave him the means of securing the chance before him. In the magnificent spirit of a Spanish cavalier, he asked permission of the emperor to undertake the conquest of Florida at his own expense and risk."

The emperor readily granted his request. He moreover created him governor and captain-general for life, of Florida and also of the island of Cuba. De Soto embarked on the sixth of April, 1538, in seven large and three small vessels, and about the last of May arrived in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. Appointing his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, to govern the island during his absence, he set sail from Havanna, on the twelfth of May, 1539, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, reached the mouth of a deep bay, which, in honor of the day, he called Espiritu Santo, and which is now known as Tampa Bay. The armament amounted to one thousand men with three hundred and fifty horses. It was altogether the most splendid expedition which had landed on the shores of the New World. It was composed of the flower of the Spanish cavaliers. Scarcely one among them had gray hairs; all were young and vigorous, fitted for the toils of conquest. They were all animated with the hopes of glory—they expected to find within the unexplored regions empires more magnificent and wealthy than even the empires of Mexico and Peru—mines of gold and silver such as before had only been dreamed of. At the same time, there went with the military twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks, with hopes equally ardent for aught we know, for the conversion of the heathen to Christianity.

We shall follow the authority of Mr. Irving in describing the route of De

Soto, although it is difficult to trace all of it with certainty. De Soto took up his line of march along the western coast, at some distance in the interior, and wintered in the province of Apalachee, not far from the present city of Talahassee. Having learned from the Indians that there was a remote province towards the east, named Cofachiqui, where the chief traffic of the inhabitants was in yellow and white metals such as the Spaniards showed them, De Soto broke up his winter encampment and in the month of March, 1540, set out in pursuit of the coveted regions; but the yellow metal which it contained turned out to be copper of a yellowish tint, much resembling gold, and the white metal, a shining substance somewhat of the appearance of silver, probably mica. The town of Cofachiqui was situated, it has been thought, somewhere on the Savannah river, at the modern Silver Bluff, Barnwell District, South Carolina. His route thus far seems to have been, as made out by Mr. Irving, in a northeastern direction from Talahassee, through what is now Macon and Milledgeville, and thence east to the Savannah river. From thence he directed his march towards the northwest and penetrated to the extremity of the Apalachian range of mountains running through the northern part of Georgia. He then turned southwards and on the eighth of October reached a place on the Alabama River, called Mauvila, about one hundred miles above the bay of Mobile and from which that bay probably received its name—all the while cutting his way, with immense slaughter, through the hordes of natives who opposed his course. At this point, unexpectedly to his followers, De Soto turned his course in the opposite direction, and proceeded northwesterly through what is now the State of Mississippi, until he reached the country of the Chickasaws in its northern part. Here he wintered. In the spring he broke up his encampment, and proceeding still further westwards, at length stood upon the banks of the Mississippi—"the first European who looked out upon the turbid waters of this magnificent river." This was about the middle of April, 1541. In May, De Soto crossed the Mississippi, probably at the lowest Chickasaw Bluffs, between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, and pushed his course westward till he reached a village called Utiangué, situated on a river supposed to be the Arkanaas, where he wintered. In the spring of 1542, he set out on his return to the Mississippi, which he reached some time in April. Here De Soto died and his body was sunk in the waters of the great river which he had discovered. On the fourth or fifth of June the Spaniards set out again in a direct western direction from the Mississippi. They were under the command of Luis de Moscoso, whom De Soto had appointed his successor. They pushed on their way westwards till they reached the hunting grounds of the far West, among the Pawnees and the Camanches, and, not unlikely came within sight of the Rocky Mountains. But at length, discouraged by these fruitless wanderings, they again turned their steps towards the Mississippi, which they reached about the beginning of December, at a point somewhat north of that from where they had set out. Here they wintered, and constructed brigantines for sailing down the river. On the second of July, 1543, they got under way on their perilous voyage, and, on the twenty-second, reached the mouth of the river. From this point they steer along the coast towards Mexico, or New Spain, and, after two months of coasting arrived at the river Panuco, and the Spanish town of the same name on its banks. This was the termination of this tragical adventure.

It is the object of this work of Mr. Irving to give an account of this expedition, derived directly from the original authorities, and, to some extent, in the peculiar manner of the ancient Spanish chroniclers. These original authorities are the following:—The first is the chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega, entitled, "The Florida of the Inca, or the History of the Adelantado, Hernando de Soto, Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Florida, and of other heroic Cavaliers, Spaniards and Indians; by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega." Gar-

cilaso was a Peruvian by birth, a native of Cuzco. His father was a Spanish adventurer of noble descent, and his mother, the sister of Huayna Capac, the last of the Incas. He was educated in Spain, and wrote a history of his native country. He died in 1616. He had his information from a cavalier—an old friend of his, and a man of probity and honor—who was in the expedition. "He took down the particulars of the expedition, as related by word of mouth, questioning and questioning his friend, as to persons, and places, and transactions." Besides, he had written documents from two other soldiers who were also in the expedition—giving, however, only unconnected events. The second original authority is the narrative of a Portuguese soldier who was one of the followers of De Soto. The third original authority is a narrative written by Biedma, De Soto's commissary. We have thus accounts, more or less particular, from five persons who were eye-witnesses of what they described, together with the narrative digested from the accounts of three of them by Garcilaso, who lived himself near the time of the events.

Such are the materials which Mr. Irving has digested into the present volume. It is written in the manner, as we have already said, of the ancient Spanish chronicles. The author has followed Garcilaso rather than the Portuguese narrative, though we observe Mr. Bancroft in his history has given the preference to the latter, as having less extravagance. The main outlines of the narrative which Mr. Irving has drawn up, may be received as genuine history, though we must profess ourselves skeptical as to some of the filling up. The present is the second edition, and is printed by Mr. Putnam, uniform with the edition of Washington Irving's works which is now in the course of publication, nor do we think it unworthy of such distinguished company.

A Commentary on Ecclesiastes. By MOSES STUART, lately Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, at Andover, Mass. New York: George P. Putman. 1851. pp. 300.

No portion of the Scriptures more needed a new and learned investigation than Ecclesiastes. Nor has Professor Stuart, in any of his various commentaries, rendered a greater service to the cause of sacred philology than in the present volume. He has brought order out of chaos, and, in so doing, we have no doubt, he has looked at the aim and design of this portion of Scripture from the right point of view. We have read the volume with the greatest satisfaction. While it is adapted to the wants of the Hebrew scholar, it will be found useful to the English reader, and to those clergymen who have forgotten their Hebrew. Since reading it, we have heard one or two sermons, which would have been somewhat different, we think, if the writers had had the benefit of this commentary. We trust it may have an extensive circulation, as it is unquestionably the best commentary on Ecclesiastes in the English language, if not in any language.

Louisiana: Its Colonial History and Romance. By CHARLES GAYARRE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THE very title of this book is an incongruity. "History and Romance" in the same volume produce a mongrel which has not as yet been classified in literature. What is that history which is at the same time a romance? Or that romance which is history? The two, of course, may treat of the same subject matter, but the treatment is essentially diverse. But, although the book is written, as we think, on an erroneous principle, we must acknowledge it is a

very interesting one to read—interesting, we say, for the general reader must read it as romance, without relying upon it as history. There may be much true history in it, but, unless the reader is so well acquainted with the details of the history of Louisiana as to need no such book, how is he to determine what portion is fact, and what fiction? At the same time, there are in the book the results of very extensive investigation, and these are communicated in a very animated, though a somewhat too ambitious, style. We wish the author would write the *history* of Louisiana, for we have no doubt he would do it full justice.

The History of the United States of America, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress. By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Vol. I. Administration of Washington. New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1851. pp. 704.

THE history of the United States, as Mr. Hildreth justly remarks, divides itself into two parts; the first comprehending the colonial and revolutionary history, and the second, the history of the period subsequent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The author, therefore, has divided his volumes into two series, which will consist of three volumes each. We have, heretofore, expressed an opinion of the first series. The present volume is the first of the second series, and embraces the administration of Washington. We have read it with great satisfaction. It is no small pleasure to see the judgment of history placing its seal of approbation upon the founders of the Federal Constitution and the ancient fathers of the Federal party. Mr. Hildreth is just without being a partisan. The book has come out at a favorable juncture, for we may hope that among those who are so loud in their praises of the Union, as secured by the Constitution, there are many who will do justice to the founders of that Constitution, even though hitherto they may have been foremost in the vituperation of the great federal leaders who, under Washington, "fixed upon the federal government that character and those methods of administration which it has ever since retained."

Memoirs of William Wordsworth. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. In two Volumes. Edited by Henry Reed. Vol. I. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851.

THESE memoirs of William Wordsworth will be welcomed by a very large circle of readers. They have been compiled by a nephew of the poet, and are presented to the American public under the superintendence of the editor of the standard edition of his works in this country. The life of Wordsworth was free from the vicissitudes which checkered the lot of many of his distinguished contemporaries. He seems early to have been relieved from pecuniary perplexities, and never to have experienced anything in his outward life different from the multitude of those who, in the enjoyment of a moderate fortune, pass their lives in ease and quiet. Preeminently was his, a life within,—a life of feeling, thought, and imagination, embodying itself, so far as it revealed itself to the world, in the forms of poetry. It is with great propriety, therefore, that the compiler has limited himself to "a Biographical Commentary on the Poet's Works," as he happily calls it.

The materials which the compiler has used, besides the family records and recollections, are first, a short autobiographical outline of the events of his life;

secondly, manuscript notes on the poems, giving something of their external history, and dictated by Wordsworth to a very intimate friend; thirdly, journals of his sister who was his companion in most of his journeys; fourthly, his letters and the reminiscences of his friends. His letters, however, are not numerous, nor do they delineate the daily life of the writer like the letters of Scott and Southey; they are generally on grave and important subjects, and are essays rather than letters, but yet essays which have a permanent, intrinsic value. The work is sufficiently well written.

The publishers in this country have done their part well. The reading community are under great obligation for the handsome manner in which they have got up the present volume.

Principles of Physiology; Designed for the use of Schools, Academies, Colleges, and the General Reader. Comprising a Familiar Explanation of the structure and functions of the organs of man, illustrated by comparative reference to those of the inferior animals. Also an Essay on the Preservation of Health. With fourteen quarto plates and over eighty engravings on wood. By J. C. COMSTOCK, and B. N. COMINGS, M.D. 4to. pp. 110. New York: Pratt, Woodford & Co. Hartford: E. C. Kellogg. 1851.

PHYSIOLOGY is, in a sense, at the very foundation of education. The connection between body and mind is so close, and the proper development of the latter so dependent upon the condition of the former, that a proper system of education can be secured only on the basis of a due attention to the laws of animal life. This is beginning to be seen; and treatises upon physiology are no longer confined to the shelves of the medical practitioner, but are gradually finding their way to the family library and the school-house. Among these treatises, the volume above named, is in many respects deserving of special commendation. The interest of the science of which it treats, to the pupil at school, if not to most other persons, must be dependent in no small degree upon the illustrations by which it is elucidated. The authors of the present work have secured this aid in an unusual measure by publishing the work in the quarto form, thereby being able to give their illustrations on so large a scale as to render the minutest lines and figures clear and intelligible. These illustrations are copies from the most accurate delineations furnished by modern medical science; and we have the best evidence from its professors testifying to the fidelity and accuracy of the work in this respect. The larger portion of the reading matter of the volume has been compiled also, by one thoroughly acquainted with the subject which he has taken in hand, and whose experience in teaching has given him peculiar qualifications for making the work what it should be. We take pleasure therefore in commending the volume to those interested in schools, and to the public generally. We know of no work, apart from the standard treatises of the profession, which is so complete and satisfactory as this.

The Stones of Venice. By JOHN RUSKIN, author of "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," "Modern Painters," &c., &c. With illustrations drawn by the author. 8vo. pp. 435. New York: John Wiley. 1851. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

MR. RUSKIN'S previous works have given him such a hold upon public favor, that the necessity of any commendatory review, to give currency to a book of his, is out of the question. We have already spoken of his "Seven Lamps of Architecture," and should now speak more at length of the present work had it

reached us in proper season. As it is, we can only say that our author has taken Venice as a kind of architectural center of the world, whence to survey and describe the various forms, principles, and purposes of the art of which he treats. The volume before us, which is entitled *The Foundations*, is occupied with the establishment of certain general canons of criticism, and some account of the connection of Venetian Architecture with that of the rest of Europe. A subsequent volume is to contain what the author has to say about Venice itself. The reprint of that volume, we learn, is already in preparation, and we hope will reach us in season to enable us soon to speak more at length, and more as we would, of the two volumes together. Meanwhile, we counsel our architects and all interested in the subject here treated, as well as all who relish a vigorous discussion of principles that have a moral as well as a physical bearing, not to wait for the second volume, but to set about the perusal of the present one at once, convinced that they will find in it enough to interest them till the other shall make its appearance. We are glad also to see this volume published in a style befitting its author and the inherent worth of its matter. The public are under obligations to Mr. Wiley and others for books which so commend themselves to the eye as well as the understanding.

The Irish Confederates, and the Rebellion of 1798. By HENRY M. FIELD. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 369.

THIS work is from the pen of a writer who has occasionally enriched our pages with his spirited sketches. He was prompted to delineate the Irish Rebellion of '98, by a free and friendly intercourse with the descendants of some of the leading spirits of that daring movement. He has done the work well, and not only added a very readable volume to our current literature, but has brought before us the public the only separate and complete narration of that Rebellion with which we are acquainted. His research seems to have been thorough, and his skill in delineation is by no means contemptible. We notice however occasional paragraphs and pages even in which the ambitious rhetorician is more obvious than the spirited writer. The anglo-phobia of the author is a little too intense to suit our taste, and detracts somewhat from the authority of the story, and the weight of the author's opinions.

An Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, on the evening of February 19, 1851. By ELISHA POTTER, member of the Society. Providence. 1851.

THIS address is a valuable addition to our historical tracts, and is highly suggestive in its statements and remarks. The object of the author is, to present some considerations respecting the history of education in Rhode Island,—and more particularly to bring into view the circumstances growing out of the settlement of the colony, which prevented in early times the establishment of any system of schools. The first reason assigned for the difference in this respect between Rhode Island and the neighboring New England States, he finds in the fact that Rhode Island was not settled by a homogeneous people. The Baptists were "fugitives from persecution,"—and the Quakers, nearly all of them, came to Rhode Island "to avoid the severe laws which were made against them in other colonies." The friends and followers of Mrs. Hutchinson constituted a portion of the new community,—and a large company of French Huguenots came to Rhode Island about half a century after the first settlement. As no religion was established by law, and no observance of any religious forms legally

enforced, many of course resorted to Rhode Island, who had "no religion at all," and "wild spirits," who on the borders of Narraganset Bay, "could obtain an easy subsistence, free from the restraints of all law whatever." The Congregational clergy in Massachusetts, and in Connecticut likewise, were the great patrons of common schools, but such was the state of things in Rhode Island, that the influence of such a body of men in favor of education, was lost in that colony. The Friends or Quakers, who formed a large portion of the colonists, relied for "religious instruction on inward light and direct inspiration from God, and of course needed no educated ministry to conduct their worship." The boundaries of Rhode Island were long in controversy with the contiguous States; slavery was early introduced to a much greater extent than in the other New England colonies;—in the revolutionary war, Rhode Island was exposed to peculiar dangers; the paper money system was carried to a ruinous excess, and laws were enacted respecting the payment of debts, the tendency of which was to undermine the very foundations of society,—all which circumstances so occupied the attention of the colony and of the State after the Declaration of Independence, that there was little disposition or opportunity to do anything on the subject of schools. It was not the object of the author of this address to give an account of the present state of education in Rhode Island. It is well known, however, that within the last half century great changes in this department of State policy have taken place. Numerous well regulated schools have been established, and with the best results.

Mount Hope; or Philip, King of the Wampanoags: an Historical Romance.

By G. H. HOLLISTER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 280.

THIS is a story of Philip's War, as its title indicates, told by a writer who shows sufficient and faithful knowledge of the events of that war, and who enters ardently into the feeling of the men of those times. He has woven into it spirited pictures of the scenery of the places that were memorable in that fearful struggle. With some of these localities the author was himself familiar, and he has wrought into his tale some of the stories that were the delight and terror of his own boyhood. It is a perilous undertaking to write a novel on such themes as these; but the author has not only escaped the perils of the way, but has produced a story which does credit to his early reputation as a writer. But we dare not advise him to repeat the effort, however successful this may prove to be.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WE have found it difficult to notice works which are published in successive numbers. We shall hereafter merely report the progress of such publications, after we have once informed our readers of the character of the work. There are also some books which, either from being well known, or for other reasons, do not require an extended notice; these we shall merely place under the present head.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: or Illustrations by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics and Traditions of the War for Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. With six hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing & Barrett, chiefly from original sketches by the author. Nos. 1-15. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture. Detailing the labors of the farmer in all their variety, and adapting them to the seasons of the year, as they successively occur. By HENRY STEPHENS, F.R.S.E., Author of the "Book of the Farm," etc. Assisted by JOHN P. NORTON, M.A., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New Haven. New York: Leonard Scott & Co., 79 Fulton street, and 54 Gold street. 1851. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This publication is now complete. We have read it with great interest, and fully accord with the judgment expressed in Blackwood, that "it is a complete institute of agriculture"—that "in no country or language was so perfect a work on agriculture ever given to the world before." We intend hereafter to examine it at more length.

Dictionary of Mechanics, Engine-Work and Engineering. OLIVER BYRNE, Editor. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. New Haven: T. H. Pease, 83 Chapel street. Vol. I. pp. 960. Nos. 1-14. Vol. II. No. 15-34.

Poems, by MRS. E. H. EVANS. With a Preface by her brother, T. H. STOCKTON. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1851. New Haven: S. Babcock, 121 Chapel street.

The Female Jesuit; or the Spy in the Family. New York: published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church, City Hall Square.

It is a peculiarity of the Jesuits that the enormity of their wickedness is so great that it serves as a protection to them, for we demand more than ordinary evidence to convince us of the reality of crimes so enormous as are charged against them. Whether the present work is to be relied on, we do not know; at any rate, it ought to have been authenticated by a responsible name.

London Labor and London Poor. By HENRY MAYHEW. With Daguerreotype Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. Parts 1-7. 1851.

An Address at the Funeral of the Hon. David Daggett, April 15, 1851. By SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON, Pastor of the North Church, New Haven. New Haven: A. H. Maltby, 67 Chapel street.

This interesting address, which was published in our last number, was also published in a pamphlet form with additional notes and an appendix, by Mr. Maltby. It is handsomely printed, and on good paper.

Alcohol and the Commonwealth. Shall we legislate? The question answered. By Rev. W. BARROWS. Boston: Perkins & Whipple, 100 Washington street. 1851. pp. 42.

Early Piety, the Basis of Elevated Character. A Discourse to the Graduating Class of Wesleyan University, August, 1850. By STEPHEN OLIN, D.D., LL.D. New York: Lane & Scott, 200 Mulberry street.

This is an able and useful discourse; every young man would be benefited by reading it.

A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar. By Rev. Dr BREWER, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Head Master of King's College School, Norwich, in union with King's College, London. Carefully revised and adapted for use in families and schools of the United States. New York: C. S. Francis & Co., 252 Broadway. Boston: J. H. Francis, 128 Washington street. 1851.

This little volume contains the scientific explanation of the common phenomena of life in a series of familiar questions and answers. We recommend the book as a valuable compendium of useful knowledge and as good authority.

Foreign Reminiscences. By HENRY RICHARD LORD HOLLAND. Edited by his son, HENRY EDWARD LORD HOLLAND. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

We have read this book with some little interest, but have nothing to say in its favor, and no sufficient motive to take the trouble of condemning it.

An Examination of the Evidence in regard to Infinitesimal Doses. By WILLIAM W. RODMAN, A.M., M.D. Waterbury: William Patton. 1851. pp. 99.

The Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the regal succession of Great Britain. BY AGNES STRICKLAND, author of the "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

The volume is founded upon a thorough and comprehensive investigation of the original sources of information: it is well written, and the interest is sustained throughout. When the work is completed, we intend to give a more extended notice of it. In the meanwhile, we do not hesitate to recommend it as a valuable addition to Scotch History.

The Educational Systems of the Puritans and Jesuits Compared. A premium Essay, written for the "Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." By N. PORTER, Professor of Moral Philosophy, etc., Yale College. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick-Church Chapel, City Hall Square, opposite City Hall. 1851. pp. 95.

This book treats of a very interesting and important subject in a very satisfactory manner.

The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey. Edited by his son, the Rev CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, Curate of Plumland, Cumberland. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

The publishers have done a good service in presenting the public with this interesting memoir and correspondence. We have been much pleased with the volume, and we think most readers will find much to interest them in it. We say no more at present, as we intend hereafter to give an extended account of the work.

A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B.A., of Wadham College, Oxford; Missionary to the Telooqoo people, South India. By the Rev. GEORGE TOWNSEND FOX, B.A., of Durham. With an Introductory Essay. By the Rev. C. P. McILVAINE, Bishop of Ohio. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 235 Broadway. 1851. pp. 429.

This is a most valuable addition to our missionary biographies. It reminds one forcibly of the Memoirs of Henry Martyn. It is one of those books which commend themselves, wherever you chance to open it. No one who begins to read it, can stop till he reaches the end.

Address before the Ontario County Agricultural Society, Oct., 1850. By JOHN P. NORTON, Professor of Agricultural Chemistry, Yale College, New Haven. Canandaigua, N.Y. 1850. pp. 25.

Songs of Zion. A Manual of the best and most popular Hymns and Tunes, for social and private devotion. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York, and 28 Cornhill, Boston. Sold by J. B. Peck, at the Tract Depository, New Haven.

Address before the Northampton, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society, at Northampton, Mass., Oct., 1849. By JOHN P. NORTON, Professor of Agricultural Chemistry, Yale College, New Haven. Northampton. 1849. pp. 18.

THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. XXXVI.

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NOVEMBER, 1851.  
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ART. I.—PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND THE USEFUL
ARTS IN THEIR RELATION TO CHRISTIAN
CIVILIZATION.

*The Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year Book of Facts
in Science and Art.* 1850-1851. Boston: GOULD, KENDALL
& LINCOLN.

THIS American Annual of Scientific Discovery now numbering a second volume of a series that gives goodly promise of a lasting and honorable succession, the London publication of a similar kind which has already been issued for more than twenty years, the numerous serials devoted to like purposes both in the Old and in the New World, and the frequent appearance of occasional volumes, in the form of abstracts, digests, retrospects, proceedings of scientific associations, and the like, afford one of the most decisive indications of the course in which the thoughts and efforts of the reflecting and working men of our time are directed. These two compact volumes, the condensed substance of many ample quarterlies and annuals, the bare titles of which would fill more than one page of the present article, serve most effectually both to awaken the desire to enter upon the minute study of every department of art and nature, and also to administer a most humiliating rebuke to that aimless and dissipated ambition, which aspires to the attainment of all knowledge in one short life. But while these publications show at a glance what the scientific world is doing, thus exhibiting both the old and the new fields of investigation expanding beyond the utmost ability of any one mind to keep pace with the discoveries made by so many adventurous explorers, they also supply us with an

indispensable short-hand method of arriving at the chief points of interest in the results, of which any moderately well-informed mind cannot afford to be ignorant. Thus the professional or general reader, instead of allowing his impression of any department of science to remain fixed as it was made by the study of a school or college text-book ten or twenty years ago, will be stimulated by the annual perusal of a volume like these to a re-survey of his possessions in scientific knowledge; and where he finds the old boundaries resting upon false or imaginary territories, or far within the limits of actual discovery, he will readjust their position according to ascertained fact.

And indeed if there were not some such abridged process of learning the grand results of scientific research from year to year, any single individual might despair at once of continuing to embrace within the compass of his unassisted vision, even the general outlines of the ever-widening area of human knowledge. If in addition to these two duodecimos of four hundred pages each, we had one of a similar character to correspond in like manner to each of the successive years of the half century just closed, the series would bear witness to an amount of patient research, keen observation, and untiring labor, which it is altogether impossible to estimate. Let the most obstinate doubter and denier of the reality of human progress be put to the task of intelligently reading through such a series, and he certainly could not deny that the human mind within the period under review had at least been awakened to a most unprecedented activity. Nor could he maintain that the effort put forth had been unattended by a correspondent success in securing the object sought.

Never before in the whole course of the world's history has the spirit of investigation on all subjects been so laboriously at work, or so intelligently directed, or so abundantly successful in its efforts. Thousands of restless and inquiring minds have run to and fro through all the earth, and have striven with ceaseless endeavor to subject every department in the kingdom of nature, every mystery overhanging the shadowy frontier of human knowledge, to renewed and more searching scrutiny. They have explored with the light of modern intelligence amid the fossil remains and the mouldering archives of the past; and with equal zeal they have written down with unwearied hand every event, and drawn with daguerreotype exactness every feature in the history of the present. They have already abundantly anticipated the future with brilliant and with dark conjecture. They have been intent upon preserving alike every fact and every fable; every principle in science and every theory in specula-

tion; every experiment that has been made to ascertain the laws of nature, and every daring hypothesis that has been instituted to explain or to justify the laws of Providence. Exploring expeditions furnished with full scientific corps, appointed expressly for the purpose, have sought out the most unfrequented coasts and islands, and the most forbidding latitudes of the great deep; and the ordinary voyager has been excited to habits of inquiry, and furnished with directions, charts, and instruments for making accurate observations wherever his ship plows the surface of the world-surrounding waters. Travelers have ranged through all lands, and have studied the languages, customs, and present condition of every race of men, the habits, instincts, and physical conformation of every animal tribe, and the characteristic properties of every vegetable and mineral substance within the reach of their inquiries. They have exhumed the buried cities of the past, and measured, and minutely scrutinized, restored temples, and mummy-peopled catacombs, pictured and sculptured grottos and hollow pyramids. They have deciphered hieroglyphic inscriptions, and applied alike shrewd conjecture and exhausting criticism to the interpretation of the legends and the monuments of the scientific attainments of ancient nations. They have brought home as the result of their toil and observations, heavy volumes, elaborate drawings, whole shiploads of antiquarian relics, and of specimens from the several kingdoms of nature, with which to store cabinets and libraries, and thus to supply the ready means of instructing all succeeding generations. And not less ardent and persevering has been the zeal with which all such accumulated resources, and every other advantage for study and observation, have been employed at home. There still, patient and keen-sighted investigators have been continually subjecting every process, every product, and every law of the material world, to the most prying scrutiny, and the most elaborate analysis. Every substance has been subjected to the fiery torture of the furnace, or the disorganizing shock of the battery, to compel it to yield up the secret of its constituent elements. The mysterious processes of germination, reproduction and growth in vegetable and animal bodies, have been scrutinized with a view to study the hidden principle of life in the embryo state, and on through the successive stages in the formation of the living tissues, up to the completion in the fully developed plant and animal. Numberless eyes have been upon the watch by night and by day to detect any unusual phenomena, and to discover and publish to the world the causes of those which have been hitherto both familiar in fact, and inexplicable in nature. Thousands of ingenious and enthusiastic ex-

perimenters have been at work to devise new uses and combinations of the generating and moving powers stored up in the earth, the waters and the air; and in many instances, by startling inventions, by original applications of the chemical or mechanical forces, they have revolutionized at once whole departments of human industry. The insensible machine and engine are made to supply the place of animal nerves and muscles, and to perform their work with a perfection which the unassisted hand could never attain. The most minute not less than the most magnificent of the works and the powers of nature, the processes which require the longest periods to accomplish their appointed results, and those elements which act with immeasurable rapidity, have alike been made the subject of experiment and turned to practical uses. While one class of observers, by the aid of the most highly magnifying instruments, have numbered and classified by a skillful inspiration of separate organs, tribes of animals invisible to the unassisted eye, others have endeavored to discover the law of magnetic and atmospheric storms, which throw the whole surrounding air and perhaps the ether of the planetary spaces into commotion, and cover the face of a continent with darkness; others still have aspired to trace out the footsteps of the Creator, and to mark the successive stages of his work, in the formation of worlds and systems of worlds. While some have patiently investigated the changes that have taken place in the solid crust of the globe, during the measureless succession of geological eras, others, for all the practical purposes of life, have gone far towards annihilating time and space, bringing the most distant regions into momentary and intelligent communication with each other. And as if the globe itself could not furnish a sufficiently extensive field for the activity of its inhabitants, many earnest and tireless observers have been nightly searching with their sky-piercing tubes for other worlds, wresting from the awful darkness of space the history of suns and of systems whose period of creation antedates all human annals, and whose distance and number surpass all finite calculation. Not a comet can complete its swift passage around our sun, but that its direction and dimensions are accurately observed, and the exhausting calculus of the astronomer not only weighs the solitary stranger in balances, but extorts from it the secret of the long pathway which it pursues through the unknown void. Not a planet can be deflected from its orbit, but that the perturbation is observed, and the cause traced home to some previously undiscovered world which had already for ages traveled unseen in the far depths of infinite space around the same central sun.

It must indeed be admitted that there is much of theory and

vain speculation developed by this extraordinary mental activity. Yet it cannot be denied that even false theory and the wildest speculation are not unfrequently the indirect means of extending the domain of truth and increasing man's control over the powers of nature. Nor can it be denied that this countless host of busy and ingenious inquirers, acting in concert with each other from country to country and from continent to continent, are in reality adding an incalculable amount to the sum total of human knowledge. They are devising new and more appropriate forms of stating, illustrating and applying what was before known, and they are ever carrying farther and farther the torch-light of discovery out into the forbidding and mysterious unknown, which as a wall of darkness must somewhere interrupt the most daring excursions of the human mind. And if we take the present as compared with the past, for our surest guide in attempting to forecast the future, we must conclude that still greater advances in the attainment of every species of knowledge are yet to be made. Unless the human mind be reduced to a state of complete and irremediable stagnation, unless thought be made to cease from its activity, labor from its efforts, genius from its inventions, millions of restless spirits from ranging over heaven and earth to find out new laws, new principles, new powers, new combinations, it is impossible but that the present, as compared with the future, shall be only as the star of the morning to the dazzling glories of the coming sun.

Such an immense display of patient toil and intellectual activity is brought clearly before us by the contents of a single volume presenting in a condensed form the results of scientific research for a single year. And such are the hopeful anticipations of the future which these results, when justly estimated, authorize us to entertain. And if we pass from a general to a more specific and discriminating view of the objects upon which scientific inquiry has been expended, and the direction in which the efforts of the investigator have been rewarded with the greatest degree of success, we shall find nothing to shake our confidence in the promise of still clearer light and still more abundant good. And all this may be truly affirmed in full view of the fact, (if not indeed rather in direct consequence of the fact,) that the most rapid advances now making in knowledge are in the department of the physical sciences, and in the consequent improvement in the mechanic arts and the increased control gained by man over the powers and resources of nature.

These are indeed sometimes stigmatized as the *material* and *subordinate* interests of mankind. It has even become quite reputable with a certain class of critics to decry the *mechanical* and

mercenary tendencies of the age, because the fine arts, as they conceive, have fallen into neglect through increased attention to the useful; and because the spirit of modern inquiry has presumed to seek for the cause of many phenomena and the use of many properties in nature, before which the imaginative Greek and the proud Roman bowed down with shuddering awe and unquestioning devotion. Again and again we are told that there is no faith, no reverence in the present age, because it does not shrink from questioning the sacredness of time-honored usages, nor, when able to do so, does it hesitate to turn back the vail from the most awful of nature's mysteries. It is said that all taste for the beautiful in nature, and all passionate love for higher ideal beauty in the creation of art, are rapidly giving place to a selfish, stock-jobbing spirit, which esteems the cotton-gin a more effective means of promoting civilization than the chisel of Canova, and an ocean line of steamships more conducive to the permanent peace and enlightenment of the nations, than the gallery of the Louvre or the dome and colonnades of Saint Peter's.

But it certainly should not be charged to the discredit of the present, that it has set itself ardently and successfully to the work of remedying what has been a fatal deficiency in the civilization and intelligence of every past age. That deficiency was the want of a general diffusion among all classes of such practical knowledge as insures at once an amelioration of the physical condition and a more effective appropriation of labor, and thus renders it at least possible to bring high intellectual and moral improvement within the reach of all. If man would avail himself fully of the advantages of his position, he must do something more than look with wonder or rhapsody upon the glorious creation which God has given him for a present inheritance. He must aspire to the interpretation of its deepest meaning. He must boldly investigate its laws, and rigidly calculate its economical uses. If, according to the divine blessing and command, he would "subdue the earth and possess it," he must carefully analyze and appropriate its powers, its productions, its capacities to minister to the combined physical and intellectual necessities of its lord. And whoever undertakes to pronounce authoritatively upon the tendencies of the time, the comparative increase of the means of general, social, intellectual and moral improvement, must know how men live, wherewithal they are fed and clothed, by what means they sustain life and secure such a measure of daily well-being as they have.

Unless men have the materials, the facilities and the skill to build suitable houses to live in by families, unless they under-

stand the method of making, or possess the means of obtaining and using successfully, the various implements and utensils necessary for answering their daily individual wants, it matters little what else some one among a million may know or be able to do. A single work of "high art," however extraordinary, can by no means make up to the world what it has lost by the vicious indolence, or the unprofitable, uninstructed labor of a million human hands. The temple of Diana of old at Ephesus, which, for its architectural beauty and for the magnificence of its model, became the wonder of the world, by no means led to the construction of even comfortable dwellings for the multitudes of its worshipers. The Pyramids remain, and seem destined to remain, objects of wonder and astonishment to all succeeding ages, for the vast amount of toil, and skill, and treasure employed in their construction. Yet they will by no means show that the hundred thousand men who perished in building a single one of them did not live in hovels or caves or houseless, half clothed, half barbarous, dependent upon the most scanty and unsuitable food for their daily subsistence. The *nations*, the *people* of antiquity, who assisted with their hands in rearing the unbroken shaft of the Obelisks, or the successive courses of the Pyramids, the Parthenon and the Coliseum, were themselves little else than passive instruments in subjection to the will and power of a few, whose intelligence and riches had been purchased at the expense of the ignorance and wretchedness of millions. They spun for their garments, like the Mendi and Shoans of to-day, with their fingers and by the single thread. They plowed up the ground for tillage with a sharpened stake. They, of necessity, lived, and lodged, and were clothed, in ways that afforded the greatest facilities and temptations to the most brutal licentiousness. They sailed in vessels that could not safely keep the sea for a single night, but were drawn up on shore, like the fisherman's bark, to wait for the returning dawn.

And the progress in physical science and the useful arts, which has gone far, among the civilized nations of modern times, toward relieving such degrading and wasteful applications of human toil, has not been made in those countries where the "creations" of ancient genius remain to awaken and to guide new effort, or where the love of the beautiful in art is recognized as a universal passion. The common people, whose homes are now among the most imposing and magnificent remains of ancient glory, are mainly indebted to other nations for everything in their present condition which makes the means of subsistence, of bodily comfort and of intellectual and moral improvement, more accessible to them, than they were to the same class, in the same countries,

many centuries ago. It is in other lands than those, that ten thousand new instrumentalities have been devised for promoting the individual well-being of mankind. It is among people whom the indolent and sensual Italian but recently esteemed barbarians, that everything which has life in itself seems to have acquired a redoubled activity, and the elements of nature which were either regarded by the ancients with superstitious awe, or were believed to be inert and useless, have been made the means of exerting a greater power, and effecting a more rapid communication, than they ever pictured even in the dreams of romance.

Hence it is but the simple statement of fact, that our vessels move *against* the wind, with greater ease and rapidity than those of the most distinguished mariners of antiquity could, with both wind and tide in their favor. Articles of furniture which in the golden age of ancient literature and art could be found only in the palaces of kings, and by them deemed more valuable than an equal weight of gold, are employed by us in the most common and menial services. The makers of purple and fine linen in the days of Tyre and Sidon could only supply enough of their precious fabric, to clothe the princes and the mighty men of a single empire. A fabric, of equal practical value, can now be produced by a much smaller number of hands, so rapidly, that if the web should be attached to a merchant vessel circumnavigating the earth, the material could be raised, prepared, spun, woven, and drawn off the loom, as fast as the ship, with an ever-favoring wind, could extend it around the globe. And the power to destroy has been increased, and rendered controllable, fully in proportion to the power to construct or reproduce. The walls of Troy which (if the *Illiad* be not a myth) an allied army of a hundred thousand men besieged for ten years, and took at last only by stratagem, could now be battered down by a respectable battalion of artillerists, in ten hours. And the direct means of increasing and disseminating knowledge on all subjects have been not less improved. The author, who possesses the happy faculty of addressing the universal heart of mankind, soon, without leaving his home, breaks over the barrier of foreign languages, national prejudices, and world-wide distances, and speaks to the millions of many lands in their own tongue. The single press, from which this printed page receives its impression, can in a few hours give form and durable expression to a greater amount of composition, than was written out by the whole human race in a thousand years of the world's history previous to the age of Alexander, or subsequent to that of Constantine. Three men can now send forth five thousand copies of the

same book, in the time that the same number could have published, in a less legible, elegant and durable form, five copies in the most refined and literary period of the Roman Empire. The beautiful fiction of the poet, in which he represents a heavenly messenger descending to our earth upon a sunbeam and keeping pace with its flight, is almost realized in the familiar process by which intelligence is brought to us from places a thousand miles remote every morning. We can ask and learn the health of a friend, the state of the weather, the changes in the market, the current events in a city so far distant in as little time as Pericles in all his power and glory could have sent a message from the Piræus to the Acropolis of Athens.

And if it is still insisted, that all this undeniable progress is only in the most material and mercenary interests of mankind, or in those discoveries which may be productive of as great evil as good; it is enough to say in reply, that without such changes and discoveries, material and mechanic though they be, it is impossible that the human race at large shall ever become civilized or Christian. The brutal subjection and degradation of the great mass of men, during the most enlightened periods of ancient civilization, would have been impossible, had the physical sciences and the useful arts been carried to anything near the present degree of perfection. If the traveler, exploring the ruins of ancient Nineveh, or digging down to the foundations of the buried cities upon the banks of the Nile, could find there a font of movable types for printing, or the remains of a cotton-gin, or the model of a steam-engine, or the figure of a mariner's compass, they would give us more satisfactory proof of the high state of civilization, and of the general diffusion of intelligence and well-being among the inhabitants of those cities, than we are able to gather, from all the architectural monuments that remain to excite the wonder and admiration of all succeeding generations.

It is not denied but that modern discoveries and improvements in the methods of multiplying and controlling the mechanical powers and the original forces of nature, may be employed for evil purposes. The printing press in corrupt hands will multiply and disseminate falsehood, and obscenity, and blasphemy, as rapidly as in other hands it will scatter abroad leaves from the tree of life for the healing of the nations. But this liability to abuse is by no means peculiar to the general diffusion of high attainments in physical science and the useful arts. However efficient an auxiliary in the work of human improvement *might* be secured in the creative faculty of justly disciplined imagination, it is unhappily true, that thus far on in the

world's history, the loftiest genius, when acting upon mankind through the medium of painting and sculpture, and even music and poetry, has far too uniformly fostered the monstrous growth of corrupt and demoralizing principle, sensual and debasing passion. And there is no self-adjusting safeguard against such a prostitution of the loftiest endowments of genius as shall become extreme and pernicious in proportion to the merely *aesthetic* perfection of its culture. But in regard to high attainments in physical science and the useful arts, directly the contrary is true. For it is in accordance with the arrangements of an all-wise and unchangeable Providence, that just in proportion as man perfects his mastery over the powers of nature, his progress in that direction necessitates upon him at least an outward obedience to the laws of the God of nature. Thus, when the enginery of destruction becomes so perfect that nothing can stand before it, the bare instinct of self-preservation will compel the nations to learn and to practice war no more. The man who shall invent a movable and easily adjusted engine, by means of which a single hand can destroy a whole army in a moment, or blow to atoms the most formidable line-of-battle ship, fortress, or wall of defense, will close at once, the history of standing armies, military loans, conscriptions and campaigns, and all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war." When the structure of the human body and the laws of the human constitution are thoroughly understood by all classes, the profession of the quack will become as obsolete as is now, in a limited portion of the world, that of the astrologer, the necromancer, and the rainmaker. When what are now the mysteries of chemical and mechanical philosophy, and of the practical applications of its principles, shall have become as much a part of simple and common knowledge as are now many things that were not less inexplicable mysteries to all a few centuries ago, men will be compelled to enforce such a high standard of public morality, as will of *itself* afford an effectual security to property, peace and life. For the present security of locks, checks, safes, secret compositions, complex arrangements, unknown properties, must be utterly nugatory in a community where all such things are as well understood, as a limited number now understand the trifling experiments, with which the cunning showman startles and bewilders the less instructed mind. When the exhaustless riches which are still stored up unappropriated in the earth, the waters and the air, shall have been discovered and brought within the comprehension of all, the excesses of worldly ambition, the injustice of oppression, the extortion of covetousness, the profligacy of vice, must work their own destruction, as naturally and inevi-

tably as the pain of the burned limb compels the man to withhold it from the flame.

Of course it is not claimed that any degree of perfection to which the practical application of scientific knowledge may be carried can necessitate the existence of virtue or religion in the *hearts* of men. The very nature of moral rectitude is such as to make the bare supposition of such a result a contradiction. And yet, we do claim that, though the existence of high attainments in science and the useful arts does not necessarily insure an equally high degree of moral excellence, still, no people, as a whole, can be enlightened and christianized to any considerable extent, without continually advancing in the knowledge of everything that conduces to the improvement of man's physical condition—everything that tends to increase his subjugation of the powers of nature to his control, and for his advantage. And on the other hand, the whole history of the world goes to show, that none but an enlightened, virtuous and religious people will ever give their attention sufficiently to those studies and pursuits which have for their end the improvement of men of all classes, and in all respects, physical, mental, and moral. An arbitrary government with its millions of ignorant and wretched subjects, may establish an Alexandrian Library, or Bibliotheque Royale, with its myriad volumes. But it is only a *people*, who are already in a high state of improvement, and are advancing to a still higher degree, that will build the common school-house, such as it should be, for the comfort, health and improvement of the scholar. The Autocrat of Russia, or the Princes of Cabûl or Cashmere, may support manufactories, which, by some years' labor of many hands, shall produce a piece of tapestry or a shawl, such as cannot be executed by all the machinery in the world. But materials that shall clothe, and feed, and thereby tend most effectually to improve the naked and hungry millions of mankind will be produced and justly distributed in sufficient abundance for all, only in those countries where Christianity has taught the importance of the individual man, and the obligation, resting on all, to labor not simply for the aggrandizement of one family, or one class, but for the permanent improvement and happiness of the whole race.

We must infer then, that every degree of progress, in the so-called material interests of mankind, is so much done in preparing the way for a universal Christian civilization. And that which constitutes the most decisive and prominent characteristic of this "physical and mechanic age," as compared with all others, has done, and promises still to do, more for the present and permanent good of the great mass of mankind than all that

have gone before it. For it may be safely said, that within the memory of some who now live, more has been done to diffuse generally, and thus to equalize, the possession of knowledge, property, security and enjoyment, than in the whole historic period of the world's existence before. More has been done within fifty years, through applications of physical science to improvements in the useful arts, to place the necessities, the comforts and the elegancies of social life within the reach of all classes, than in the five thousand years that preceded. The work of fully equalizing what should never have been regarded as anything else than common advantages has indeed but just begun. But it is the hopeful characteristic of our time that it *is* begun; and that thus Christianity is both drawing into its service its own appropriate and efficient instrumentalities, and is vindicating itself before the world, by displaying more fully its divine power to secure to the individual man the peaceful possession and enjoyment of the life that now is, together with the promise of that which is to come. For, no one who is at all acquainted with the past history and the present condition of the world, for a moment expects, that these outward instrumentalities for the improvement of man's physical condition as leading to the like improvement of his moral condition have come, or are to come, from any other than nations to some degree Christian. A patent office, or a school for the application of science to the arts in a Mahometan or Pagan nation would be as great an anomaly, as the idol of Juggernaut in a Christian temple.

And hence, notwithstanding the contempt of professedly æsthetic criticism for merely economical advantages, and the distrust with which unenlightened piety regards every branch of human knowledge, all advances made in physical science and the useful arts can justly be regarded only as efficient instrumentalities, brought into existence by divine Providence in the appointed time, and destined to be employed by it in the establishment of Christianity, and the permanent improvement of mankind. If it is any better for men to dwell in cleanly and well-warmed apartments, than to shiver in the open air before a fire of logs,—if it is any better for them to be clothed in cheap yet healthful and becoming garments, than to be wrapped in the undressed hides of beasts—if their comfortable subsistence is any more secure when they understand the method of enriching barren soils and reducing the rough and intractable to a state of cultivation, than when they gather their food from the accidental growth of the forest, or the still more uncertain products of the chase—if their opportunities and inducements to secure intellectual cultivation are any greater, when the means of preserving

health and preventing disease are so much better understood as to prolong the average duration of human life to double its previous amount—if the reign of universal peace may be regarded as any nearer, when different nations, instead of regarding each other as natural enemies, are brought into intimate communication with each other, and are daily more and more admitting and acting upon the community of interest existing between them—then certainly there is more hope for the world now, even according to the merest human estimate, than ever before. And when we resort to the light of revelation to enable ourselves to explain the meaning of these changes in man's outward condition, we are taught to regard the changes themselves as indications of an equal degree of progress in the attainment of a higher good, and we are led to recognize the means by which they are effected as so many instrumentalities divinely appointed to bear a necessary part in the great work of securing man's ultimate rescue from his present degraded moral condition.

The connection of all advances in physical science and the useful arts with Christian civilization, and thus with the essential means of securing the highest welfare of all mankind, may be seen most clearly in the results growing out of the constantly increasing facilities for travel and transport—for the communication of intelligence between different parts of the same country, and between nation and nation. It is in consequence of these facilities, that we have already a world-encircling commerce, distributing to every region the most valuable productions of every other, and making it necessary that each of the great powers of the earth shall have an authorized representative of its interests in the capital and chief cities of every other. Thus while commerce exposes the property, the rights and the lives of the citizens or subjects of the governing nations, in all parts of the world, it demands that international law shall follow and protect them wherever they go. And thus the system of exchanges between different countries which has now become well nigh universal, and which could in the first instance be rendered possible only by an increased knowledge of naval architecture, navigation and the methods of generating and applying motory power, is most rapidly hastening the day, when among all mankind there shall be of necessity but one law.

Even now it is true that no one of the leading nations can suffer greatly in any respect, without causing others to share in the calamity all around the globe. The blow that is struck in England is felt in Australia and China, on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Ganges. And let the single subject, though he be but the humblest missionary of the cross, who claims pro-

tection under the flag of Britain, suffer violence at the hands of a tribe of barbarians in the remotest quarter of the earth, and the ten thousand cannon of her mighty navy will be ready to lift up their voices in threatening thunder against the deed. And this state of things has arisen from the fact that practical science having disarmed the ocean and the elements of their terrors, has made commerce well nigh universal, and has thus taught the nations the salutary lesson, that it is for the interest of each to be at peace with every other. So far as we can see, Divine Providence is now employing no other incidental instrumentality which exerts a more powerful influence than this increasingly free commercial intercourse in breaking down the barriers of prejudice, hereditary antipathy and divided interest between nation and nation, and thus preparing the way for the mutual recognition of one brotherhood among all mankind. This rapidly increasing freedom and facility for intercommunication is demonstrating by actual experiment for the instruction of millions—what reasoning and illustration alone could never prove satisfactorily in the estimate of a selfish race—that the prosperity of every nation is linked with and dependent upon the prosperity of every other. Let a people become enriched in accumulated treasure and the resources of productive industry, and then supply them at hand with a mechanical means of safely distributing their riches all over the globe, and gathering in an ample reward from a thousand sources; and they must be taught by their daily experience the dependence of one upon another, the community of interests that exists between the different members of the whole family of mankind. And this universal commerce, which is making every nation acquainted with every other; which is exploring all seas, lakes, rivers, islands, mountains, continents, even deserts and wildernesses; which is making the manners and customs of every race familiar to every other; which is distributing all over the globe the peculiar products of any single region, bringing to any one spot where they are demanded the riches, the knowledge and the improvements which can be collected from all lands; which is thus creating intimate acquaintanceship and associated interests between people of the most diverse habits, languages, laws, and customs; which in short leads all to recognize in all others of whatever kindred, tribe or tongue, not anthropophagi, nor troglodytes, nor cyclopes, nor pigmies, as the ancients did, but human beings, veritable men, with senses, dimensions, affections, passions like their own—the process peculiarly characteristic of the present age, which is effecting all this, is certainly to be regarded not only as one of the leading elements of civilization and intellectual im-

provement, but also as one of the most powerful auxiliaries in hastening the advent of the promised day, when peace shall be the universal law, and prosperity the uniform experience of all mankind, and the worship of the one great Father of all shall supplant every false religion.

It is directly in consequence of the progress which has been made by Christian nations in physical science and the useful arts, that they have gained an acknowledged pre-eminence over all others, and thus, by their superior knowledge and power, have secured to themselves a respect that never would have been conceded to spiritual truth and natural justice alone. In many instances, the wall of separation which ignorance, and bigotry, and superstition had built up between the different races of men has been broken down by those very nations who had kept themselves within its limits for ages, and refrained from contact with the rest of mankind as from the contagion of the plague. The empire of Mohammed itself, instead of offering to the world the choice between the Koran and the scimeter, thus affecting to do in its weakness what it was able to do in its strength, sends its ambassador to this western world—to the capital, the ports, and the chief cities of the once hated and despised Christian, that by such means its own people may learn lessons, profiting by which, they too may share in the abundance of other lands, and may gather more successfully the exhaustless riches of their own.

And without the aid of such incidental influences, we cannot easily see how Christianity itself could effect its great object in elevating and regenerating mankind. For unless the world can be made acquainted with itself; unless all can know to a much greater extent than most now do, the wants as well as the advantages of all others, it will be impossible to create in the minds of men that enlarged and intelligent benevolence which the gospel would establish in proclaiming peace on earth. Destroy the present facilities for transport and intercommunication, put back physical science and the useful arts to the position which they held five centuries ago, and effectually prevent their advancing from that point, and you could never hope that by any possible means the religion of Christ would pervade the earth, or even that different nations could be brought to act, in their intercourse with each other, upon the liberal and safe policy which their interest demands. They would uniformly adhere to the old heathen and barbarian policy, of counting every nation the natural enemy of every other. They would proscribe foreign manners and languages as barbarous, simply because they were foreign. They would shut themselves up within trenches and stone walls and castles for dwellings, clothe them-

selves in iron mail, and regard warfare as the only profession worthy of a high born and high minded man. They would regard all distant nations as lawful plunder, and esteem themselves glorious, as did our Saxon ancestors, in proportion to the number of captives and the amount of booty that they could bring home from their marauding excursions on land and sea. And they might do all that, as the Abyssinians now do, and as many nations did in the middle ages, while calling themselves Christians. If the religion of Christ maintained a nominal existence among them, it could never avail to extinguish their fierce and predatory habits, except by summoning the arts and sciences to its aid, and thus teaching them that the skill and energy which they have displayed in the work of destruction may find better employment in the pursuits of peaceful and profitable industry. The Christianity which is not sustained by the widest diffusion of intelligence, the most equalized enjoyment of rights, possessions and security, and the greatest possible freedom and facility insured to every one for acquiring all the advantages justly belonging to each individual man, will most certainly be a corrupt Christianity. It will be prostituted to the unnatural and revolting service of sustaining unjust law and usurpation, sanctifying the most inhuman abuses, customs and prerogatives, practicing the most cruel exactions upon the weak and defenseless, and controlling the interests of society solely for the advantage of a corrupt and cunning few.

Such a return to the reign of darkness and violence, however much desired by despotism and bigotry, and however confidently foretold by the prophets of evil, is not to be feared. Despotism can no more put out the light that has been kindled than it can quench the sun. Bigotry can no more recover the lost thunder of its anathemas, or rebuild the demolished walls of its dungeons, than it can recall the chaos and void of the pre-Adamite creation. Not that the light of truth everywhere shines as yet, nor that the prison doors are thrown open to all that are bound. The progress which the world makes toward a better state is indeed slow, compared with what is to be desired. And all that we know of the time requisite to introduce a new era in the moral or the material creation would teach us that it must be slow. But it *moves*, and in the right direction. "*As you were*," though still the standing order with military commanders and the hereditary sovereigns of mankind, is no longer sure to be obeyed. Despotism, in alarm, resorts to her old diviners and enchanters; but they answer that there is a spirit raised among the nations over which their mightiest spells have no power. It is "the spirit of wisdom and understanding," the spirit of "coun-

sel and of knowledge," and it smites the oppressor with the rod of its *mouth*; it slays the wicked with the *breath* of its *lips*. What can standing armies do against such an antagonist? How shall ignorance and superstition and all injustice escape from being slain by the breath of its lips? Nor need we use the language of the sacred word altogether in the form of appropriation to suit our purpose. It is the Spirit of the Lord, the sole spirit of wisdom and of power, that is carrying on this work of revolution, overturning and making all things new, progressively subduing all the resources of the material world of nature conjointly with the moral world of man for the accomplishment of the great enterprise worthy of a God—the intellectual and spiritual regeneration of a whole race. As we can trace the "foot-prints" of the great Builder upon the successive stages of his material creation, so may we reverently observe the successive steps of advance by which he goes on making a new heavens and a new earth wherein shall dwell righteousness. We can see the successive instrumentalities which he summons to bear a part in the work. Now, he discloses new powers and resources which he had treasured up thousands of years before in the bosom of the earth against the time of need for the subsistence and comfort of man. The desired progress in some direction meets new obstacles, and the work pauses;—then he directs the mind of the wise inventor and the hands of the cunning workman, and the new obstacles are overcome by devices or discoveries as new. Again, different nations and different parts of the same country are disposed to regard each other with distrust and hostility, and thus hinder the introduction of his promised reign of peace. And then he draws them into the embrace of each other by double bands of iron over which the intermingling tide of travel and transport moves swift as the wind. He binds them inseparably together with electric wires, along which the fire of newly awakened thought and the thrill of sympathetic feeling traverse with immeasurable speed. Nations are still disposed to decide their differences by the strong arm of violence, and he gives them such a terrible mastery over the elements of destruction, as that a conflict must inevitably destroy both. And they of necessity refrain from a struggle in which both must lose all, and gain nothing. In proportion as men are disposed to employ life for right purposes, he teaches them the means of increasing its duration and diminishing its evils. As rapidly as men are prepared rightly to employ the increase of their power resulting from unity of action, he increases their facilities for union, removing by degrees the grand cause of the ancient dispersion, by reducing the number of languages and

preparing the way for the universal diffusion of one. And however "material and mechanical" may be many of the instrumentalities which we thus see the divine Builder employing in his work of new creating our world, still we are bound to reverence the selection which he makes of the means, and to rejoice in the result which he accomplishes.

ART. II.—DR. ISAAC BARROW.

The Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D.: To which are prefixed, a Life of the Author, by ABRAHAM HILL, and a Memoir, by JAMES HAMILTON, with the Notes and References carefully revised, and Indexes prepared expressly for this Edition. In three volumes. New York: John C. Riker, 129 Fulton street. 1845.

It has been often remarked, in substance, that the great wealth of English thought may be compacted into a comparatively small space; a shelf of no great length will contain it nearly all. It is true, the scholar needs many books; rather, however, as tools and material, by and upon which to shape his thought, than as aliment to the thought itself; but the works which afford leading ideas, and abound in those productive hints that become the sources of thought in others, are not many. And yet it is upon this fruitful and fruit-making few, that the great labor of any one, who aspires to become a thinker, should be expended. Probably one great defect in the courses of reading and study usually pursued by American students is, that we neglect the masters, and apply ourselves to popular, and of course diluted expositions of thought.

One quality, worth almost all others, which is possessed by the greatest writers, and seldom to any considerable degree by those of an inferior order, is that of suggestiveness; the power of scattering intimations of deep truths along the path of their discussions. The object more directly aimed at, may be local and temporary; but the argument constantly alludes to far underlying principles, and the writer, like a great military tactician, brings the whole art of war and the utmost stretch of reason to bear upon a skirmish of hundreds, hardly less than he would upon a battle between hemispheres. Of this, Milton's *Areopagitica* will always remain an eminent instance. Respectable thinkers bring you good thoughts, well coined, and enough for your pre-

sent use, if not for your wealth ; but the Great Few show you into the mine, into the thought-world itself.

Now it cannot be claimed for Barrow that he belongs emphatically to this high class of elect thinkers. He is not the peer of Bacon, of Milton (considered simply as a prose writer), no, nor, in our estimation, of Hooker either. It would be enough to shut him out from these, that he does not possess the property of suggestiveness in any eminent degree. He gives, it has been often said, an exhaustive treatment to every subject ; and this is high praise ; but it is the characteristic of great thinkers to make every subject inexhaustible, by overpassing the limits that ordinarily inclose it, and showing us to what an infinite distance its relations and congruities extend.

Barrow seems to us to display the very bloom, vigor, and, as it were, eloquence of common sense. He is a man of capacious, rather than creative mind ; he has many thoughts, weighty, sound and good ; but has not that subtle, penetrative faculty, which constitutes one pre-eminently a thinker. As a writer, however, or deliberative rhetorician, he exhibits rare excellences ; for he is what so few can be, at once amazingly copious and truly forceful throughout ; he possesses the singular power of compressing the sense while he spreads out the expression. No man gives you either better words, or more of them ; and his words are good because they have a solid meaning in them, and do most effectually bring it out. The thought itself, though always of right genuine and unmistakable worth, has, however, no surpassing richness dwelling in it, like that of some few that might be named in English literature ; but the language, as in all truly vigorous and masculine writing, has often a noble picturesqueness, a wholesome flavor, which makes it relish wonderfully to a healthy and manly taste. But, perhaps, we shall easiest come to a nearer and more specific consideration of him, if we begin by enumerating some of the classes who will not readily make him a favorite. We name

1. Those who are of a strongly dialectic turn of mind. There are minds which have a natural and insuperable fondness for subtle, we do not say useless, distinctions ; which like always to see the lines of difference sharply drawn and defined. Such, by eminence, was the native bent of Baxter's genius. Now though this tendency indulged to a great extreme runs out into scholasticism and vain hair-splittings ; yet such minds have their proper work to do, and it is often a work most needful to be done. But it is easy to see that such men will be apt to read Barrow with a degree of dissatisfaction, perhaps of displeasure, and sometimes with a disposition to think him an over-estimated writer. For

he ever takes things in their broad scope and bearing; his strokes are all large and weighty, looking towards the general effect upon human conduct. Every subject represents itself to his eye in a certain general and common consistence, and is represented by him in like manner; so that, without any clear-cut precision in the arrangement of the parts, he seems always, even under different heads, to be dealing with it somewhat as a whole; but all this, be it understood, without any confusion; his thought is large and unprecise, but not confused. So in the composition of his sentences there are no nice balancings of opposites, no precise exactitude of meanings mathematically set over against each other in sharp antithesis; but the members branch out like the limbs of a tree, abundant, irregular, waving.

2. We name also those of the very opposite tendency; those who love above all things to discover subtle and interior resemblances; these may not readily take to Barrow. We do not speak of men of wit, unless the word be used in a very large and now unusual sense; for though wit is said to consist in the perception of unlooked-for resemblances, yet the resemblance there intended is one opposed to congruity; and it is in this opposition that the wittiness consists. The persons whom we here mean are those who possess a superior faculty of discerning hidden affinities, and who, by consequence, are always delighted when they have discovered an interior oneness where is the greatest outward dissemblance. It is a noble faculty; and when existing in large measure, and combined as it may be with a good degree of its opposite, constitutes an intellect right excellently endowed. This is one of those great gifts, which Bacon possessed beyond almost all others; as will appear to any one who, having read the "*Advancement of Learning*," remembers what is said upon the "*Philosophia Prima*;" indeed will appear to one who has closely observed his style of thought anywhere in his writings. And, whoever has a faculty like in kind to his, however it may fall short in degree, will always find a delight in reading Bacon. But Barrow exhibits no eminence in this kind, more than in the former. He stands in the broad middle ground between the two; takes about the same view of things as is taken by sound-minded men at large, only sees more of it, apprehends its interior relations better, and gives it a more energetic expression.

3. Those who are possessed with admiration of the modern smart style cannot be expected to relish Barrow.

These care not so much what sort of Pegasus a writer mounts, or whither he journeys, to Heaven or to Hades; provided only that when he does mount he puts the creature into a clattering gallop,

and tears along with an immense demonstration of speed. This is the taking style of writing at present; perhaps was measurably so in old times; only it happened then (as it does now) that there were some who had the good sense not to fall into it, and also happened (as it will again) that those who did fall into it were a little while cried up, and then vanished out of the world, works and all, perhaps with no loss to the world; leaving the truly great and sober writers to come down to our time. This style of writing, we say, is much in vogue now; and many of our young men, whose native tastes would have taught them better, are misled by the rage for it, and the applause that awards success in it. We consider it the especial bane of American literature. There are among us a number of writers, who mounted their steed too early, rode him too hard, and broke his wind before he was fairly grown; and now, though they do not cease to urge him on, the miserable animal cannot accomplish a sorry canter without hoarse pantings and agonizing sobs. The school of smart writers, indeed, embraces many varieties; of which the French generally are the most vicious; indeed so utterly vicious that, in our estimation, there are few of them who are less than contemptible, and even that few are no favorites with us. The author of "*A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion*" exhibits the smart rhetoric in a somewhat forcible and effective phase. But it is in Macaulay that this style has reached its perfection; freed from all the faults that are not inseparable from it, united to the utmost of such beauties as it admits, and grounded upon the genuine British sturdiness and sense. Macaulay is what all such writers are forever trying to be; and no man looks down with more contempt upon the unfortunates who are jerking their limbs out of joint in the endeavor to do as he does, and to gain the applauses that are lavished upon him. He is a master in his way; his sentences come off with a crack like a coach-whip. It is this, in our judgment, which gives him two-thirds of his popularity; and it is this which insures his writing against ever becoming classic English. His thought, too, is no less smart than his style; indeed must in the nature of the case be so, else it could never accommodate itself to such a style; and this after all is the great objection to that manner of writing. Johnson's "rolling and sonorous diction" has been sufficiently censured, in part justly; and yet that has considerable scope and sweep; but this short, sharp, pert style is utterly unfit to bear the burden of a large and generous thought.

Now persons who are greatly carried away with admiration of this modern smartness, coming to Barrow will certainly find him a very heavy, cumbersome and unpleasing writer; they will not

fail to be offended with the slow sweeping movement of his sentences, each spanning over wide spaces, like the sweep of very long oars; they will miss the fierce twang, with which in their favorite authors the thoughts are wont to be shot off; and the conclusion from all this, (for what reader was ever known to take the blame to himself?) the conclusion will be highly unfavorable to Dr. Barrow. So (would they tell truly) it would in a like case be to Milton. But Barrow must be peculiarly uninteresting to such; for while no writer is more truly nervous and masculine, none is less smart than he. Those sharp affirmations, each constituting a period, following each other in quick but distinct succession, which in Macaulay's prose smite upon the ear with a smart percussion, like the sound of strokes with a hammer, are all wanting here; and instead we have the long-drawn notes of a great organ, or better, the sound of the sea-swell falling on the shore. Not that Barrow is a truly rhythmical writer; he has not, he is far from having, the grand native, yet artistic, rhythm of Milton, or the sober cadences of Hooker; but he has what is next best, a true depth of tone, and that variety, sometimes rugged, but always welcome, which is to the ear what the native woods and pastures are to the eye.

Not to push any further this enumeration, we may consider positively some things which distinguish Dr. Barrow as a writer. And,

1. His great copiousness usually furnishes to his critics a topic of remark. It must be acknowledged that he pushes this to the verge of redundancy; into which, however, he never passes; for it will be difficult to point out anywhere in him that word, which has not a good and solid meaning in the place where it stands; and redundancy consists not in the copious amplification of one's meaning, but in the use of words which, where they stand, mean nothing, everything which they could express having been said before. This copiousness we might at first be disposed to attribute, in good part, to that wonderful and vast wealth of words,—solid, significant words, too, worth a man's having,—which he possessed almost beyond any other writer in the language, unless Milton be the exception; but upon a closer examination we shall see that it proceeds still more from the power he has to specify and draw out all the lesser contributory meanings which go to make up a general one; of which his definition of wit is a notable instance. And all this without any appearance of nicety, without ever losing the air of largeness in his thought. He is like an oak, which is commonly a tree of wide-spreading top and very many branches; but withal has a tough and sturdy trunk to hold them up. Were he a man of less sinewy and com-

pacted sense, we might think him redundant and top-heavy : as it is, one likes to see him spread out his boughs ; they become him well ; there is vigorous wood in the least of all his branchlets, and it would take a hard gale (of criticism) to break one of them off.

2. We may also note, as a matter of more consequence than might at first appear, the absence in Barrow of everything like prettiness : a property arising from an attempt at beauty, or rather at the conscious *beautifying* of one's style. No writer can be farther remote from this. Even those fine quirks of speech, which so great a writer as Coleridge does not always disdain, could by no possibility creep into the style of Barrow, he remaining Barrow. He makes no more attempt at beauty than a pine tree does ; and yet reaches a genuine, though not indeed artistic beauty, even as pines do, by being himself a part of nature. There is, indeed, a beauty which is a truly spiritual idea, and there is a genuinely artistic style of writing, against which we have nothing to urge ; only we think it extremely dangerous for a young man to fancy himself one of those few who are qualified to write in that way ; neither indeed do we think it desirable that many should write so, even supposing many could. But in this case the beauty resides in the thought, sprang into being with it, and constitutes an inseparable essence in it, without which it would no longer be the same thought. And aside from this, there is a bold, picturesque expression, a leaping out into words that have the life and hues of nature ; which will almost always take place where a writer has the real sap of meaning in him in any abundance. If one has living, working roots running down into nature, that is, into the soil of thought, be sure there will be nature and trope in his words. But as this comes to pass because he vigorously means something, and has by right of sound, earnest and fearless thinking a privilege to mean it ; so prettiness comes by one's being scant of meaning, while at the same time he has a foolish eagerness to write finely, and get praise thereby. Now the ground idea of prettiness is not beauty, but ornament ; a very different thing. And as a woman may sometimes be seen to hang flaring ribbons about an insipid and meaningless countenance ; as a dandy may, by use of the curling tongs, come to wear the locks of Apollo, (if Apollo's had been oiled,) upon a skull which hath not much good sense within it ; so the pretty writer tags his artificial fineries to that which has extremely little significance in itself. But even good writers may be, by evil influences, or some unhappy weakness, betrayed into expression, which is not precisely finical indeed, but is yet a *little* too curiously nice to be quite manly ; we have

intimated that, in our opinion, Coleridge sometimes is. It is a dangerous thing to seek after the "*curiosa felicitas*" in expression ; it is a dangerous thing to *indulge* in too far, even where it does not have to be sought. We allow, indeed, that true art is not to be despised ; we are aware that Nature herself has her flowers of exquisite finish ; and if one has the real beauty in him, if by spontaneous creation, nay, if by careful culture, he can produce thoughts that have a native grace and words that are true blossoms ; we will call his a most rare gift, and honor him accordingly. But the pretty writer gives you, not roses on the native stalk, but French flowers, made of cloth, hung upon thoughts, (we must, perhaps, call them thoughts,) which have no better similitude in nature than those dry stubs sometimes seen in our forests, in which the sap has long ago done circulating. Now, Barrow is alive and not dead, and therefore not pretty ; he has, again, no touch of the artist in his composition ; but we know not where one could go to get a *feeling* of what nervous, manly writing is, better than to him. And one who has much read him,—or indeed read any of his peers,—in the true love of him, will, as we conceive, be in small danger of ever becoming one of your pretty, finical sort of writers.

The truth is, however, that the disease of prettiness is deeper-seated than in mere style ; unless you consider style as a revelation of the whole man, a manifestation of what he really is. We have already said that it proceeds from a poverty of meaning, to which is unfortunately added an itching for literary distinction ; that is, it proceeds from a total misapprehension of what the right end of all writing is, and also from a lack of all that which qualifies and privileges any man to write. The function of Writer is a true office, into which one should not be inaugurated without the possession of a certain excellent peculiarity, grounded in what he is as a man, which favorably distinguishes, and, as it were, secludes him from the mass of men, and constitutes in him a fitness for right worthy things. Good writing is not a trick, to be caught by any cunning handicraftsman ; pretty writing, fair writing perhaps is ; but not good. He who is fit to be a writer at all will be rendered incapable of prettiness by that very thing which constitutes his fitness. The true author is a master, not of arts perhaps, but of thought, of truth ; he is one who has within him deeper meanings and richer significances than dwell in the most ; else how is he fitted to authorize anything ? And it is the inevitable workings and seekings of this inward fountain which should make it pierce the crust, and flow forth into a rill or river, of written speech. In fine, one should write because there is that in his mind which he, in sad

duty, and not in frivolous plaudits-seeking, veritably *needs* to utter, and which the world as truly needs to hear. And if a man, with any genuine sense of what he is about, assumes office as one of the priesthood of thought, be sure he will find something better to do than to be always tagging ornaments to his robes.

It will corroborate this view to observe that all the great prose works in our language were written soberly and sincerely in answer to what was felt by the writer as an imperative call for them. We instance Bacon's great treatises, Milton's 'Reformation' and 'Areopagitica,' Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and we think one may refer with not less appositeness to most of Barrow's sermons. This fact is significant, and will instruct us what works in our own time may be expected to abide; for those which were written not in answer to any great need, but with mere ambitious aims, cannot help being ephemeral. Now, this need is commonly not conspicuous, not apparent to all, sometimes not apparent to any but that one, or those few, in whose souls lie the deep meanings that constitute the elements of a fit response; they apprehend it, and know that, however for peace sake they might wish to be still, they cannot choose but speak.

Barrow answers to, and illustrates all the conditions we have mentioned. He wrote because there was something which ought to be said, and which he felt it in himself to say. He wrote because he well apprehended the deepest moral wants of his time; wrote sincerely and courageously, with an inward fullness and force of meaning which made his words, like the leaves of trees, green, odorous and wholesome; and in consequence of all this, what he has written is apposite to the moral wants of many times.

3. Lastly, as a quality of the man, which had much to do with his worth and eminence as a writer, we name his courage. We give this the last place by way of emphasis; not for its distinguishing Barrow beyond several others, that might be named in English literature, but because, while he exhibits it in such eminence and modesty, both as makes him a safe model and illustration; it is in itself, if we mistake not greatly, a matter most worthy of consideration. And as we might not otherwise be able to set forth its application to Barrow in the light that it appears to us, it may not be out of place to enter upon a slight discussion of the abstract subject. But we have an interest in it beyond any special applications of it. Indeed, if there be one thing, which more than aught else in the present article, we would be glad at once to call the attention of others to, and ourselves to consider, balance and pronounce upon justly and wisely, it is the relation of courage to excellence in thinking and writing.

For there is a legitimate, and also a bastard courage; the former is a vital property in all living thought and all worthy speech; the latter is one of the most foolish and detestable of human qualities.

But, assuredly, without courage nothing great was ever accomplished in any province of human affairs. And the writer, so far from being able to dispense with it, needs it more than any—more than even the soldier. For, he who solves the problems and writes to the deepest wants of his time, must *dare* beyond the measure of facing physical danger. That is, indeed, a well-upborne and valorous mind, which can preserve the prompt and just working of its thought amid the shock of armies and the thunderous din of martial strife; but there are influences vastly more disturbing than those of battle; things apter to make the eyes blink than the near flashing of a sword; and many a man, to whom the roar of cannon and the clash of steel was a bracing music, has sunk down in helpless and blank dismay when he heard the low, under-ground rumbling of enraged public opinion. Now, if one can be altogether frightened from the propriety of his thought at the sound, or in anticipation, of these hoarse, elemental growlings; if he turns pale at the imagination of standing alone, the world fronting him; if he has not that sustaining faith in the power of Truth to work her own way, which alone qualifies one to be the minister of Truth; better he should never assume the pen. For the author who is worthy of his vocation must make up his mind to utter some things, which not the largest half of the world will presently thank him for saying; which possibly, he must wait for even his own, and the truth's, best friends to accept. Otherwise, if he will say nothing till he can find that it has been humanly authorized before, nay, till he can be sure that it is already generally received, especially by those whom he is to address; then in a vain and pusillanimous attempt to please everybody, he sinks into moral, as well as literary, nothingness. Intellectual and moral timidity is synonymous with intellectual and moral weakness. The over-timorous intellect sees a bugbear in every fresh thought that would fain come and enrich it; it dares not push out and push down its roots into the soil, and draw up the virgin strength of it, but seeks about on the surface for some old hole made by a former root, into which its stiff and sun-dried fibers may creep. Then, too, it must have, not only thoughts, but phrases also, made to its hand; and so all sinks into a mean mimicry; and in the end such a mind either becomes a retailer of goods bought and sold with profits for its own pockets, or, supplied with a goodly heap of authorities, and shrunken to unimaginable minuteness, disappears finally in the paths of a petty

and dastardly criticism, lost in the lumber it meant to use against all who were not as commonplace and servile as itself.

On the other hand, there is a headlong and intemperate boldness, which violates the modesty of truth, and which, though often rewarded with the huzzas of the multitude, truly deserves nothing so much as to be whipped into a meeker behavior. This presumptuous and over-officious bravery, however, has certain invariable tokens, by which an observant eye may detect it. And first, it is thoroughly immodest, treating with irreverent slight and contempt beliefs, which have received the not hasty nor ill-considered assent of almost all the wise and good, and fancying that the mere whims, raw notions and rank steams of its own brain are worth more than the deep-studied and slow-grown thought of all the ages. Secondly, it is obtrusive, thrusting itself forward without occasion, and seeking opportunity for the display of its bravery and wit. Now, those persons who in momentous times have stood foremost, and done service for which mankind will not let them be forgotten, were never forward persons; they waited sometimes without even knowing they were waiting, until occasion came, drew them forth and unequivocally pointed out to them a place. Finally, this bravery dares for the sake of daring, or for the reputation of boldness, not for truth's sake. It is more solicitous to say things new and startling than true things; and if truth will not afford it an opportunity to indulge its vein, it will by no means on that account forego the indulgence. Its great object is to use expressions that no one else would use, to say things that others are afraid, commonly nobly afraid, to say; and to astonish the multitude thereby; a profane, and not a 'holy boldness.'

True courage we may consider in its relation, first to thought, and secondly to speech; as a help to the acquisition of ideas and principles, or as a furtherance to expression. Intellectual courage, or courage in its relation to thought, enables the mind to assert its standing and uprightness against the invisible tide of prevalent opinion; enables it in its retirement to meet and confront notions that visit it with the lordly air of authority without due show of reason; and teaches it to venture out in remote excursions, following trains of thought variously suggested, and pursuing them on to their distant results and out to their distant affinities. The man intellectually timid is shy of all such radical meditations. He wills to abide in the safe atmosphere of authorized notions. Now it undoubtedly is the duty of any one to think long and severely before definitely making up his mind to depart from the received opinion of his time, or even of his locality; it as undoubtedly is the duty of each thinker to test such

opinions impartially and courageously in his thought, in order that, though he may not be led to differ, he may, by compliance with the laws of reason, receive into his mind *intellectually* what the most must receive in part traditionally, and in part from a moral satisfaction in it. Doubtless also he should not upon the first affirmation of reason conclude the common opinion wrong; but he should be withheld from instant decision only by reverence for truth, and for that opinion as the exponent of truth, not from fear to allow free scope to his understanding, and to abide by its last and sincere judgments. So that intellectual courage, so far from favoring rash decisions, is every way favorable to the most candid and careful investigation, and the most prudent suspense of judgment, so long as suspense is truly prudent. While without it, the individual reason dares not assert any rights of its own, nor to lift its voice at all otherwise than in reiteration of what, some nobler reason having had the courage to utter, and so far authorize it first, has now become the common converse of men; it ventures not to betake itself to any untried element, but only swims imitatively upon a table; and so, like a subdued and spiritless people, sinks into a tame and emasculate dependency, in the end seeking only, like a good dog, to obtain the approval of its master (the public), by barking always according to his bidding.

Courage in respect to speech is two-fold, moral and rhetorical; courage in matter and courage in manner; the first leading one upon due occasion to put forth and publicly assert his convictions of truth, the second to follow his own genius in expression, without regard to the authorized artificialities and rhetorical fashions of the day. The moralist, preacher, or thinker, who is possessed of any great power of thought, will often need to encounter the current of public opinion or public affection in his time, at more or less risk of injury to himself; and in proportion to the depth of his thought and his faithfulness in uttering, also to the violence of popular attachment to the current sins, errors, or prejudices, this encounter will be rude and jostling; so that if one be bold in thinking, but morally timid,—as Erasmus, for instance,—he is sure to be speedily alarmed, and perhaps silenced. Hence comes a perpetual “staggering between conscience and the pope,” with bad results to himself, and possibly no good ones to the world.

Again, rhetorical courage; a pouring of native force and sturdiness into expression; a freedom and boldness in the ordering of phrases and the use of words, tropes, and metaphors; is indispensable to vigorous and effective writing. It is necessary, to be sure, that this quality should be under the control of good

taste ; but the taste itself, however chaste, however cultivated, must be courageous and one's own. This sort of courage is, indeed, that which most easily recommends itself and becomes popular. It has ever characterized, and ever must, all distinguished writers. Macaulay has it in high degree ; Carlyle still more ; Johnson, Burke, Milton, all possessed it eminently.

We come now to consider Barrow more especially as an illustration of this quality. And if of the first named species of courage, that is, of intellectual, he seems not to exhibit an extraordinary share ; it is because his genius did not require him to make this conspicuous. He is not a man of speculative mind ; he attempts not, as Hooker, the solution of any great problem, not, indeed, from lack of heart to grapple with such, but because his thoughts were otherwise employed, and did not tend that way ; by the natural current of his meditations he is borne towards the more common moralities and average duties of our daily life. But here he exhibits a courageous rectitude of thought, a deliberate and resolute thoroughness in the discussion of his subjects, which is not very noticeable, to be sure, because never speculatively startling, yet not the less worthy of praise.

Of the other species of courage, in both departments of it, he is a notable instance. A devoted adherent of the court, there was the strongest temptation for him to blink over the vices to which that court was especially given, and which its example had made prevalent, and to expend his strength, as South did, in brazen and servile denunciation of the defeated and disgraced Puritans. Yet to Barrow we owe the most impartial discussion and the weightiest condemnation of several of those vices, which has come down to our time. And it is an eminent instance of the manner in which Providence, through the instrumentality of faithful and courageous men, is wont to compel great evils to yield a harvest of good, that the levity, impiety, and profane license of the court of Charles Second gave occasion to those sermons of Barrow, beginning with the thirteenth, and constituting a series of some twenty numbers, in which the morality of speech is so boldly and thoroughly discussed. Of rhetorical courage Barrow is even a still better illustration. It exhibits itself in his manfulness and freedom ; in the fact that he made a style for himself, in which he yet stands alone ; in his being able, while admiring Aristotle so greatly, even excessively, yet to depart from him so utterly in manner of speech. It does not indeed prompt him, as Burke, to flame out in flashing, startling oratory and metaphor, simply because he is not an imaginative man ; but it is the up-braced and valiant habit of his soul that puts him upon the use of those sinewy terms, which crowd and enrich his

pages. And if one will know how great a wealth of right manly and muscular speech our language contains, and will learn what a wholesome and invigorating rhetoric these plain words may be wrought into, when employed by a writer who manfully means somewhat; let him study the sermons of Barrow.

To all students, theological or otherwise, we say, read him; not exclusively indeed, by no means; there are others as worthy, some few worthier of attention; yet read him thoroughly; it will do you good; you will find it, like conversing with the woods and breathing the open air, a cure for many sentimentalities and affectations, which come upon us from dwelling too much in the hot and close atmosphere of modern literature. You will also, if you have not before, thereby gain a feeling of how it is that a man writes, and so will not be content yourselves to write in other than a manly way. And this will lead to serious thoughts; you will come to see that it is not by trick, not by ambitious striving, but by preparation of the soul, by becoming rich in the inner man, that one is fitted to address his age in words that have an abiding significance, and therefore will not be suffered to die.

ART. III.—LORD'S EPOCH OF CREATION.

The Epoch of Creation. The Scriptural Doctrine Contrasted with the Geological Theory. By ELEAZAR LORD. With an Introduction by RICHARD W. DICKINSON, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau Street. 1851.

THIS work, though recently published, belongs, geologically speaking, to an earlier period. The author maintains, that "the heavens and earth and all their host, including man, was created at one epoch," and in the space of six days of twenty-four hours each. About the certainty of this fact, he allows himself to have no doubt, nor is he willing that any one else should have any. But still, for our own part, we are obliged to hesitate a little before going back to the era of Granville Penn and the Dean of York.

The true relation between Revelation and Physical Science is often misunderstood, though it would seem to be a very plain one. God is the author of Nature as well as of the Bible. He has created the human mind and endowed it with that desire of knowledge which impels it to the study of Nature and the Bible. And in that intellectual constitution which enables man to form

premises, to draw conclusions, and to trust in the unbiased convictions of his understanding, he has laid a foundation for the acquisition of knowledge through such study. That man should study the works of nature, acquire a knowledge of her laws and put confidence in his conclusions is as certainly the will of God as it is that he should study the Bible, find out its truths and believe them. We have an equal authority, therefore, for the study of each, and we are equally competent to acquire knowledge from each. It is certain that man can discover, and has discovered by his own powers in the legitimate exercise of them, as God designed they should be exercised, truths which have to his mind—as that mind is constituted—as much evidence in their favor as the evidence in favor of revelation. The fact of the earth's revolution about its axis, and the laws of gravity, we know as certainly as we do that the Bible is the word of God; and we know both according to the legitimate exercise of the powers of the mind, employed in accordance with the laws of evidence upon subjects adapted to its nature.

We have before us, therefore, two great fields of investigation, the Bible and Nature, both of which we are authorized to study, and both of which will yield us their truths. Thus far we have looked at them as distinct. Let us now look at them as related to each other. The ground of this relation is, that Revelation brings Nature within its department as a portion of its subject-matter. It utters the great truth concerning it, that God is its author, and speaks of it in other ways. And here arises the question, upon the correct answer to which depends, on the one hand, the true interpretation of those parts of Scripture which relate to Nature, and on the other; the true mode of investigating Nature herself within her own domain. That question is, whether revelation speaks of nature *popularly* as adapted to the comprehension of those to whom it was first made, or *scientifically* as adapted to the cultivated intellect of all time? The statement of the question answers it. The revelation of the wonders of modern science, to say nothing of what may hereafter be discovered, would have contained to those who first received it, far more astonishing miracles than any which God saw fit to perform to authenticate revelation itself. To have spoken in scientific language of the *globe* and its diurnal and annual revolutions, of the solar system with its complexity of movements, of the myriads of bodies dispersed in space and of their all but infinite distances; to have spoken scientifically of the *composition* of the *elements*, fire, earth, air, water, and of the decomposition of light; to have spoken scientifically of the *whole* animal creation with its mountains of infusoria; to have spoken scientifically of

the formation of clouds and the fall of rain, instead of the windows of heaven and the waters above the firmament; in a word, to have spoken of the ordinary appearances and operations of nature in the language of science and with scientific truth, would have been, we must believe, an unsurmountable barrier against the establishment of revelation itself. The Bible has not spoken in this way. It describes the outward shows of things as they appear to the common—the uninstructed, the unscientific eye. And it deserves to be considered, that so far as regards ordinary objects in nature, such as common plants, trees, animals, the situation and character of places, as Jerusalem, Nineveh, Petra, the obvious topographical features of a country, as of Palestine, Egypt, and the regions beyond the Euphrates; as regards everything, in short, which is open to ordinary observation, the Bible describes them with complete accuracy. Every new examination of the geography of the regions about which it is conversant, every new discovery as to the manners and employments of their inhabitants, every revelation of long buried monuments, every new reading of long forgotten languages, only shows with what graphic accuracy the Bible has represented the objects which came within the sphere of common observation. The descriptions are life-like and carry their own evidence with them that they were made by those who saw with their own eyes what they describe. On the contrary, almost every great discovery in physics—every advance which science has made, has filled the Bible more and more, if it is to be regarded as a book of science, with scientific blunders. But the Bible is not so to be regarded. For, besides the fact that it is *not* a book of science, besides the reason of that fact already alleged, that such a revelation would have defeated the very end for which the Bible was revealed, that end itself would be decisive of the question, if anything more were needed. The Bible has for its subject-matter, God, the Soul, Eternity. It reveals the moral purposes of God; it teaches the relations of the soul to its Creator, to time, to eternity; it discloses in some measure the grand events which are yet to take place in the moral universe. This is professedly its end. It does not profess to teach physical science nor any other science; it does not teach them.

With this statement in our minds regarding these two great fields of truth which God has opened to the study of man, and into which He calls him to enter and labor, it seems not difficult to arrive at some important practical conclusions. And, in the first place, it would appear to result as a consequence, that both Revelation and Science should be studied with reference to *the kind* of truth which they teach, and, where they treat of the

same subject-matter, according to the *point of view* from which they look at it. The interpreter of the Bible must explain its language, not as scientific but as popular language, and language too addressed to people not enlightened by the diffusion of scientific knowledge but in a comparatively rude state. The man of science must interpret nature according to the facts which he observes, and not according to some pre-judgment derived from another field of knowledge. The mistake early made and long persevered in,—that the Bible is intended to teach science and is to be regarded as an encyclopedia of knowledge, and that therefore science is to be studied in its pages,—though a natural one, has been most disastrous to the professed defenders of the Bible and hostile to the progress of science. If any one doubt this, let him read the explanations which the professed defenders of the Bible have given of the phenomena of nature, in opposition to the conclusions of science, from the time of the ancient fathers down through all the physico-theological writers—we were going to say, to the author of the treatise under review. But we can detect progress notwithstanding the intolerant dogmatism with which the author asserts that the earth and heavens, with all their host, were created at the same epoch with man. We hear no longer of the fossils being made just as we find them; the deluge has lost much of its former wonder-working power; eschewing any particular theory, the author rests in the naked proposition, that almighty power will account for anything. If any one would see the effect of the error in question upon scientific men themselves, let him read the theories which prevailed from the early part of the sixteenth century down to the beginning even of the nineteenth, all of which were modified by considerations extraneous to science.

There is another practical result from the relative position which we have assigned to Revelation and Science, which must not be overlooked. It is this, that there is no occasion for haste and over-anxiety about harmonizing the truths which are discovered in Nature with those which are taught in the Bible. The investigation and establishment of individual truths is the first step; the harmonizing of individual truths into one system is, in the order of nature, the second step, and it may not be taken till long after the first. Doubtless, all the truths in the universe fit together and form one perfect whole, but we need often take an immense survey before we can adjust the parts even of a very small portion. It may be necessary to wait till some other truth shall be discovered, and until that is done the harmony of what is now known with the whole will not appear. It is possible, too, that the reconciliation may be, ap-

parently in its very nature, beyond our reach, and yet we may not give up either of the truths which seem in hostility. This will be peculiarly the case when the same things are looked at from different points of view. We doubt not the time will come when the antiquity of the earth will be as generally acquiesced in as a fact to be held along with a full belief in the Bible as is now the revolution of the earth upon its axis, although we may not say with certainty what will be the final view taken of the account of creation in Genesis. Holding this opinion upon the harmonization of truths in different departments of knowledge, we have thought that men of science sometimes have not looked sufficiently at their own respective sciences as they are in themselves. The infidel is, of course, eager to trumpet forth every new discovery as irreconcilable with the revelation which he rejects. The man of science, who believes in the Bible, in his eagerness to relieve himself from the appearance of hostility to it, has been too ready to take up with any interpretation which may suggest itself. We have thought, for instance, that Agassiz, in propounding his hypothesis of different centers of creation, would have done better if he had not attempted to bring the Scriptures into harmony with his view. Let him first demonstrate the reality of what he asserts, and when the whole scientific world shall have acquiesced in it as true, if they shall do so, it will be time enough to re-investigate what the Bible says on the same subject. Others of ingenious minds have pressed the coincidences between revelation and science too far. We cannot but think the distinguished astronomer of Cincinnati found much more of modern scientific astronomy in the book of Job, than the writer of that book had any knowledge of. On the contrary, it has seemed to us that the interpreters of the Bible have striven too much merely to make out a case. Some have spoken of the results of geological investigations as great triumphs of the Bible—as being, instead of difficulties, confirmations of the sacred record—which is certainly an over-statement. Others, in a patronizing way, say to the man of science, “You may believe this and that with safety—we can make out this interpretation for you—so far you may go and even farther;” as if the question were, how much may you concede? how much may be forced from the text? and not what did the writer mean? Others, again, have argued with special pleading, as if to put down science, at any rate, by overwhelming its devotees with the charge of infidelity. It seems to us that the interpreter of revelation, and the interpreter of nature, should each follow his own distinctive line of investigation; should each carefully and honestly seek the truth within his own department; should each ever remember

that he is studying but different volumes of the same author. Above all, is it important that investigations and discussions by both should be carried forward, not with arrogance and shouts of defiance and triumph, but with modesty ; not with a purpose to carry a point, but with both a philosophic and Christian determination to ascertain the truth—what can we know from Science as to Nature? How much did the sacred writers have revealed to them on the same subject?

With these preliminary observations, which seemed to be necessary in order to present our own views clearly before the reader, we proceed to examine the contrary views as they are exhibited in the work before us. The staple propositions of the author are two, which are repeated again and again, and presented in various shapes throughout the discussion. The first of these asserts the *impossibility* that the Scripture narrative of creation should have any other meaning than that the universe was created in six natural days. The second maintains the *possibility* of *supernatural* causes having produced those appearances which have led to the belief in the antiquity of the earth. The geologist will at once see that there is nothing new in these propositions. They are the very ones which for three hundred years retarded the progress of science, and involved the defenders of the Bible in all sorts of extravagant "theories of creation?" Mr. Lord, however, has, with commendable caution, abstained, as we have before said, from any definite theory; he relies on the bare possibility of supernatural intervention. But we will allow our readers to judge for themselves. And our first quotation shall be his opening paragraph:

"The geological theory assigns to the physical world a far higher antiquity than it allows to the human race. Many who believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures adopt this theory, to avoid the difficulties which geological science is supposed to present to the doctrine which ascribes the creation of man and that of the earth to one and the same epoch; and they endeavor so to construe the language of Scripture as to make it harmonize with what they suppose to be the unavoidable conclusions of science. If they regard the Scriptures with the reverence due to them, they must yield to the required interpretations, under the impression that the credit of revelation itself demands them, that they affect no essential doctrine, that the alleged conclusions of science can in no other way be met, and that this course may conciliate and win the confidence and faith of scientific men, who otherwise would be in danger of rejecting the Bible altogether."—pp. 33-34.

Here, now, we have a class of divines and Christian scholars, probably a large majority of those who are qualified to discuss the subject in hand, put upon trial as to whether they regard the Scriptures with the reverence which is due to them. The test is their interpretation of the narrative of the creation. And

they would be condemned at once, if strict justice were done them. There is, however, some ground for a charitable judgment. They may have departed from the true meaning, and that to which an immaculate reverence for the Bible would have led them, with good motives. They may have merely yielded to what they supposed the necessities of the case, in order to sustain the credit of the Bible and conciliate men of science. And, besides, they may have thought their interpretation would affect no essential doctrine. But if they have not some such excuse as this, they must be pronounced guilty of irreverence, that is, provided Mr. Eleazar Lord is infallible. And we see no indications that he at least has any doubt upon this point. It seems not to have entered his mind that any other interpretation is—we will not say possible—but honest. Everywhere the representation is given that the interpretation which allows room for a greater age to the universe than about six thousand years, is a forced one, adopted to remove difficulties. If Mr. Lord chooses to argue that such interpretations must be erroneous, we do not object; but what right has he to charge or insinuate that they who propound them have not sought simply to learn what the Scriptures teach? One would most naturally feel indignant at such a charge; but, really, when we see such men as Dr. Chalmers, Dr. J. Pye Smith, Dr. Buckland, Moses Stuart, and hosts of others, men honored in the church, just escaping the guilt of irreverence, on the ground that they *meant well*, we may be permitted to smile.

But it may be asked whether such interpretations do not remove difficulties, and whether they were not intended for that purpose. We beg leave to make a distinction. The results to which the geologists came, as to the antiquity of the earth, conflicted with the prevalent interpretation of the Scripture account of the creation. This gave occasion to the re-investigation of that account, to determine whether the prevalent interpretation was the true one; and if it were not, whether the true one would harmonize with the conclusions of science. The geological facts were also taken into account in the interpretation, and properly, for an interpretation of the account of any given phenomenon may surely be aided by a knowledge of what that phenomenon is. But there is a distinction between furnishing the occasion of a new interpretation and presenting facts, before unknown, pertinent to the case, and forcing that interpretation from the words, contrary to their true import. We have an exactly parallel case. The discovery of the revolution of the earth upon its axis gave occasion to a re-investigation of those passages which were universally interpreted to mean that the earth is immovable. It

furnished a new fact which was to be regarded in that investigation. The result was, that the prevalent interpretation was found to be erroneous, and the true one discovered, which removed all difficulties. Was there anything objectionable in this? Was not the latter interpretation made with as sincere desire to learn the true meaning of Scripture as the former?

But while the author has imputed to those divines and scholars who have interpreted Genesis differently from himself, the restraint of a foregone conclusion, he ascribes to the geologist a mode of reasoning altogether foreign to his science. We quote :

"He thinks those conclusions"—relating to the antiquity of the earth—"so far settled, and entitled to such confidence, as to make it necessary to the believer in revelation to construe the Mosaic record in accordance with them. In other words, he deems it more likely that the apparent is not the true meaning of that record, than that any other besides natural, ordinary, physical causes have been employed to produce the sedimentary formations, or other phenomena with which his inquiries are concerned. If there is a defect anywhere, he supposes it must be in the written account of the creation, and not in his ascription of changes to the slow operation of natural causes. He supposes it to be more likely that a written account, in a dead and very ancient language, should appear to mean what it does not mean, that it should be figurative or mystical, that it should be misconstrued through ignorance, or by reason of its brevity or other peculiarities, than that he should be mistaken in his inferences from the geological phenomena of the earth."—p. 37.

This doubtless is very adroit. It would shine in a special plea. But it can easily be rebutted. The geologist as a geologist, has nothing to do with any such balance of probabilities. It is his sole office to investigate "the successive changes that have taken place in the organic and inorganic kingdoms of nature; and to inquire into the causes of these changes, and the influence which they have exerted in modifying the surface and external structure of our planet." We take our definition from the writings of Sir Charles Lyell, who in his "*Principles of Geology*," first gave its proper prominence to "the theory of the uniform nature and energy" of geological causes, and thus placed geology as a science on the basis of the inductive philosophy. In the investigation of the changes which the earth has undergone, nothing is found but what is accounted for by the operation of natural causes, acting through indefinite periods of time. The geologist has no question to ask—none is in fact suggested to him as a geologist—as to any other causes. Were it not for the supposition that the Bible limits the epoch of the creation of the material universe to the creation of man, the thought of supernatural agency would never have arisen. The investigation of facts and the search after the natural causes of these facts are the sole objects of geology. It is not one of its objects even

to inquire into the antiquity of the earth, though this is a necessary result, to be sure, of its investigations. Indeed we may go farther; if it could be demonstrated that the changes which the geologist observes, were produced by supernatural causes, we see not how it would change the principles upon which he must proceed. The same facts would remain; the same appearances of the operation of natural causes, and the same adequateness of these causes to produce the results, would remain, and, furthermore, it would be out of his power to discriminate the supernatural from the natural causes, since the effects of the two are the same, and the existence of the former is only known by direct revelation. The question of supernatural agency arises without the domain of geology. It is a question of the interpretation of Scripture. We of course must not be understood as saying that no geologist has written upon this question, but in so doing, the geologist appears not as a geologist, but as an interpreter of the Bible. We admit also that the lines of distinction between geology and interpretation have not been always drawn with sufficient care. But, looking at it as a question of interpretation, has this writer stated truly the mode in which the investigation of Scripture has been carried on by those whose interpretation he opposes? Have they thus struck the balance between the credit due to the Mosaic narrative and to the conclusions of science? Or have they honestly and truly sought to learn the meaning of Scripture? Look at the men, and judge.

We perhaps ought to guard against an inference which might be drawn from what we have just said, that geology discards supernatural intervention, whereas it expressly recognizes successive creations of systems of vegetation and races of animals, but it is an intervention suggested and proved by facts occurring within its own domain.

The author having thus explained the principles upon which the interpreter of the Bible and the geologist respectively proceed, next states what he regards as the question at issue.

"The question at issue is, whether the Mosaic account of the creation is an account of the original creation out of nothing of the material worlds and all that in them is; or whether the narrative of the 'six days' is an account only of the remodeling of the earth—one of those worlds—out of the materials of the same earth created at an earlier period, supposed to be indicated by the phrase 'in the beginning.'"—p. 40.

We object to this statement of the issue, that it brings into the question a fact about which there is no question, namely, that the narrative contains an account of original creation. At least, this is the interpretation which the author himself puts upon this ob-

scure sentence. For, he says just afterwards, that the question "involves the fact itself of the creation of the heavens and the earth." But we claim, that fact is not involved in the question as to the proper meaning of the Mosaic narrative. Every interpretation yields the sense, that God gave beginning to the heavens and the earth. That is one of those points in the narrative about which all are agreed. Those who interpret the account of the six days' work, as relating to the remodeling of the earth, have been very careful to bring out prominently that the first verse reveals the fact of the original creation. With what propriety, then, are they represented as merely *supposing* that it is *indicated* by the phrase "in the beginning"? And even that small concession is virtually withdrawn by the subsequent assertion that the fact of the creation of the heavens and the earth is involved in the question. We object also to the statement that it does not present all the alternatives. One other interpretation has been proposed, and is maintained perhaps even by a majority of geologists, namely, that the six days are six periods of indefinite length. Besides the statement ought not to have excluded the possibility of other interpretations still.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question of interpretation he has stated, the author goes out of his way to triumph over a supposed deficiency in the science of geology. Geology, he says, can not even prove that there was any original creation. "It furnishes no conclusive evidence, nor, at best, anything more than a faint and doubtful probability that the earth has not existed and been occupied with plants and animals from eternity." In another place, he speaks of it as a physical theory, which "leaves the fact of any beginning or creation of the world in extreme doubt and uncertainty." This failure seems to give him a good deal of pleasure, for he repeats it again and again. We would not interfere wantonly with this sort of complacent triumph, but we think it due to truth to say, that geology does not profess to treat of original creation. It expressly discards that subject. It studies the structure of the earth as an existing phenomenon. If writers on natural theology have used the results of geological investigations to prove the creation of matter and have failed, the failure should not be imputed to the science of geology. It is a stale trick to burden science with the office of doing what it does not profess to do, and then upbraid it for not fulfilling that office. If Mr. Lord has fallen into this trick, we are willing to believe it has been done unconsciously.

The discussion of the epoch of creation according to the Scriptures is prosecuted in the second and third chapters. The

author holds that the Scriptures teach that the universe was created at the same time with man. His first argument is drawn from the interpretation of the first verse of Genesis, which connects the beginning of creation with the work of the six days narrated in the subsequent verses. He contends that the Hebrew phrase translated "in the beginning," always denotes "the first of a series." The determination of the meaning of words and phrases in particular sentences is pre-eminently the work of judgment and good sense. The best scholar will be a poor interpreter, unless he possesses a well-judging mind. For the ultimate decision must be left to that sort of tact or whatever else it may be called, which in matters of daily life so generally hits right. It cannot be made out like a point of mathematics, though it may be argued about forever. There is always room for those who are disposed to controversy, to carry it on as long as they please. The ever varying shades of meaning which words have in different connections, and the multitude of possibilities which must exist in almost every case, furnish an inexhaustible supply of materials for argumentation. Besides the varied impressions which a particular passage may make upon the mind, and the many little circumstances which conspire to form the judgment, can not be well expressed in words; and if it is attempted, the imperfection of the account will only give occasion to new points of dispute. The first verse in Genesis, and especially the phrase "in the beginning," opens a wide field of discussion. By means of parallel texts, it may be prolonged without end. But fortunately it is a passage which involves no doctrine of religion about which men differ, and we can get at the unbiased decisions of scholars and divines upon it. It is well known what that decision has been. Men of sound, practical judgment, men of comprehensive learning, men of profound thought, men of every name and persuasion, eminent in the church of Christ, have united in judgment upon this question. There is a very general acquiescence in separating the creation of the heavens and the earth announced in the first verse from the transactions of the "six days." Under these circumstances, a new and strong case must be made out in order to overthrow this decision. But we discover nothing new in what Mr. Lord has advanced, unless an uncommon degree of positiveness be a novelty.

But if there is nothing new in the arguments in support of his interpretation, there are several subsidiary arguments in favor of his main position as to the epoch of creation, which we believe are new; at least we do not remember

to have met with them. These, therefore, we must briefly examine.

The first which presents itself may be thus stated. The author lays down as a foundation the following proposition, that "the creation of the heavens and the earth is made in revelation the basis of God's rights and prerogatives over His creatures as their providential and moral governor." He then argues that this creation must have been contemporaneous with the creation of man, in order to render that claim effectual. But we will quote his own language.

"Had the sacred writers only stated in general terms that God created the celestial bodies and the earth, without associating with that statement a detail of all the visible objects of creation, so as to exclude the idea of any other creator of any of those objects; and including in their statement man, who was to be guarded against idolatry, imposture, and error, their testimony, however correct as far as it went, would not have met the exigencies of the case.

"Had the first verse of Genesis asserted the creation at an indefinitely remote, uncertain, and unknown epoch, wholly unassociated with man as a creature, and with his relations and duties as a moral agent, no such sign as the sanctification of the seventh day, to re-express and perpetuate the fact that Jehovah was the Creator, could have been instituted; nor would the bare assertion that he was the Creator, without such a significant and oft-recurring sign, founded in the details of the works of creation, and interwoven with the moral relations and obligations of man, have served to guard him against the wiles of the antagonist system."—p. 69.

Here it is plainly asserted—not on the authority of revelation, but of Mr. Lord only—that the creation of the material universe at the same time with the creation of man was an absolute necessity, if God would maintain a providential and moral government over His intelligent and moral kingdom—the two would be so wholly unassociated! Astronomers tell us that there are bodies in the universe so remote in space that light commencing its journey at the epoch of man's creation, would not as yet have reached him. Could not Mr. Lord get up an argument to prove they are not so far off, because such a distance would so dissociate them with man as to impair the force of God's government over him? We have heard a good deal in our day of putting limits to the power of the Almighty, but we think this is the boldest case we have ever met with.

The second argument which we notice is founded on a similar principle, and is derived from the office of the Logos as creator. The author first lays down the following proposition which we give in his own language: "As the anointed, the Christ, he was with God, before exercising his creative energy in the work of creation; and in that character he created all things." The author then adds as follows:—

"Having created the earth, instead of leaving it through millions of ages without occupants having any relation to his moral government, he created man, and invested him with a subordinate dominion over the inferior creatures, to rule them for himself, 'for whom are all things, and by whom are all things.'

"In this view of his person and office, and the connection of his work of creating and upholding all things with his moral and providential government, and all his works as Prophet, Priest, and King, it would be more than irreverent to represent him as having created the earth myriads of ages before he created man, whose nature, in order to the execution of the most important and glorious part of his whole undertaking, was to be and remain forever united to his person.

"No deductions of geology, unsupported by and irreconcilable with the teachings of revelation concerning him, can justify us in disconnecting the first act in the execution of his delegated undertaking, from the series to which that, in its precedence and in all its relations, was essential."—pp. 80–81.

We are here again told—not on the authority of revelation, but the presumptuous pre-judgment of Mr. Lord—that to have created the earth at an earlier epoch than the creation of man would have been so far unworthy of Christ that the suggestion of the thought is irreverent. But is it for man to dictate, when Christ should have created the earth? Can man fathom by *a priori* reasoning all the motives which should have governed the creator of the universe? Besides, what more idle than questions of earlier and later when we speak of eternal duration? But Mr. Lord's notion of eternity seems to be somewhat peculiar, for he declares that the geologists represent natural causes as acting *so slowly*, as "to render the inference that the vast masses of sedimentary matter were ever produced by them, not only improbable and incredible, but impossible"—impossible, we suppose, for want of time in past eternity!

The third and last argument on this head, is drawn from the idea of perfection. Mr. Lord is quite dissatisfied with the primeval earth of the geologists. He declares it an inconceivably imperfect one; in fact, no earth at all. But we must quote the passage: our author is quite witty at the expense of the geologists.

"Again: the alleged primeval earth of the geologists is supposed by them to have been, if not a mere chaos, wholly without order, light, and life, yet, at best, to have been an extremely, nay, inconceivably, imperfect earth—an earth in such a state and condition as with no propriety to be called an earth, it being at first, and no one knows for how many myriads of ages, unfit for the abode of the meanest insects and reptiles, and so unfit for the abode of man, its intended prince and master, as to require a course of alterations and improvements to be carried on incessantly through immeasurable rounds of duration, before he could exist, if created or developed and brought upon the stage. After it had so far been improved by geological causes as to admit of the creation of some of the lowest organisms, the Creator interposed and brought them into existence; and when, according to the laws of their nature, which (contrary to the perfective law of the embryo earth) was a law of decay and degradation, they 'died

out,' and took their permanent stations as organic fossils in the lowest fossiliferous stratum, the Creator interposed again, and brought forward a class of creeping things, as much more perfect than the class which had died out, as the progress of geological improvement would permit. By the repetition of this mechanical tide-waiting process, as often as the successive creations, when their places of abode became too perfect for their natures, declined and run out, the earth at last came to be stocked with animals wholly unsuited to be contemporary with man. The development had gone too far,—a retrograde movement was necessary. It was not only necessary to exterminate all the animals and vegetables, terrestrial and marine, of the latest creation, but to throw the earth itself back into a chaotic state, in order, by the operation of the 'six days' spoken of by Moses, to give it just that degree of perfection which would make it suitable to the nature of man, and to stock the seas, the land, and the atmosphere, with races proper to be contemporary with him.

"Wonderful scheme of operations, no doubt, considered as a geological contrivance, and as a total failure up to the epoch of the 'six days.' But what is to be thought of it, considered as the scheme of the Moral Governor of the Universe, who sees the end from the beginning, and acts only for reasons worthy of his infinite perfections?"—pp. 85–87.

But as the author kindles with the subject, he loses his wit and grows indignant. "This beggarly, earth-born scheme," he says, "is scarcely to be treated of without impatience and indignation. It dishonors every attribute of the eternal self-existent Creator; and would dishonor any human mechanician, who was competent to his undertaking." Be it observed that Mr. Lord admits the existence of all the phenomena which the geologists adduce. He only accounts for their existence differently. It would seem, then, that the very same phenomena, which, produced by natural causes, (of which ultimately of course God is the author,) prove imperfection of plan, prove perfection of plan, when produced by supernatural causes. A distinction pretty much without a difference. Besides, are we to give up what we see, as it were, with our own eyes, as to the manner in which God *has created* the earth, in order to accommodate some *a priori* speculations as to the perfectibility of creation? But this argument needs no refutation; one feels in handling it, that he has disinterred some petrified fossil of middle-age metaphysics.

We have thus hastily noticed the several considerations by which Mr. Lord proves from Scripture that the epoch of the creation of the material universe was the same with that of the creation of man. We have been so often reminded, in doing it, of an argument of Turretin, which President Hitchcock exhumed from the folios of that divine, and published in his recent work entitled "Religion of Geology," that we present it to our readers. Turretin lays down the following proposition, that "the sun and moon move in the heavens and revolve around the earth, while the earth remains at rest"—and proves it. "First. The sun is said [in Scripture] to move in the heavens, and to rise

and set. (Ps. 19, v. 5.) *The sun is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.* (Ps. 104, v. 19.) *The sun knoweth his going down.* (Eccles. 1, v. 5.) *The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down.* Secondly. The sun, by a miracle, stood still in the time of Joshua (Joshua, ch. 10, v. 12, 13, 14), and by a miracle it went back in the time of Hezekiah. (Isa. ch. 38, v. 8.) Thirdly. The earth is said to be *fixed immovably.* (Ps. 93, v. 1.) *The world also is established that it can not be moved.* (Ps. 104, v. 5.) *Who laid the foundation of the earth, that it should not be removed forever.* (Ps. 119, v. 90, 91.) *Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth. They continue this day according to thine ordinances.* Fourthly. Neither could birds, which often fly off through an hour's circuit, be able to return to their nests; for in the mean time the earth would move four hundred and fifty of our miles. Fifthly. Whatever flies or is suspended in the air, ought, [by this theory], to move from west to east; but this is proved not to be true from birds, arrows shot forth, atoms made manifest in the sun, and down floating in the atmosphere." To the suggestion that Scripture, in natural things, speaks according to the common opinion, Turretin gives four answers, "First, the Spirit of God best understands natural things. Secondly, in giving instruction in religion, he meant these things should be used, not abused. Thirdly, he is not the author of any error. Fourthly, he is not be corrected on this pretence by our blind reason." To the suggestion, that birds, the air, and all things are moved with the earth, he gives two answers. "First. This is a mere fiction, since air is a fluid body. Secondly. If it were so, by what force would birds be able to go from east to west?" *Compendium Theologicæ Didacticæ—Elenc-ticæ, Amsterdam, 1695.*

Turretin was doubtless as thoroughly convinced of the infallibility of his interpretation as is Mr. Lord of his; and there is another coincidence which we should hardly have anticipated. The physical arguments of Turretin bear a most marvelous likeness to certain speculations which are to be met with in the subsequent part of Mr. Lord's book. It is not a little curious, too, that Mr. Lord should have referred to one of the very passages quoted by Turretin, that from Joshua. Turretin says, "the sun stood still;" Mr. Lord says, Jehovah "suspended the revolution of the earth." We fear Mr. Lord would have received at the hands of Turretin a little of that castigation which he so liberally bestows upon the geologists, for not following the obvious, apparent meaning. By the way, does Mr. Lord suppose that Joshua actually thought that it was the earth and not the sun which stood still?

But Mr. Lord is not satisfied, as we have just intimated, without having a tilt with the geologists on their own ground. He attempts to discuss the geological questions as a man of science, and if he were really acquainted with the science, would be no unworthy antagonist. Mr. Lord, in this part of his work, undertakes to show that the geological theory of the *antiquity of the earth* is entitled to no credit even as a "deduction or demonstration of science." Our champion attacks the geologists in their stronghold. We admire his bravery. There he stands alone against a host—Humboldt, Buckland, Murchison, Sedgwick, Lyell, Miller, De La Beche, Silliman, Hitchcock, Agassiz, and every other man of science—and not alone in one country but in every country where there is science at all—and not only every man of science in this department but every man of science in every cognate department—and not only every man of science but every man of education who has studied the subject.

We confine this argument, of course, to the point under consideration—the operation of natural causes in producing the phenomena of the earth disclosed by geological investigations, and the consequent indefinite antiquity of the earth. In the explanation of particular facts by specific natural causes there is great diversity of hypothesis, as there must be in every progressive science. But our author shall speak for himself. The quotation contains the substance of his entire argument,—and a more remarkable paragraph has not been written and printed for many a day.

"Here those who believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures might be content to rest, assured that no interpretation of the facts of geology or inferences from them, in conflict with the statements of revelation, can be entitled to any consideration. But many good men, teachers of revealed religion, and others, are prepossessed with the impression that the geological theory, respecting the antiquity of the earth, is entitled to regard as a deduction or demonstration of science, and as such is in conflict with the language of Scripture. This, however, is a mistake. That which constitutes or belongs to geology as a science, has properly nothing whatever, directly or indirectly, to do with the question at issue. It has to do only with physical phenomena, their natural laws, and their physical relations and connections. To determine the Epoch of Creation is as truly out of its province as it is to create a world. It cannot demonstrate, nor even render it probable, that the earth ever was created. The theory of its remote antiquity is no part of the science, but is a discreditable appendage to it. The theory is merely an inference, a supposition, a conjecture, derived from the construction which the geologist puts upon the facts of the science, the phenomena which he observes, and the mode in which he conceives them to have been produced by the ordinary and exclusive operation of natural causes. Should he modify his inference by admitting that a supernatural cause may have been interposed to produce those facts, he would be forced to conclude that geology could determine nothing upon the subject. It is impossible for

him to prove, or to exhibit any facts or phenomena from which it can be inferred, that supernatural interpositions have not taken place, or that there have not been adequate reasons and occasions for them. And it is only by vaulting over the boundaries of geological science, into the province of revelation, moral government, and final causes, and assuming that no supernatural interpositions have occurred, that he makes his inference, and concludes that the earth must have existed long enough for natural causes to produce the phenomena which he observes."—pp. 94–96.

There are one or two things in this passage which we must notice before coming to the argument. He again makes "the epoch of creation" one of the objects of geological investigation. But there is not a geologist in the world who has ever attempted to fix the time when the earth was created. Indeed, he might as well attempt to create a world as to determine that. But to say that the earth *has existed* for an indeterminate length of time is not the same as to say it *began* to exist at a *determinate point* of time. The geologist may be found quietly at work in very remote periods, but never at the fountain-head of time. It may be added, also, that the question of antiquity is an incidental one and not the main one in geology. But Mr. Lord says "the theory of a remote antiquity is merely an inference." An inference! Mr. Lord seems to have a great horror of an inference, and yet his whole argument for the intervention of supernatural causes is an inference! Where in Scripture is the account of such supernatural causes as would produce the appearances brought to light from the depths of the earth? Is it in the account of creation? God said, "let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life"—but is there anything here that leads us to think he created strata of fishes thousands of feet thick? Is it the deluge? what is there in the account of that to lead us to the conjecture of such supernatural causes as would produce what geology has revealed? Nothing. The truth is, there is no direct account in the Bible of the operation of such supernatural agency as must be assumed, if the epoch of the material creation is identical with that of man. We defy denial upon this point. How, then, does Mr. Lord get his knowledge of such supernatural intervention? Why, by inference. The heavens and the earth were created at the same time with man, and, *therefore*, there *must* have been supernatural agency.

But we proceed to examine his positions. His first position is that geologists have entirely mistaken the proper object of the science, which is simply to observe facts. It has nothing to do with causes. Its *sole* office is to observe facts, "simple, comprehensive, fixed facts." These "can be described *on paper* simply as facts, without any conjectures as to how they were caused, or

any inferences as to the time occupied in their causation." We hardly know how to treat this modern *Novum Organon* with gravity. The old one did indeed abjure the attempt to manufacture facts by *a priori* reasoning and metaphysical speculation, but it did not discard the study of the causes of the facts which have been ascertained by observation. And it did well in not discarding it, if we may judge either from the nature of the human mind or the results of the system. The impulse to trace effects to causes is one of the very strongest in the nature of man. True, the curiosity to observe is also very strong, particularly in childhood, and there are some full-grown minds that take pleasure in collecting stores of mere facts; but we have supposed that the habit of connecting facts in the relation of cause and effect was the characteristic of the philosophical and well-trained mind. The progress of science, too, which has been made not less by the investigation of causes than the observation of facts, would seem to show that cause and effect should not be separated in science. But we apprehend this new system of Mr. Lord's, which authorizes the student to *record* the impression made on his senses, but not the irresistible convictions of his understanding as to the cause of that which makes the impression, will reach much farther than the author intended. A child puts his hand in the fire and is burnt. Is it unscientific for him not to put his hand in the fire again, *because*, if he does, it will burn him? Newton saw an apple fall to the ground;—was it unscientific in him to *infer* a universal cause acting through and in the universal law of gravitation? The universe is an effect; may we not *infer* an intelligent and almighty cause? Now, in geology the existence of causes forces itself upon the mind just as much as in these cases, and if the human mind could be compelled to disregard and disown causes there, it would disregard and disown them everywhere. But we fear our readers will accuse us of misrepresentation, unless we give the words of the author. The quotation will be long, but then it is a curious one.

"Suppose now the geologist to go forth to examine the structure and materials of the globe. He observes two classes of rocks, stratified and unstratified. They are clearly distinguishable. One has a crystallized form and texture, the other such a form and texture as would result from the deposit of mud, sand, and gravel in water. These he calls sedimentary. He finds of these, a regular succession of beds or layers, which in the aggregate are some eight or ten miles in thickness. These layers differ from each other in thickness and in their mineral composition; that is, in the kind of earthy materials which they were composed of. He finds them generally tilted up from the horizontal position in which they were deposited, to a greater or less degree of inclination, and sometimes to a vertical position, so as greatly to facilitate his examination of them. He gives distinctive names to these successive layers, indicative of their mineral

characters, as gneiss, lime-stone, red sandstone, slate, coal, clay, &c. &c. He observes that the lowest of these sedimentary formations everywhere rests on crystalline rock or granite. Again he observes that a large portion of these sedimentary rocks, to the depth of six or seven miles, contains the skeletons and relics of various plants and animals, terrestrial and marine.

"Now these and the like undisputed and unquestionable facts constitute what he calls, or ought to call, geology. The observation, study, and knowledge of them constitute the science of geology."

* * * * *

"But the geologists, one and all, have occupied themselves mainly in attempting to account for the facts disclosed by their researches upon some theory of the mode in which they were caused, the physical agencies by which they were effected, the time occupied, &c. &c.; and they most unscientifically and unwarrantably denominate the facts, and their theories and inferences conjointly, the *science of Geology*."—pp. 146–148.

Suppose now the geologists had done just what Mr. Lord wishes—what difference would it have made? There is not a reader of ordinary intelligence that would not have accounted for the facts for himself. It is impossible, under such circumstances, to crush by authority the natural and necessary convictions of the understanding. Can any human being see the pebbles of the drift and not believe they were rounded by the action of water? Yes, there is one man, Mr. Lord. We had forgotten at the moment that this is one of the points he makes against the geologists. The pebbles, he thinks, are so hard, "no conceivable amount of rolling and friction against each other, without an extreme vertical pressure, and a motive power far exceeding that of current water, would ever wear off their angles and give them their rounded form." How does the reader suppose they were rounded? By miracle, of course. But to return from this digression, can any man—except Mr. Lord—see the tracks in the sandstone of Connecticut river and not believe they were made by birds stepping upon the materials of the stone when in a soft state? Not all the authority in the world can present such *inferences* being drawn. If science were to discard them, the common mind would take them up.

Mr. Lord's second and grand position is, that the *facts* observed by the geologist might have been produced by *supernatural causes*. This is the sheet-anchor of his cause. It is in fact his sole reliance. Almost every page of the volume bears witness to what he thinks of it. But who ever denied the *possibility* of such an agency? Surely no geologist who is a believer in revelation would deny that all he has observed might not have been wrought by miracles. Anything which does not involve an impossibility may be done by almighty power. The difficulty with Mr. Lord's position is, that it is worth little, after he has established it. We will, however, examine it, and will first

look at the peculiar phraseology which he adopts. He says the theory of the antiquity of the earth is "merely an inference, a supposition, a conjecture." But if the changes in the structure of the earth were produced by natural causes, it is absolutely certain—whether you call it inference or supposition or conjecture—that the earth must have a greater antiquity than the race of men. This cannot be his meaning, though it is the *apparent* and *most natural* interpretation of the words. The doctrine of the geologists that the facts which they observe have been produced by natural causes, is the inference, supposition, conjecture, of which he speaks. He calls it in another place "the assumption" of natural causes. The case, briefly and simply stated, is this. The geologist finds results, effects—facts—in the process of production on the surface of the earth by natural causes which are the same in kind as he finds within the crust of the earth. In searching the causes of these latter effects or facts, he necessarily accounts for them by causes which he sees now at work producing the same results. But not only is there this positive demand for a natural explanation of the facts, there is nothing in the facts which excites the suspicion of any other causes, or gives reason to suppose any other ever existed. It is extremely difficult to express by language the full impression which the reality makes upon the mind, but if the reader will conceive of a person beholding some plain covered with broken weapons of war and strewed with dead bodies, pierced with bullets or mangled with cannon ball or hacked with swords, and still believing that those appearances were produced not by battle but by supernatural agency, he will have some idea of the state of mind a geologist would be in, who should believe that the appearances which he observes were the products of miraculous power. For, without an exception, all geologists are agreed in this principle, which is indeed the very foundation of the science. Mr. Lord may call this explanation of the facts of geology by natural causes, an inference—supposition—conjecture—assumption, or whatever else he pleases, it is an explanation forced upon the mind by the necessary laws of human belief. Now how much is a *bare possibility* that Almighty power might have interposed, to weigh against such convictions? Mr. Lord does indeed say that it is "impossible for geology to prove or to exhibit any facts or phenomena from which it can be inferred that supernatural interpositions have *not* taken place"—neither can any one show that the deltas now forming at the outlet of rivers, and the mud and rocks depositing at the bottom of lakes, may not be going on through supernatural agency. It may be *possible* that rivers flow to the ocean, trees and plants spring up from the

earth and grow, and all the operations of nature are produced by supernatural intervention; we could not perhaps demonstrate the contrary, certainly we could not, if Mr. Lord's principles are correct. For, it is to be remembered that this is not a case where the *fact itself* shows it *must* have been produced by miracle, it is not a case where hypothetically some cause may be supposed, as in the Nebular hypothesis, but it is a case where if there have been any supernatural causes, they have so closely simulated natural causes that the one cannot be discriminated from the other. And it does appear to us that if the human mind gives up its convictions under these circumstances, all the laws of evidence are reversed, and we can have no confidence in any reasoning of this kind. And yet throughout the volume, Mr. Lord has spoken of the inferences and conjectures of the geologists and found fault with them for overlooking the agency of supernatural causes. But, perhaps, Mr. Lord will say he does not rely upon the bare possibility of the intervention of supernatural power,—he has given reasons for its exercise. What are they? Certain metaphysical speculations as to the necessary connection of the epoch of the creation of the material universe with the creation of man—but they are worthless in such a case as this: Certain moral ends which the Deity had in view—but they are as readily secured on the one scheme as on the other: And, besides these, we know of none, excepting his interpretation of the first verse of Genesis, and in this interpretation he stands alone, unsupported by the great majority of Christian divines and scholars. But, perhaps, Mr. Lord will further say, he has shown that there is evidence of the intervention of supernatural agency in the facts themselves. He has tried to do so, and his argument about “rounded pebbles” is a specimen of his success in this line. We shall not discuss this part of the subject. The truth is, Mr. Lord is not scientifically acquainted with geology, and his observations are entitled to very little weight. It would be easy to expose them in a way which we do not wish to do. There are a great many other things in this volume fully as remarkable as any we have taken up. But we pass them by, as we have examined the main principles of the book.

We intended to make some remarks upon the Introduction written by Rev. Richard W. Dickinson, D.D., but on re-reading it we perceive we should be obliged to go over the ground we have already traversed. Besides, the writer exhibits no precise scientific acquaintance with geology, less even than the gentleman whose treatise he indorses and eulogizes; although he turns a very good period, as he descants upon the conflicting theories of the geologists, almost every teacher having a different one—upon

the assumptions of the "*demi-savants*" of the age! upon their rejection of, and contempt for "*all that is miraculous in the works as well as in the Word of the Creator*"!—upon their failure to demonstrate "the Epoch of Creation!"—and upon their want of reverence for the teachings of Scripture, by which is meant their lack of faith in the infallibility of his interpretation of the first verse of Genesis, for he seems to be in a happy and complacent state of ignorance as to the views of other divines and scholars.

We have never had so vivid a conception of the trials which beset the early cultivators of science as in reading this volume. We seem to see the weight of overbearing authority and dogmatic intolerance pressing them down with an increased force. We are more ready to wonder that they ever advanced opinions in physics contrary to the received teachings of Scripture than that, startled by their own temerity and awed by the decisions of the church, they should have shrunk back and disavowed their convictions. That time, we are thankful, has passed. The man of science can now pursue his investigations in peace, unharmed by the feeble shouts which are now and then raised against him. The present volume a few years since might have done harm. It is now too late. The most it can accomplish will be to confirm the prejudices of the ignorant, and give a temporary relief to the half-informed.

ART. IV.—THE PURITAN ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Published quarterly, under the direction of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Boston: Samuel G. Drake, Publisher, No. 56 Cornhill. New York: C. M. Saxton, 121 Fulton street. 1851.

A History and Genealogy of the Davenport Family, in England and America, from A.D. 1086 to 1850. Compiled and prepared from Ormerod's History of the County of Chester; collections from the Harleian MSS.; parochial and town records in England and America, etc., etc. By A. BENEDIOT DAVENPORT (of the twenty-fourth generation), Corresponding Member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. New York: S. W. Benedict, 16 Spruce street. 1851.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

is now in its fifth year. It has already rescued many facts from oblivion, which will be of permanent value to history and biography. We trust it may long continue its researches among the neglected records of the past, for every year is developing more and more the far-reaching influence of those principles which the pilgrim fathers first established in church and state. We also observe, as one of the signs of the times, the publication of many genealogical histories of the families of the earlier pilgrims, and among the best of these, both in matter and type, we place this memorial of the Davenport Family. It is interesting to notice in these publications how far the Pilgrim race has diffused itself over the country. Its life-blood is the life-blood of the nation. We propose to enter upon a more formal discussion of the influence of the Puritan element in the American character.

The pride of ancestry, as it is often indulged, is simply ridiculous. If a man has nothing else to render him deserving of regard, little good will it do him to have descended from a long line of worthy or renowned ancestors. He may feel proud of the fact; boast of it, and prefer claims to public consideration on that account; but in these days, and especially in this country, where every man is expected to build up his own character and fortune, it passes almost for nothing. In the insignificance or worthlessness of the descendant, birth and old honors are forgotten. It is only in cases where the virtue which commenced the line is, in some good degree, perpetuated, that the consideration of birth may justify any complacency.

The same is the fact in regard to nations. They have their pride of ancestry. A disposition obtains in them all, perhaps, to trace their origin to some distinguished source. The ancient Greeks, we know, celebrate a Cecrops as the founder of Athens, and by means of his knowledge, as the author of their laws and civilization. Another portion of this people boast of a Cadmus, as the originator of one of their sovereignties, and the inventor or introducer of the alphabet among them. Other Grecian states assign their beginning to renowned individuals, either natives or strangers, if the whole of them do not rather aspire to a celestial parentage in Uranus himself. The Romans derive their origin from one who was descended from a long line of kings, reaching back to a remote antiquity. And thus, other ancient nations were fond of finding or of imagining the commencement of their history in some illustrious, divinely-gifted personage, who was hero, saint or demi-god. The modern nations of Europe track their descent, some in the civilized and polished later

Romans, some in the wild and warlike Scandinavian tribes, and some in the union of both. Our own immediate ancestral nation, the British, has nothing to boast of in their earliest state, which was that of savages of the rudest type; but only as the organic life flowed afterwards in the mingled blood of the Angles, Saxons and Normans, can they take a decent pride in their origin. The Norman being the better and nobler race, and having been the last intermixture, has, perhaps, stamped more directly its characteristics on the national mind.

But, whatever may be the origin of other nations, whoever may be their progenitors, we know what and who ours are. So far as New England is concerned, and that large portion of the nation derived from this stock, they were English Puritans of the early part of the seventeenth century, a race of whom much has been said, and much more might be said—a race respecting whom the more that is known, the greater is the admiration excited. They were a people who combined the almost opposite qualities of being the best adapted to live in this world, and the best prepared to leave it. The heartiness of secular pursuit was mingled finely with the spirituality of religious devotion. Their thrift in temporal concerns was like to their laying up of treasures in heaven. Their enjoyment of earth's goods was but the foretaste of their entrance upon immortal pleasures. They laid up for themselves and for their posterity every wealth of earth, and aimed at securing for both the inheritance of the skies. By their sinewy arms the wilderness was turned into a fruitful field; and the abodes of men appeared now in cities on the rock-bound coast, and now in secluded hamlets in the interior. The soil on which they trod was subdued only that they might gain a more difficult but nobler triumph over the spirit. They laid broad and deep the foundations of temporal empire and power, while they were preparing themselves and a nation after them for thrones on high.

The Puritan fathers were a race who feared not to fight, though they more loved to pray. They were excellent soldiers on the field of battle, yet they played the men even more lustily for the Lord of hosts and his cause. In their conflicts with the Indians none could doubt the nerve of their arm, or the stoutness of their heart; but in their spiritual warfare they were, in themselves, all weakness. It was "not by might nor by power," but by the Spirit of the Lord, that they went forth conquering and to conquer. They loved liberty because they loved God and his service, and they would not consent to be slaves because they dared not to be sinners. The full price of liberty, as they held

it, was life ; and death to them was no loss, if life were to be allied to slavery.

The Puritan fathers were a people who thought and studied as well as fought and felled the forest. As a body of men they were as intellectual and informed, as their strong muscular frames exercised in the open air, and their habits of manual labor invited or permitted them to be. Individuals among them ranked high with the scholars of the age. Certainly, next to their piety was their intelligence. On every hill-top, and in every valley, they kindled the beacon fires of knowledge, as they spread themselves over the land. Regularly they erected the school-house by the side of the altar, and both eventually were consummated in the college. They never meant to rear or to leave an uneducated offspring. For this purpose as well as for others, they sought settled abodes and permanent resting-places. How the primitive little band toiled the first winter on Plymouth shore, to construct comfortable homes, and a place of worship and instruction ! Look at the towns where Warham's men, and Hooper's company, settled on the banks of the Connecticut. The settlers in that region showed that they were no squatters, but meant to gather around them the means and appliances of religious order, knowledge, and domestic comfort. The remains of the early fixtures, seen some generation or two past, exhibited solid carpentry and abundance of carved work, and among the houses lining the long and broad streets of the several towns, that of the minister, it has been said, was generally the costliest and the best.

Noble, considerate men ! Amid toils, privations, sufferings, sicknesses, wars, and dangers of which we can have little conception, they thought not of themselves, so much as of their posterity, the interests of virtue and science, and the kingdom and glory of Jesus Christ. Fit were they, in conjunction with others, to be the founders of an empire destined, we believe, to be more powerful and enlightened, as it is already more free and virtuous, than any other the sun ever shone upon. They were disinterested men, spiritual men, and in a good sense, men *of* the world and *for* the world. They were models of men, although not perfect. Faults they had, but these were few and mostly the faults of the age. Their love of liberty, and jealousy of encroachments on their rights, were indeed mingled somewhat with illiberality towards those who did not agree with them in belief ; but theirs was not the era of toleration, and, moreover, they dreaded the incoming among them of the minions of despotism, who might subvert the whole basis of freedom, and bring in upon them the tyranny both in Church and State from

which they had just escaped. Still they were in advance of all others in toleration itself. They cherished sentiments and marked out a course of action which, followed out since in their essential spirit, have produced the happiest results. They brought before the world, in practice as well as in theory, many most vital political and moral principles, which have been recognized and adopted ever since by the nation, and some of which have found their way among the enlightened of other lands. The Mayflower came freighted with these principles. But for our fathers, and the lessons they taught us, should we have known practically such principles as the following? viz.: All men are by nature free and equal; conscience, enlightened by the Bible, is our moral guide; the vote of the majority rules in Church and State; general education and virtue are the basis of free governments; free discussion is essential to the elucidation of truth; humanity in legislation is the true idea.

Such were the first settlers of a large portion of this country, as it is at present held by their descendants. We cheerfully admit the excellence of the other stocks from which our nation is derived—the English chevalier and churchman, the Hollander, the Huguenot, the German. They would each constitute a fitting theme, and their influence might be traced in the formation of the national character. They mingle indeed with one another and with the Puritan element, and it is not practicable to describe any one influence without including much that is common to all. Still the peculiar nature of each may be marked to a certain extent, as it is here attempted to mark that of Puritanism,—a potent, pervading, unique element, and affecting greater numbers, perhaps, than any two of the rest. Not less than a third part of the native white population of the country at present, according to a distinguished historian,* have descended from the pilgrim bands who first came to our shores. The only fair representatives of the early English Puritan, since he was cut off from his parent trunk and transplanted to this soil, are now found here.

The fathers of the Republic, in the days of the Revolution, were, in many respects, the worthy descendants of such a race. A good share of the plainness and austerity of Puritanism had departed; more polish and refinement were seen; the ancient discipline in ecclesiastical and civil affairs had relaxed; but there still remained in vigorous growth the qualities of heroism and decision, the love of freedom and independence, a veneration for established institutions, habits of sobriety, respect for law

* Bancroft.

and religion, and a wholesome regard for public and private virtue. The influences of the several races among us were richly mellowed and blended together. All the good qualities of the age, from the actual commencement of the contest, and for some years previous, under the severe pressure and difficulties to which the country was exposed, seemed to ascend and loom up, till they culminated in the production of a Washington. In the course of time, many changes in our customs and manners, in our civil, social, and ecclesiastical condition, in our employments and external relations, have been of necessity introduced, many corrupting influences have been felt, and our pure English stock has been intermingled with much of foreign growth; yet, the evil that might have been anticipated is as yet scarcely felt. We are virtually the same people as at the beginning, with similar aspirations and similar purposes in view. The emigrants from abroad, it is found, have become in time essentially one with us. We are all intent, to a good degree, in maintaining, perpetuating and extending our free institutions, our religious privileges, and our systems of education. Perhaps more is projected and accomplished in the last named department, than has been the case at any former period. All the States of the Union seem to have embarked vigorously in the enterprise. The bulk of the people, too, are husbandmen, and for this reason the promise of stability and permanence is the greater. Exclusive proprietors of the soil which they till, they feel the true dignity of their nature, as lords of the inanimate creation. This condition of so large a proportion of our countrymen constitutes "a life-spring of a fresh, healthy and generous national character."

It may be supposed that enough, and more than enough, of the ancient virtue remains to appreciate it as it existed in the fathers; as it is certain that *they* have impressed several features on the nation's mind and heart, which are prominent at this day. A few of these may be the result, in part, of external circumstances, although the greater number are probably hereditary as to their source. The selection which will here be made for a condensed comment, includes those characteristics only which are *sui generis*, and which seem to be antithetical in their nature, though they are really coincident. The application extends, in a great measure, to the nation at large, so widely is the original influence diffused, though operating with stronger or feebler effect at different points.

1. A trait of the national character, in which we discern the Puritan settler of the country, is *confidence in the nation's destiny, and yet a vigorous application of means for the attainment of the desired end.*

No people, not even the proud Roman, ever indulged in livelier expectations of a magnificent history than our own. This appears to be not only a prevalent feeling, but a theoretic assumption, on the part of the American people. It is a sentiment not very clearly defined, indeed; nor, if we look narrowly into its grounds, do we see it supported by evidence wholly incapable of impeachment. Nevertheless, it exists. It has come down from our sires. One would suppose that theirs was almost a prophetic vision, when they cast themselves so unhesitatingly on Providence, in helplessness and exposure, with the intention of founding institutions which a distant posterity, and not themselves and their immediate descendants, could so well enjoy. They could but see that years of toil on the wilderness, and of warfare with both its brute and human tenants were required; that watchings without and cares within must be inscribed on their door-posts; that "eternal vigilance" must be "the price of liberty," and that whatever might be the desirable results arrived at, these would be only in the distant future. Christianity, in its complete sway, literature, science, the arts of peace, refinement of manners, and a well-regulated freedom, both as to religion and the civil polity, they could rationally expect, for the most part, as the growth only of time connected with God's blessing. Yet, it was an assured hope on the part of those early seers, and it has come down with gathering inspiration to the present period. We now talk more than ever of our "manifest destiny;" with what wisdom in some of its applications it would not be easy to say.

If it were a mere confidence or theory that ours is to be an unparalleled history, it would be scarcely worthy of notice, however splendid the illusion. The fabric would soon disappear with the dream that created it. But instead of that careless leaving of great interests to fate or fortune, which so naturally results, in other cases, from an assured expectation, our citizens generally are not disposed to neglect the means of attainment. American energy is indomitable. Difficulties do not repress it. Disappointments do not weaken it. There is no better known characteristic of a Yankee, taking the term in an extended sense, than that if he fails in one attempt, he makes a second; and it is "a foregone conclusion," that whenever he earnestly seeks an end he secures it, provided it be within the bounds of possibility. In battle, in trade, in navigation, in art, in invention, his career is progressive, and he must go as far as the farthest. His enemy or rival can have no ease while the breath of life is in him. He is *alongside* with him, in the shortest imaginable space of time, inviting a trial of strength, or actually dealing blows.

It is true that our energy is somewhat impulsive. It is not altogether steady and right onward, without intermissions or breaks, as it might be. We owe somewhat to our climate, perhaps, in respect to this *Indianized* character of the Anglo-American; both the vehemence and apathy alternately of the Aboriginal mind of this continent are discernible in him. A more moderate and sustained energy would better agree with the present type of the parent English character. But that which ours lacks in steadiness it makes up in intensity, and in its very rage relies as much on instrumentalities, as though it were itself an acknowledged divinity. This lesson our fathers, with their almost enthusiastic dependence on a divine arm, effectually taught us, for they presented emphatically the example. They conceived it to be as much of a crime to rely on God, and yet make no attempt to aid themselves, as they deemed it a virtue to rely on God at all events.

2. An element of Puritanism appears in *the spirit of adventure and the love of home* so unitedly characteristic of our people.

Our fathers of that name, as has been seen, crossed the Atlantic waste for a worthy purpose. They adventured life and all they held dear, in so bold and benevolent an undertaking. But when once here they built up their decent and comfortable homes, the seat and scene of hallowed domestic affections, and all the charities of father, son, and brother. Their descendants adventure everywhere over the land and over the sea. Our own great West has long since been explored and is filling up—that Mississippi valley—where all the nations of Europe might have room to plant themselves: and now there is visited by vast numbers from among us that farther West which borders on the Orient, and glitters with the gold of the Orient. Americans are found on every continent and island. Their keels vex every sea. As to the Atlantic, it is no longer a waste of waters, rioting in their might and mocking at the power of man. It has become, as it were, a solid and safe highway. We are bridging it over, as others are also, with palace-like steamers, whose transits, calculated within a few hours, seem almost as certain as the revolution of the spheres.

Yet together with the spirit of adventure there exists the love of home, a strongly marked sentiment among us. Neither time nor distance obliterates it, as might be expected from our fondness for roving. We rush abroad in countless numbers, but always with the intention of returning to the land of our nativity—never to *live* abroad. The taste of American life—of American freedom and plenty spoils—in a short time, the appetite for foreign life, and nothing satisfies the exile but the prospect of a return. The son of our common soil, even of the bleakest rocks

of New England, remembers with affection the place of his birth and the haunts where the sports and studies, or the labors of childhood were passed. Traveling or trading in distant parts of the country, or in foreign lands, his chief object seems to be to furnish himself physically or intellectually with the means to enjoy his home. It is this sentiment that recalls him to the hallowed spot as often as opportunity may permit, or induces him when his earthly acquisitions are made, to select his permanent abode amid the scenes and associations of his early life. It is this sentiment that summons our Eastern mariners from delicious seas and sunny climes to the stormy shores of the Atlantic slope. If there are happy homes in the world, they are found amid the valleys, rocks, and hills of this new and universal retreat of freedom, this asylum of the oppressed, first planted by those who had themselves been wanderers over sea and land. Such is the homage which the candid foreigner pays to American thrift and prosperity, as we ourselves have witnessed, when he has been introduced to this greater wonder than that of the fabled Atlantis. The annual festival of Thanksgiving in several of the States, shows the prevailing sentiment of deathless affection for the place of one's nativity. It brings back to the old homestead and around the cheerful fireside the scattered sons and daughters of many a family. They come sometimes from the most distant parts of the country. It is no common love for the place of one's birth and the home of life's morning, that induces the man of business to travel some thousands of miles to meet for a few hours the faces of friends, and to take a look at those objects of nature which first enchanted the heart of the child.

3. Another quality which has been stamped on the national mind, through its peculiar descent, is *the principle of conservatism combined with that of reform.*

The Puritan settlers of this country were the reformers of the age in which they lived. They were called, or rather nicknamed Puritans, as all know, in consequence of their advocacy of reformation in the English Church. Their exertions to effect a greater strictness in religious worship and discipline, and a greater purity of manners, brought upon them this opprobrious, but now honored name. But although they loved reform and advocated it, perhaps, with undue pertinacity at times, they were not variable, nor given to novelties of belief and practice. There existed in them the element of stability. Where they settled upon their principles, there they stood with firmness. They adhered to their creed and to their customs till they saw good reasons to change them: but it was only after much thought and

deliberation that change was made. Hence while they were staunch reformers, they were wise conservatists.

Such is very much the American character at large. If ever a nation as such could be said to be reformers, it is ours—certainly ours as compared with other nations. In government, in religion, in education, in political economy, in social life, we are more or less experimentists, and have proved thus far to be successful experimentists. New modes and principles affecting those great interests are, to an important extent, adopted among us. Life, liberty, property, morals, comforts, knowledge, and industry are placed in respect to security or advancement on a much better basis, than in most other countries. These reforms or improvements upon the theories and practices of mankind before our day, are rendered feasible in our situation. By the structure of our political state, they lie with the people at large who are the fountains of power and influence. With most, if not all other nations, the form of whose government is different, reform is a difficult and tardy work. It is often replete also, with danger to all who embark in it. In some countries it would seem to be wholly impracticable. Whenever it may be once commenced, the iron hoof of despotism is immediately upon it. The last sands of the liberalizing reformatory spirit which was so extensively abroad in continental Europe, a year or two since, are now run out. Hushed in the stillness of death, are the cries of liberty, and the demands for reform.

But we reform at our option; and yet it is according to a certain rule, and in a spirit of conservatism. We assay to preserve all that is valuable in our institutions, while we are bent on amendment. Our reform can itself be reformed. We effect the object by means of our constitutions, or systems of fundamental principles, and these are determined by the ballot-box. Mysterious power! The deposit of a bit of paper in this little well-guarded *sanctum* is the silent, peaceful, effectual indicator of the people's wishes. It is no less, also, the emblem or rather the instrument of their power, for it determines the course to be pursued in all public affairs. Old Troy had better been secured by such a Palladium, than by the consecrated statue of her own Pallas.

The people of this country never put it out of their power to amend or alter their constitutions, their modes and processes of governmental, ecclesiastical or economic action. They hold firmly to that principle, and this is their conservatism. Where a change is to be made, it must be constitutionally done. The people are held to that as to a sheet-anchor while it lasts. Hence, perhaps, Americans have as much conservatism as other nations;

while they have more changes, they have at least a better conservatism, in a better form. They secure the good by changing or abolishing whatever experience shows to be detrimental or unsuitable, retaining only the former. Their system itself is a system of advance, of improvement. It is not fixed and stereotyped to one invariable order of things, whatever may be the altered circumstances of the nation or of the world. It is designedly adapted to growth, to progress, to the lights of experience, to ulterior wants and capabilities. Such was the plan in which the nation originated, and such it has continued to be, having reform in conservatism and conservatism in reform.

4. There have been given, also, to the national mind, through its Puritan element among others, *a jealousy of encroachments against freedom and yet a spirit of submission to law.*

So far as concerns the native population, this has been characteristic of us ever since the days of the fathers, they having been eminent examples of the same trait or mixture of traits. They taught the lesson, in such a manner, that it may be hoped to be imprinted indelibly on the public memory. What the vast intermixture with us of a recent foreign people and daily augmenting in numbers, and what the fierce and unnatural contentions and divisions that are now agitating the nation, both north and south, may effect, it is not easy to say. Yet, we may trust in the God of our fathers that his design in planting us here, and preserving us hitherto, is to subserve some admirable purpose in respect both to religion and humanity; that our foreign population, as it comes in, will coalesce with us by degrees, and that our present alienations from each other will be made to cease, or be rendered innocuous, if by no more forcible means (which may Heaven avert!), yet, by the memory of our common ancestry, sufferings, sacrifices and achievements. That every section of the country is highly sensitive in respect to encroachments upon its freedom, and that the whole country is thus sensitive to any threatened subversion of the present order of things, is perfectly natural, and to be looked for from our inherited dispositions, as well as from our past experience of the blessings of union and independence. To remit our anxieties and watchfulness on this point would be to disown our parentage and stultify ourselves. This, it is believed, will never be done, so long as that mingled ancestral blood, the blood of the martyrs of human rights, flows in the nation's veins.

Amid all the innate love of freedom, and the strenuous guarding of it by every practicable means, yet submission to the authority of law is universally deemed a duty, and is carried into effect with scarcely any exceptions. It is the normal prin-

ciple of the people's education. It has been the cherished immemorial public sentiment. Ever the substitute of force, it has kept the community, the nation, intact and sound. It has bound its parts together with a band as much stronger than brute power, as it is the more agreeable in itself. It has been practically felt by governments, that as the external pressure is lighter, the stronger must be the internal bond, the firmer must be the spirit of submission to law, and the higher the loyalty to duty and to conscience. Our own government presents an eminent example of the propriety of this maxim, and of its actual application thus far in our history. Submission to lawful authority has hitherto triumphed, and but few attempts at misrule have ever been made. In the rare occurrence of such an event, however, the spirit of insubordination has been readily put down, and order has been maintained where it might seem a matter of difficulty. May it ever be thus in regard to this nation, with a more than Spartan, because a more enlightened, patriotism.

The temper of the present descendants of the early settlers, of whatever name (and it is true of none more than those of the Puritans), is eminently that of law and order, connected with an undying attachment to liberty. They combine these qualities in greater perfection, perhaps, than is the fact with any other people living. All their history, spirit, and legislation prove it. There are occasions, indeed, where a portion of them, from love to personal freedom, may be led into too slight an appreciation of the chartered rights of others. It is not intended here to justify a wrong of this kind. It is, for the most part, a momentary excess of a good thing, and to be discountenanced,—perhaps pardoned also. Yet it shows the spirit of the people on the side of human rights as decisively as that spirit is manifested in behalf of constitutional government. If there be an antagonism between them, it is scarcely so in the *intention* of either side. While none are more ardent lovers of liberty than our citizens, none are stronger advocates for law; and in the struggle to give due expression to either sentiment, there may be an apparent compromise of the one or of the other, but it is believed that the right, the *juste milieu*, will be maintained in reality. Law, it can scarcely be doubted, will be obeyed, until it shall be changed or modified by the sovereign people, through their representatives. It ought to be so obeyed in all instances not evidently involving moral wrong, both from regard to the higher law of heaven, and for the sake of the general welfare. The love of liberty itself must dictate such a course.

5. The national mind, as derived from its ancestry in the more particular phase of Puritanism yet not exclusively, has been im-

pressed with one other trait which may be noticed, viz., *a regard for authority and precedents, and yet a disposition always to vindicate the rights of private judgment and individual inquiry.*

This characteristic appears in matters both of Church and State. The American mind, as distinguished from the mind of most other nations, bows to the authority of public opinion, while it cleaves tenaciously to its own individual view of the right, as a basis of personal responsibility. Operating through the latter medium, the nation at length creates its own public opinion, and public opinion makes for it in return its rules and principles of action. Its ethics, political economy, and legislation, though not absolutely bound by the common sentiment, are yet shaped by it, in their practical manifestations. So long as individual belief is not compromised, that belief yields readily to the public voice. The popular will, owing to the peculiar construction of the government, is fully expressed, because it is merely the aggregate of the recognized will of individuals. Regard for authority and precedents, therefore, though real and ruling, is no more than the happening concurrence of the great mass of separate personal views. It is the public choice and the private choice also—at least the one is not antagonistic to the other, in the sense that either can be set aside by the other, and exist alone. We were taught by our fathers to submit to the public will; while at the same time they inculcated the duty and presented the example of private investigation and decision, on the ground that there will ever be a substantial agreement of opinion and belief, as the result of free and right-minded inquiry.

Through extended portions of the country the people, for the most part, embrace a common creed in religion—at least one essentially the same among several Christian denominations; and yet in no other part of the world with such a measure of reverence for antiquity and authority, and for whatever has been advisedly done before them, is there a more individualizing and self-disciplining turn—a more emphatic self-reliance and activity in determining the right for one's self. Sections of the country somewhat distinguished for their general stability and respect for the sentiments of the wise and good in former ages, may be pointed out, where time-honored theological opinions are subjected to a rigid scrutiny, and where there is no want of free, bold, and even startling speculations. The individual feels little constraint in consequence of the decisions of antiquity and of numbers, if those decisions seem contrary to his own well-considered views.

Political opinions, too, in different parts of the land, are apt to

be determined by usage and the authority of great names ; yet few could be found, among the humblest of American citizens, who would acknowledge that they feared to change their sentiments or their votes, at any time they may please to do so. This, indeed, is often done. No degree of party discipline or proscription—no severity of denunciation from the press or from the public speaker, avails, in very many individual cases, from the practical assertion of the inherent right of self-control on such a subject. Bolting in political associations has, with us, become too frequent an occurrence to be either unlooked for, or to be sternly visited with rebuke.

Acquiescence, then, in authority and in the decisions of antiquity is probably less characteristic of America than of older nations ; but it is sufficiently marked to retain us in consent and harmony with essential rectitude and truth ; while we are among the foremost of mankind to vindicate the right of private judgment and free inquiry in all matters that affect our interests, whether as to religion or politics—the present life or the future.

It is devoutly to be wished, that the influences which have given such a color to the national character and destiny hitherto, may, purged from whatever is objectionable in them, be felt down to the latest time ; and be spread also, in ever-widening circles as the country shall expand, and its free institutions shall become the common inheritance of the world.

ART. V.—CAMPBELL'S AGE OF GOSPEL LIGHT.

The Age of Gospel Light ; or the Immortality of Man only through Christ. By Z. CAMPBELL. Hartford: Published by Z. Campbell, 27 State street. 1851.

THIS is a remarkable book. It teaches that man has no soul ; that death is an actual extermination of being to both the good and the bad ; that men are raised, or rather, we should say, recreated at the judgment ; that the good are then made immortal, and the bad annihilated again. We will authenticate this statement by short quotations : "The living soul and man are one and the same thing, and man was formed of the dust of the ground." The sin of Adam "brought literal death into the world, which passed upon all, for all have sinned." "Divine mercy repeats the offer of immortality through Christ," which

had been made to Adam, but the benefit of which he lost by disobedience. All who accept the second offer will live forever; all who neglect it will die the second time. "And as the first death destroys the creature out of this world, so the second death destroys him out of the world to come." Or, to express it in different language, "All there is of the creature man sinned; in consequence of which, all there is of him dies a literal or *common-sense* death." "The second death must be the same, suffered the second time."

One section of Mr. Campbell's book is devoted to pointing out the evil tendency of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. And here we must beg pardon of our readers for quoting language abhorrent to every feeling of reverence and of piety, but we cannot otherwise expose the wickedness of a work which is having some influence even in our own State. The writer, then, considers "spiritual rappings" as one of the great evils which have arisen from this doctrine. "Spiritual rappings and *immortal-soulism* are destined to run parallel with each other." "Nothing can save the world from this fatal delusion but the word of God,—'Ye shall surely die,' and 'the dead know not anything.' This *raps* out the underpinning and overthrows the whole fortress of rapology." And yet, this book is the *vade mecum* of men who profess great piety, who hold camp-meetings, and labor for the salvation of the soul, and who are thought well of by not a few in the community.

Not the least wonderful thing about this book is, that the author expresses such great regard for Scripture. It is the word of God upon which alone he relies, and which he would rescue from a perversion which has produced nearly all the infidelity in the world. The annihilation of man at death, he claims to be taught in the Bible. This is what he undertakes to prove. Of all who have died, not one now exists,—neither patriarchs, nor prophets, nor apostles, nor saints, are now in existence; there has been an extinction of their being. Not one who shall die hereafter, up to the day of judgment, shall continue to have an existence. All the dead are annihilated; all who are yet to die will be. They will all be raised at the judgment; the wicked to be again annihilated, and the good to live forever. We do not propose to discuss the subject in full. We take a single topic. Is death, according to the Scriptures, an extinction of existence? We do not inquire what will take place after the resurrection at the judgment. We pass that by, and limit ourselves to the single question above stated. Now, there are certain passages of Scripture which, on the face of them, declare that some who have died are still in existence, and others which speak of the

existence of man after death in language which appears to be unequivocal. These passages, in their plain and obvious import, are decisive of the question. We shall therefore examine the explanation of them which Mr. Campbell proposes.

We refer first to the Transfiguration. In the narrative of that scene, it is expressly said that two men talked with Christ, who were Moses and Elias. Mr. Campbell admits that the argument from this would be conclusive, if it could only be proved that Moses had a soul. But if Moses was actually present, talking with Christ, it is proved that he was in existence, exercising that, whatever it is in Mr. Campbell's view, by which men think. Moses and Elias "spoke of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." But Mr. Campbell says, "this account furnishes no proof that either Moses or Elias was ever on that mountain." His argument has several steps to it. First, the declaration of Christ, "Verily, I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom," was fulfilled, "*as all agree*," "six days after, when he took Peter, James and John upon that mountain, and was transfigured before them." Secondly, Christ *did not come* in his kingdom at the Transfiguration; for his kingdom being an everlasting kingdom, "the kingdom of heaven would *now* be on the mountain" (!) "But if Christ did not then come in his kingdom, Moses and Elias were not there." We may remark that it is by no means "agreed by all" that the declaration of Christ received its fulfillment at the Transfiguration. The form of the expression seems to refer to a more distant period. Indeed, Bloomfield thinks the opinion "has not a shadow of probability" in its favor. But, to proceed with Mr. Campbell's argument: Thirdly, since Christ's declaration that some standing there should "see the Son of man coming in his kingdom," was fulfilled six days after on the mountain, but the Son of man did not then come in his kingdom; it must have been fulfilled in some other way. "The seventh verse of the seventeenth chapter explains the mystery: 'And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the vision to no man until the Son of man be risen again from the dead.' The whole was a *vision*. Peter, James and John looked into the future, and saw Christ come in his kingdom, enshrouded in that bright glory he will have in his kingdom, and in that kingdom they saw Moses and Elias." By a "vision" must be meant an internal representation,—a conception of the mind. But there was no such vision. The word *ὁραμα* literally means "a thing seen" by the external eye, and this meaning, as applicable to this place, is confirmed by the corresponding expression

in Mark, "he charged them they should tell no man what things they had seen," *ὁ εἰδὼς*. We have dwelt a little upon this explanation, in order to show the monstrous assumptions and pitiable perversions of Scripture of which this writer is guilty. He first makes a difficulty by two most uncalled for and ridiculous assumptions: that Christ did not come in his kingdom, because in that case the kingdom of heaven would now be on the mountain; and that Moses and Elias could not have appeared on any other occasion than that in which Christ came in his kingdom. He then extricates the Scriptures from this difficulty of his own making, by a miserable perversion founded on the English word, *vision*, and this in defiance of the grand principle of interpretation on which his whole scheme rests, what he calls *the literal sense*. But we will hold him to his own principle in a case where there can be no doubt of its proper application. "And, behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias," is a text which would seem to settle the question of the fact, that death has not extinguished the being of at least some who have died.

We will next examine his explanation of the text "then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." He has several modes of explanation. The first is thus expressed: "If the spirit here spoken of means the immortal spirits of men, it proves too much for the advocates of *immortal-soulism* generally; for it proves the spirits of wicked men go to the same place at death that the spirits of the just do,"—they do, to be judged, as the preacher says, in the concluding verse, "for God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil." Another explanation is thus stated: "But what is the spirit of man? Let the word of God answer. 'The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord!' 'The candle of the wicked shall be put out.' Thus, it may be seen that this text, though triumphantly quoted by our opponents, is a 'dead-shot' to immortal-soulism." If the writer were a sneering and scornful infidel, striving to throw contempt on the word of God, by making it ridiculous, he could not find any way more likely to do it than by such interpretations as these. Again, he says, "if it is the spirit of man, it is the same spirit which is common to the lower animals. 'Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?'" But here the preacher, in his doubting and desponding mood, as Mr. Stuart well says, makes it a question,—*who knoweth?* leaves it unanswered for the present, but finally answers it with respect to the spirit of man, by saying, that "the dust

shall return to the earth as it was ;" the body be dissolved, and, of course, the breath of life—the animal life—become extinct, but "the spirit"—the soul—"shall return to God who gave it." But the author is not satisfied altogether with this, and his final opinion is,—that the spirit which returns to God is the spirit of Christ. "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth." "Then, in that case, at death, the spirit shall return to him who gave it. But what spirit? 'Now, if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' And if any man is Christ's, then he has the spirit of Christ, which returns to God who gave it ; this is a never-dying spirit." It would be an interesting speculation in philosophy to develop the process by which the human mind brings itself to receive as truth such impostures as these. But we have not time for it.

The next passage which the author examines is, the reply which our Savior gave to the question of the Sadducees as to the resurrection, in which, after referring to what God said to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," he adds this comment, "God is not a God of the dead, but of the living." Mr. Campbell says, "Our Savior brought this up to prove a *resurrection*, not the conscious state of the dead. If Christ was correct, it proves a resurrection ; but if it proves the conscious state of the dead, then his attempt to prove a resurrection was a total failure." This explanation, however, does not touch *the fact* which Christ declares, that God is the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, and that He is not the God of the dead but of the living. And as to the failure in the reasoning, it would have been more modest and reverent if Mr. Campbell had admitted to himself, that possibly he had misapprehended the reasoning of Christ, especially as some of the scribes who heard him saw the force of the reasoning—"Master, thou hast well said." Perhaps the passage needs an illustration.

The discussion narrated in this paragraph occurred at a time when the several Jewish sects were endeavoring to entrap Christ by artful questions. The Pharisees, with the Herodians, had just been baffled in an attempt of this kind, by Christ's reply to their question concerning paying tribute to Cæsar. On the same day, the Sadducees propound their difficulty as to the resurrection. The Sadducees believed, according to Josephus, "that the soul dies with the body," and they denied, according to Luke (Acts 23 : 8), the existence of immaterial beings ; and also a resurrection. The Pharisees, on the contrary, believed in both, though, in regard to the resurrection, they had embraced some very absurd notions. They seem to have held that those who

had been married in this life would also live in the married state after the resurrection. Such a view would, of course, give occasion to many curious questions, some of which they had decided. They had decided, "that if two brothers married one woman, she should be restored at the resurrection to the elder, or to him to whom she had been first married." The Sadducees, who, according to Josephus, were fond of disputing with the teachers of philosophy, had not improbably argued this very point with the Pharisees, and triumphed over them. They, therefore, select the case of the seven brothers, as one most difficult to be answered. As an argument against the resurrection, it is drawn, it will be observed, from the prevalent views of the Pharisees. Christ answers it by declaring *those views to be erroneous*, and thus, with wonderful wisdom, not only answers the argument of the Sadducees, but corrects the mistake of the Pharisees. But this argument of the Sadducees was not the real one on which they disbelieved a resurrection. Their real argument was, that there is nothing to be raised, and therefore there is no resurrection. If the whole being is extinguished at death, then there is no being to be raised. And it deserves Mr. Campbell's most serious consideration that our Savior admits the correctness of the inference, if the premise be true. We can now see why our Savior proceeded farther, and the force of what he said. "But as touching the resurrection of the dead," or, as Mark expresses it, "as touching the dead that they rise," as touching the dead that they are in existence so as to be able to rise,—*"have you not read in the Book of Moses, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Jacob, and the God of Isaac?' God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."* This took away the very ground of their objection. It is true, it does not follow because the dead exist as spirits, they will be raised, but whoever should admit their existence would have no difficulty in believing in their resurrection. Mr. Campbell says, "No Scripture or philosophy has ever yet been able to prove the mind is anything more than an attribute of the living, organized dust." But it would seem as if Christ had here declared it to be something else—an immaterial, ever-living spirit. It would seem too as if Christ, by anticipation, had overthrown the very errors of our modern Sadducees.

We refer briefly to Mr. Campbell's explanation of another passage—"Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." He claims that there is a misplacing of a comma here. It should read, 'verily, I say unto thee to-day,' that is, to the dying thief's prayer, 'Lord, remember me,' he answers, "I to-day say to thee." But this seems to Mr. Campbell himself rather

harsh—"for the thief could not think Christ was saying yesterday or to-morrow." But he removes that difficulty. *Σήμερον* is often translated *now*. '*Now*' is frequently used without the least regard to definite time, "as if I should say to my opponent, *now* you are mistaken with regard to what the Savior said to the thief." The argument is a model of its kind. *Σήμερον*, which in Greek is always spoken of time, is sometimes translated by the English word *now*. The English word *now* "sometimes expresses or implies a connection between the subsequent and preceding proposition" as in the example given by Mr. Campbell. Therefore, the Greek word *σήμερον* means the same, it being the same as *now* in one of the meanings of this latter word, and therefore, the same as *now* in *all* its significations.

We take up another instance. "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." We shall here quote the words of the writer, as exhibiting the most wonderful example of the perversion of Scripture we have ever met with. "The record states—'Then they (the Jews) ran upon him (*reviled* and *ridiculed* him!) and cast him out of the city, and stoned him. Now, it seems it was the same *they* that *ran upon him* (the italics are not ours) who were calling upon God, and saying Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. But it may be asked why the Jews should say, Lord Jesus, receive *my* spirit? Only by way of mocking the confidence Stephen had in the Savior, whom he had on that occasion been defending. In this way they *ran upon him* and tauntingly said, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." This specimen of interpretation may defy competition. We wish we could point out the beauties of it to the mere English reader. It will be sufficient to say that the Greek verb rendered *ran upon* has not the remotest resemblance to the English phrase *ran upon*, in the sense of reviling and ridiculing, and that the participles rendered 'calling upon, and saying' if they referred to the Jews, would be *different words* from what they are. The merest tyro could not make such a blunder in Greek, and yet the English reader will have the impression made upon him in reading this book, that Mr. Campbell is acquainted with the Greek language.

We refer to Phil. 1: 21-23. "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labor; yet what I shall choose I wot not. For, I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better; nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you." The general import of this passage seems to be obvious enough. Paul had been speaking of his labors and difficulties, and had concluded with the magnanimous sentiment,

—but Christ shall be magnified in me, whether by life or by death. In either he rejoiced: For, if I live, I shall serve Christ; if I die, I shall gain by it. He then takes up the first part of this antithesis and expands the meaning of it. But if this my living in the flesh be useful for the work of the ministry—as he dwells upon this thought, he omits the other part of the antithesis, leaves the sentence unfinished, and breaks out in his perplexity, “yet what I shall choose, I wot not, for I am in a strait betwixt two.” He then repeats the antithesis with which he started, but in the reverse order and expanding the latter clause of it—“to die is gain.” For I have a desire to depart and be with Christ which is very much better, but to abide in the flesh is more needful on your account. This is a most beautiful sentence. It first states the antithesis briefly—then unfolds each member of it, and in the conclusion re-states the antithesis, thus giving perfect unity to the thought. Can we think Paul supposed that “to be with Christ” was to be annihilated? Let it be observed, the contrast is between “living in the flesh” the body—and being with Christ, as a spiritual existence. Mr. Campbell, however, says, “between life and death, Paul had no choice, but to depart and be with Christ would be far better than either to die or live.” Just as if “to depart” was not “to die,” and as if “to depart and be with Christ” were not as it were one and the same thing.

We shall conclude our examination here. These passages of Scripture, in their fair and obvious meaning, prove that man exists after death. The glosses which have been put upon them are some of them absurd and ridiculous, and not one of them has the least plausibility. But if it is proved that death is not an extinction of the being, then according to Mr. Campbell, the second death is not, for it is the first death repeated. But if the second death is not an extinction of being, then man has an immortal soul. But if man has an immortal soul, then according to Mr. George Storrs, from whose book, entitled, “An Inquiry: are the wicked immortal?” Mr. Campbell has taken most of his work, *then* “it clearly follows from the Bible, that the finally impenitent will be punished with eternal conscious being in misery.” And if this be proved, then the grand object of this scheme of annihilation will be defeated.

The plausibility of the reasoning by which this scheme is supported rests entirely on a principle of interpretation. It is *literalism* carried out to the utmost extreme, and it ends as it always does in nonsense and absurdity. We did not choose directly to combat this principle. But we have substantially refuted it by showing that it has led us in this case to results which are contra-

dicted by Scripture. A principle of interpretation, which brings out the result that to die is to be annihilated, and which forbids any other meaning, can not stand against the fact asserted in Scripture that those who have died still exist.

For our own part, we believe that fair-mindedness in the interpretation of Scripture is one of the rarest graces of the Christian character. Indeed, we believe farther, and our conviction is strengthened by every controversy as to the teachings of Scripture we read, that God has put man on his probation upon this very point. Man can misinterpret and pervert. He can make out a very strong case in favor of his own opinions. He can set forth an argument which shall be difficult to answer, although you may have no confidence in it. It takes so long to bring out the true issue from the many false issues which are made, and often unintentionally, and then to separate the true from the false in the arguments, that the mind grows weary and becomes confused itself. It is so of everything written. Language in its own nature can be *plausibly* misinterpreted. There is no end to the argumentation about the meaning of words, and yet two fair-minded and clear-minded men, looking at the same issue from the same point of view, would quickly come to the same conclusion, or they would differ on some ultimate principle for which there is no help in argument. The English system of special pleading was intended to bring parties to the point in dispute, to restrain them from all irrelevant matter, and confine them to the real issue, but it took so long to bring them there, not much was gained. It gave birth to so many nice distinctions that the system was overloaded and fell by its own weight. So, too, we have rules of interpretation—very good ones—but still men do and will extract different meanings from the same words. Something more is needed than honesty. Some of the most honest men have been the worst interpreters. It is by these that the language of feeling is converted into logical propositions, popular phraseology into scientific statement—the metaphorical into the literal—the shadow into the substance. Something more is needed than acuteness of intellect, which too often takes away the life, and leaves only the skeleton of the sentence. In the best expositors we find a certain good sense—a certain intellectual honesty—a certain even fair-mindedness—which apprehends as it were instinctively the teachings of the word. And this quality of mind is more or less common to men in general. Hence, the great body of truly Christian people in every branch of the Church have a general uniformity of belief in all the essential truths of the Bible. For the Bible is a popular book. But this very character exposes it to the inroads of vanity and con-

oeit in a manner most difficult to be resisted. We know of nothing requiring more patience than a controversy with *unlearned* presumption attempting a *learned* interpretation.

But there seems to be no remedy for this evil, which is not worse than the evil itself. Let it be understood, however, that man is responsible to God for the fairness with which he interprets His Word. It is not enough that he can make out a meaning that shall be plausible or that he can frame an argument that shall be difficult to answer. It is not enough that he can make an ingenious reply before a jury of his own followers, or a speech that shall seem overwhelming to a public assembly. It is not enough that he can form ingenious systems and theories and support them with an imposing array of learning. It is not enough that he can argue with the skill of a special pleader. The right of private judgment involves far greater responsibilities than this. It involves a responsibility to God for a fair use of all the means God has put in his power for the understanding of His Word. God has spoken to him in human language. To understand its meaning aright is in some sense a trial. It is a solemn test. The Bible is not an arena for ingenuity and sophistry; nor is it a trifling, indifferent matter with what temper of mind it is studied. The question, '*How readest thou?*' implies a moral responsibility which we fear is too often overlooked.

ART. VI.—STEPHENS' FARMER'S GUIDE.

The Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture.

By HENRY STEPHENS, F.R.S.E., assisted by JOHN P. NORTON, M.A., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College. In two volumes. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THIS work, which has been in course of republication during the past two years, is now complete, and is offered to the American Farmer at an extremely low price. Issued in 22 numbers, it now makes two large and handsome bound volumes, closely printed, and profusely illustrated with admirable engravings and wood cuts. These engravings, and in fact the whole letter press, are fac-similes of the second English edition of Stephen's Book of the Farm, a duplicate set of stereotype plates having been sent out to this country. This second English edition is greatly altered and improved from the first; in fact so much of value

has been added, and so many important alterations have been made, that the work is in some respects almost a new one. In consideration of this, of the American notes by Prof. Norton, and of the fact that an American reprint of the first English edition was already in the market; the New York publishers, with the concurrence of Mr. Stephens, felt justified in changing the title of their issue to that of the *Farmer's Guide*.

That this is an appropriate title will soon become apparent to every careful reader. The work is in the main English, and many of our farmers may therefore object that it cannot be suited to them, but this objection though true in part, is also in part fallacious. The general system of English farming is too elaborate and expensive for a new country, where land is cheap, and labor high; but the principles on which that system depends, are the same in all countries. The same succession of crops which ruins land here, would ruin it in England; the same treatment in kind which keeps land there, fertile after centuries of cultivation, would bring up and render productive our prematurely worn-out soils. The same habits of care and attention in the rearing and breeding of stock would produce the same effects on this side the Atlantic as on that. The same study of the applications of science to agriculture would place our farmers on an equal footing of advantage with those of Great Britain.

There is then a wide field in common for the farmers of the two countries, a field where new discoveries benefit all alike.

It is this field which is very fully occupied by Mr. Stephens. There are many minute details, many accounts of elaborate processes in cultivation, or in farm management, which would be inapplicable in this country; but even from among these, the attentive reader may collect ideas and hints of great value.

Mr. Stephens belongs, in all practical matters, to what may be called the *exhausting* class of writers. Whether it is the handle of a plow, the manger in a stable, the ornamental work on a harness, or the trimming of a horse's mane, it becomes quite evident that he has considered the matter thoroughly, in every possible light, and by the aid of every accessible authority; in their proper sphere and position, he has bestowed as much consideration upon these as upon the most important points. This descent into all the minutiae of his subject, whatever this may be, this particularity to omit absolutely nothing, which not content with specifying the manner of turning over and mixing a compost heap, also directs the arrangement of the laborers' clothes that they may not be unnecessarily soiled, constitutes its charm for the practical man. If he is in want of a new process, a new tool, a plan for a building or any part of one, he is not put off with a

vague general description, but has the whole thing laid out, described and figured before him, with an accuracy and fidelity that scarcely admit of any improvement. This is all done so heartily too, he is himself so evidently absorbed and interested in every practical point, without any reference to its relative importance, that the reader is quite led away by him, and is agreeably occupied with what would from most writers be a mass of insufferably dry detail. We find ourselves in the hands of a man who has evidently devoted every thought and energy to the contemplation and investigation of his present subject, and has taken it up as if it were a leading feature of his book, in place of being what another would perhaps have passed unnoticed; in his company we insensibly imbibe his spirit and become strangely fascinated by the consideration of what shape is most proper for a turnip, or the question as to the direction in which the tail of a young pig curls, and are delighted with the suggestion that vulcanized india rubber strings may be substituted for twine, in fastening on the jackets of sheep.

The farmer who commences, then, will find no difficulty in reading the book through, and it is not too much to say that in every department, and in every season, he will find a great variety and a vast store of useful information.

The arrangement of the work follows that of the seasons, commencing with what may be called the beginning of the farmers' operations for the year in winter, and following him through the seedtime of spring, and the maturity of summer, till the complete ingathering of autumn brings him round to the starting point again. The character of the climate in the British Islands differs so essentially from that of our Northern States, that the succession of farm operations cannot of course be the same; but this arrangement, extending through the year, has great conveniences in the definiteness of order which it gives to each kind of work, and our farmers can mentally carry their seedtime or harvest forward or backward, without disturbing the general arrangement.

Hitherto we have spoken chiefly of the practical matter embraced in these volumes; considerations of practice form the greater part of their bulk, and are evidently the favorite topics with the author, who is eminently a practical man. He has, however, in the present edition, been at great pains to collect from the best authorities an ample store of information on various branches of science connected with agriculture, and has brought them to bear wherever they were important, or necessary, to the elucidation of his topics.

In the early part of the work, near a hundred pages are occupied

with a distinct dissertation on the 'sciences most applicable to agriculture.' Under this head, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, comparative anatomy, and veterinary science, are considered. These are again subdivided into mechanics, pneumatics, hydraulics, electricity, optics, heat, meteorology, botany, zoology, and zootomy. Each of these topics is taken up separately, and treated in a clear, condensed form, showing why its applications are valuable, and indicating the nature of some of the most important among them.

They are not expanded treatises, for then each would make a volume in its present and possible future applications to agriculture alone, but they point out leading principles distinctly, and form a most valuable compendium of knowledge in this department; such a treatise alone is amply worth the whole price of the work, to any farmer who wishes a very general, yet connected view of science, in its applications to his own business.

But this is not all of science that we have; it is brought in with every change of season, and with the maturity of every crop. The latest and best analyses have been collected and inserted in the proper places, so that the composition of each crop succeeds the account of its culture. It is the same with the soil; the scientific questions connected with its improvement are discussed as well as the practical; and in the same connection, numerous analyses are given, not only of soils but of manures. The various theories of feeding and fattening animals and of making butter and cheese are discussed and illustrated at great length, and in the same way.

It is then not difficult to see that our farmers may derive very great benefit from the perusal of such a work, even in its applications to English practice alone. They will find it not only interesting and instructive to read, but of still more value as a book of reference, in almost every season and occupation of the year. It should be added, also, that the Notes of Professor Norton, pointing out the differences in farming operations between this country and England, make the work of much more practical importance to them, while the original matter which they contain enhances materially the value of the book. It is to be hoped that its circulation may be extended, that societies may distribute it among their premiums, and that it may be found in every agricultural library.

The foregoing notice of the *Farmer's Guide* naturally suggests some thoughts as to the present condition and the future prospects of the New England farmer.

It is a melancholy but an indisputable fact, that in the midst of that busy whirl of productive manufacturing energy, of that

resistless, restless, far-reaching spirit of enterprise, and of that high intellectual progress, which marks New England above all other regions of equal size, the farmers, as a class, have been comparatively at a stand.

The vigor, the vivacity, the desire for improvement, and the love of novelty, which have characterized all other professions, are not the leading features among our farmers. An intelligent, law-abiding, and generally religious people, usually well-informed on political, social, and moral questions, with more, perhaps, of the real, sterling New England Puritan virtues about them than any other class among us, they have shown much apathy, prejudice, and narrowness of conception, on the very subject where they should have been most alive and interested. The great wave of progress has left them stranded, but they act as if they were still afloat, performing the part of successful and skillful navigators.

We must not be understood to speak here of all our farmers; there are districts where decisive improvements have been made, and where a general desire for information prevails. There are also individuals in almost every district, who are advocates for progress, and who are gradually making inroads upon the prejudices around them. There is in fact some restlessness beginning to prevail over the torpor of the agricultural mind; a slight suspicion occasionally intrudes itself, that all is not right, or just what it might be; the leaven of improvement is working, and we here and there see its effects.

And is it not full time? If we go through the farming towns of New England, we shall find a very great portion of the cultivated land poorer than it ever was before; in few of the towns, if we take *all* of the farms into our account, is it as good as when first broken up by the plow, and in fewer still has it improved under cultivation. There is no disputing this state of things, for it becomes obvious to every careful observer. Manures are wasted or imperfectly preserved, special fertilizers are neglected, an immense quantity of the best land is useless from a superabundance of water, and wide tracts are studded thick with stones, while weeds innumerable struggle with the scanty crops for the possession of the vacant spots; amid it all the farmer toils on, gaining a scanty livelihood from those acres which are wide enough to afford an ample competence, and which will do so when he applies the energies of his mind as well as of his body to his own business; and when he advances far enough in his studies to see that he has *not* attained positive perfection.

But the world will advance, and especially the American por-

tion of it, even if we do not; the resistless tide of western emigration sweeps steadily on, and each year adds broad and fair kingdoms to the dominion of the plow-share and the sickle. Such wide fields of golden grain never before waved under the autumn sun; such fertile, garden-like plains never invited the labor of the husbandman, as spread out in the central region of this vast republic. For many years to come the supply of surplus produce from the west will only be limited by the demand, and by the means of transportation. Each year sees new avenues opening. Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada, are all striving to obtain the transit trade, and to become the channels through which the teeming abundance of the west shall pour out upon the Atlantic coast. By the close of another year, lines of uninterrupted communication will have penetrated Michigan and Illinois, and ere long, one continuous railway will stretch from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; and on still beyond are in progress the first forty miles of that road which is intended to span the whole broad continent.

What limit can be fixed to the overflowing plenty which will roll in upon us through this great artery of circulation? The produce of millions of fertile acres, requiring nothing but the plow and the seed, of whole States, where the cry is, "for men to furrow our ground and gather our harvests, and we will feed the world," comes swelling on in an ever-increasing tide, overpowering all competition, and almost defying rivalry. There is, moreover, no prospect of cessation, but rather one of indefinite increase. We have not yet come to the utmost capacity even of our canals, each year sees some improvement that enables them to do more; the railways may be said, as to their power of transportation, to have done as yet little more than to make a commencement. That commencement, however, is an earnest of the steady stream that they will one day bear onward to the seaboard, alike in winter's frost and in summer's drought.

Is, then, the New England farmer to sink in this torrent? Can his rocky slopes and scanty meadows compete with that western garden? Is not everything against him? Before he gives up, let him make one effort, and bracing himself on his rugged hills, with the unquenchable spirit of his race, see if there is no chance of success left; if there is no hope that he can do more than struggle on under disadvantage and discouragement.

That the farmer has done much already has been admitted; the great improvements in stock and in implements, within the past few years, have been evident to every observer. Still, even this improvement does not equal that which the same period has beheld in other departments of industry; and when, according

to the views previously advanced, we come to the soil, the difference in comparison is still more obvious.

We have then several points to consider. The present condition of our farming interest, advancing but slowly where it does advance, and in many districts retrograding in some respects, is evidently not what it should be. What is the precise difficulty, and what are the prospects of an improvement in this state of things? The disadvantages of our condition and course have been mentioned; let us see if there are not some advantages to counterbalance them.

In the first place, nearness to the great markets is a point of high importance. We hear of great crops at the far west, and are disposed almost to envy their fortunate producers; but when we come to find what are the prices which they obtain, our illusion is in a measure dispelled, for we discover that the costs of transportation, and of commissions, absorb most of the profits. The western farmer, therefore, with twice the crop, does not probably receive as much as the eastern. This is one comfortable assurance for us, and should go far to make us contented. It does not, however, affect the great fact of the formidable competition to which we are exposed; whoever gets the profit, the produce must come to the eastward; if there is an immense surplus, so that prices are low at the west, we are sure to feel it, and that in an increasing degree.

But, now, suppose that our crops were as large as theirs; the eastern farmer gets the highest prices of the seaboard, *minus* a very trifling amount for transportation; he receives all that in the other cases is expended in passing over a thousand or more miles to market. Here, then, is a most important advantage, a difference that goes far to make up for the higher price of land, for the necessity of improvement, and of liberal manuring. There is no doubt but that with equal crops our farmers would be in a better position than any others. But this is exactly the point where we fail, for it is well known that our crops are, as a whole, decidedly less than those of the west.

This inferiority, however, it is fearlessly asserted, is not our necessary and unchangeable condition. Land can be, and has been brought, even in the roughest of these eastern States, to produce crops of the very largest amount. As much corn per acre is grown on some farms in Vermont and Massachusetts, according to well-authenticated returns, as on the most fertile alluvial soils of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois or Wisconsin. Some permanent meadow land in Connecticut yields as much hay per acre as is taken from any fields in the Union. These are instances either of natural fertility or of skillful improvement, in

most cases of the latter. When the majority of our farmers will adopt similar courses, similar results will follow. But this cannot be done by working at random, or in the dark; no one can reasonably expect a return for his money, unless he knows what he is doing when he invests it. The farmer should study the principles of science as applied to his business, and upon those principles found his mode of procedure. He must seek to know of what materials his soil is composed, and then from comparison with highly fertile soils and with the ashes of plants, supply any deficiencies, or remedy any defects that exist, in the most speedy and economical manner.

The systems of rotation, and of green cropping, which are founded upon such knowledge as this, should be well understood, and the land farmed accordingly; not with a view to obtaining all that is possible *now*, without regard to ultimate consequences, but with the aim of keeping it in condition, and always improving. With this subject would naturally be connected the study of plants, as to their composition and arrangement into classes. There is so great a variety in the proportions of their various constituents, that the soil which is suitable for one crop, may fail utterly with another. It may, therefore, in some instances be more advantageous to adapt the soil to some particular plant, or on the other hand, to select a plant best adapted to the soil. Here comes in too that system of special manuring, by means of which such remarkable effects have been brought about in Great Britain, enabling the farmer to supply special defects so completely and so economically, as to bring under profitable cultivation, tracts that were before deemed hopelessly barren.

He may also by the introduction of draining, with stones or tiles, extend his domain over thousands of acres of the best land, which now lies wholly or partially useless.

These improvements involve expense it is true, and are directly opposed to that leading principle of many farmers, to take off as much as they can from their land, and to put on as little as possible; but it has been proved that they will pay in all cases, where land is within easy reach of markets. There are many farms in New England that have had an expense laid out of from \$20 to \$70 per acre in improvements, and that pay the interest on even a larger sum than this. The farmer can see the advantage of investing in stocks; why cannot he comprehend that when he invests judiciously in the improvement of his soil, he is far more sure of a return; no panic, no rival institutions or lines of traffic, can effect him here. It is well for him to reflect also, that when his land is thus brought up to a high state of cultivation, and of fertility, no more will require to be added to keep it

there, than he now expends in producing scanty crops on his worn-out soils; the labor and general expenses of cultivation are but slightly increased, while the crops are perhaps doubled or tripled.

Not less advantageous results may be realized, from a study of the animal economy, with special reference to the various theories of fattening, feeding, the effects of perfect or imperfect shelter, &c.

Probably no part of our farm land has been more generally neglected than the pastures; they are consequently in a great number of cases poor, rough, and scanty. Now, the farmer who desires to compete successfully with the rich prairies of the west, in raising stock, or in dairy produce, one or both of which must be the resource in our more remote mountain districts, should remember that for years he has been selling off flesh, bones, hair, wool, butter, milk, and cheese, all made up from the substance of his pastures. Let him then ascertain of what these articles of traffic consist, and then see how to add their materials to his exhausted fields.

There is yet one other department, to which the farmers in New England may turn their attention with great hope of profit. We refer to Horticulture. The apple, with care, and with a proper adaptation to locality, produces in this climate fruit of the finest quality, and in great abundance. Fine winter apples always command highly remunerative prices, and will of course be in better condition than those that have been transported a great distance. Pears in perfection, are almost unknown except in the large cities, and even these are extravagantly high; fine specimens of the Louise Bonne de Jersey, of the White Doyenné, of the Duchesse d'Angoulême, and many other choice kinds, will always bring 10, 12 and 15 cents each, in the New York or Boston markets, and are even then scarce. The White Doyenné or Virgalieu, is sold in the New York market at \$8 to \$10 per barrel. And yet there is no fruit more easily raised than the pear. By dwarfing on the quince, it begins to bear in two or three years, and occupies no more room than a currant bush. Wherever there is an old pear tree, bearing those miserable representations of that fruit, that we see in most of our country towns, a few grafts of fine varieties put into its top, will in two or three years bear such specimens as cannot be excelled for beauty and flavor.

Peaches also in many localities flourish luxuriantly, and bear fruit that can be brought to market in such condition as to bring decidedly higher prices than that from the south. The trees are short-lived, but easily replaced, and rapid in growth.

These are the larger fruits. In favorable situations, some of the smaller, such as raspberries, and strawberries, are equally worthy of attention. They are hardy, easy of cultivation, and sure bearers. With well prepared ground, and proper attention, the crop of strawberries that can be grown on a small plot is truly astonishing. In 1850, half an acre on the outskirts of one of our cities, cultivated by the owner at leisure intervals, produced strawberries to the value of about \$250, besides a large number of plants that were sold.

One or two acres then, in the neighborhood of any large town, or even large village, would remunerate the farmer more highly than any other kind of cultivation and produce more real cash profit, than do many farms of considerable size.

It is in every point of view remarkable, that so easy and profitable a branch of remunerative cultivation has so long remained neglected. The towns lying along the seacoast, and even many of those quite inland, draw their main supply of fruit at high prices, from New York and New Jersey, while the farmers in their vicinity are contenting themselves with scanty returns from the common crops.

In view of all these statements, it seems obvious that the case of our farmers is by no means desperate, if they will but arouse, and help themselves. This, however, is absolutely indispensable. The time has past when antiquity, or dislike of change alone, can sanction any habit of industrial life. It will not answer in this age of the world, even to maintain any fixed standard of excellence. The farmer who has kept his land, even with the utmost care, just equal to its best former condition, during the last ten or twenty years, is lagging behind when his operations are compared with those of the manufactory or workshop near by, where almost every process has been examined, revolutionized, and improved, perhaps several times over; if the same machinery were running there now as ten years ago, if the same processes were used, the goods would be thrown out of market as utterly unable to compete with those produced by means of more recent improvements.

So it will be if all the farms in New England shall at once be improved, if the system of agriculture and horticulture shall be brought up fully to the best now practiced in this country. When this is done, as it may and will be some day, can the farmer then sit down to compose himself to rest again, with his work fully accomplished? By no means; the west and south will have been advancing too; means of communication and transportation will have been facilitated, and new methods of

competition devised, so that the struggle must soon be commenced anew.

There is, therefore, no rest in prospect for the unfortunate agriculturist; he must arouse from his slumbers or lose his rank among the enterprising, energetic classes of our country, and even when aroused, we point out no future resting or halting place; we are pitiless, and condemn him to a state of constant mental activity. His sturdy arm has won its utmost from these hills and valleys; has transformed the wild and rocky desert, and the thick-tangled forest, into fields and villages of smiling and peculiar beauty, such as no other region on this earth can boast; and now must come, in aid of nobler triumphs, the powers of his mind.

It has been already shown that these exercises of the mind lead to highly practicable and profitable results; but they do far more than that, they tend also to elevate and purify. When the farmer comes to comprehend the wonderful harmony and beauty of the laws which regulate vegetable and animal life; when he sees how each adaptation has special reference to some great special object, his interest in his own pursuit must become intense. The earth, water, air, and the far-distant sun, must all combine before the germ of the humblest weed will start, and these powers must continue and vary their action constantly till it arrives at maturity; it then, too, has its part to play; perhaps it has been destined to form the food of some insect, it may be one so small as almost to escape the naked eye, but yet this plant will never fail to contain all that is required for the nourishment and completion of that tiny frame; both will be perfect in every part. If we pursue the investigation still farther, we shall find this little insect-creature, when placed under the microscope, glowing perhaps with gorgeous coloring, or clothed in a polished coat of mail, or exhibiting a wonderful apparatus of offense or defense; in some way it will become evident that it also has been created for, and adapted to, some special purpose.

Thus, the observer goes on, until he finds himself as it were touching the chords of a vast harmonious whole. A constant and measured succession of changes is going on about him in which he begins to perceive the workings of a great symmetrical design. The sea-spray, the falling dew, the gentle shower, the raging tempest, the summer's sun and warmth, the winter's frost and snow, the fires of volcanic action, the ever-moving air, the fleecy cloud, each, all have their work to do in close connection with animate and inanimate life, from the most minute to the most gigantic form; they unitedly continue one great circle of changes and transformations, of which this earth is the theater

and support. From things without form, and from the viewless air, are built up all shapes of life and beauty, and these in their death and decay only furnish the materials for new creations; nothing is lost, but all is changed.

And we, too, participate in this great circle of movement and transformation; our bodies are changed, day by day, and though the same outwardly in appearance, our actual substance is not what it was, even a few years ago. Only the immortal soul within is exempt from these material vicissitudes, and privileged in common with the great Creator to watch their course.

Who can say what the farmers of New England shall become when such subjects as these are fairly before their minds, when they see themselves, under an overruling Providence which determines the succession and character of the seasons, gaining daily more and more power over their fields, and flocks, and herds, over nature herself, becoming able to see where all before was darkness, to guide and direct where all before was chance.

Already so practical and sagacious in many things, can they not see where their true interest lies; already an intelligent, and as a whole, a religious class, can they not perceive the exalting and ennobling influence of such a study? Is it not then the duty of every true son of the Pilgrim Fathers, of all who love that Bible which they brought over, and whose impress they stamped so deeply on this western world, of all who would see New England homes filled with prosperous and contented hearts, to aid the progress and diffusion of that knowledge which, while it leads to the increase of every temporal good, points as plainly upward as do the thousand spires of our native hills?

ART. VII.—WILSON'S CHURCH IDENTIFIED.

The Church Identified, by a Reference to the History of its Origin, Perpetuation, and Extension into the United States. By the Rev. W. D. WILSON, D.D., Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and of History in Geneva College. New York: Stanford & Swords, 137 Broadway. 1850.

THE first edition, or "giving forth," of this work, as we are told in the preface of the stereotype edition, which is before us, was in a series of articles which appeared in *The Churchman* during the autumn and winter of 1848-9. These articles were

so kindly received that a second edition, in a book form, was soon called for, with a specific reference to its circulation in the diocese of Western New York. This edition, of only one thousand copies, was exhausted almost at once. The present, or third edition, expanded, freed from ambiguity, guarded and *stereotyped*, was meant for a wider circulation, and the work is now, of course, a Church classic. As there are those, especially among "the sects," who may be supposed not yet to have seen this standard work on the history of "the Church," we have thought it not superfluous or unreasonable to call the attention of such to its design and the manner of its execution.

This work, entitled "The Church Identified," claims to be a new defense, by a new plan, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The author proposes—not directly or indirectly to prove Episcopacy and the apostolical succession essential to the existence of the true church and its several branches—but to identify the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, exclusive of all the claimant modern sects, with the church founded by Christ and the apostles. His plan of doing this is to trace the history of the church as a visible society, from its first planting down to the present time, with "no discussion of points of external order and organization, either as it regards their nature or their importance," and "irrespective of the . . . doctrines which it may have taught." In carrying out this plan of the identification of the church, he proposes to be guided by certain fundamental principles of its extension.

We will first try to get a clear idea of our author's purpose, plan, and principles, and then inquire whether he has carried out his plan, applied his principles, and proved his main conclusion.

His purpose is to show the exclusive identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, as a visible society, with the church founded by Christ and the apostles. What does he mean by the identity of the two? Identity is sameness. Two distinct visible societies, though associated for the same ends, having the same plan of organization, and the same internal regulations, and one established by the other, cannot, of course, be *numerically* identical. Two such societies, if they have the same associated design, may be *generically* identical with each other, and with a third, although they have dissimilar organizations, and different internal regulations, and were independent, each of the other, in their origin. There can be no identity between two distinct visible things, other than a similarity in those points which make each an entity. There may be, in this sense, an identity between them, more or less real, according as the points

of similarity are more or less numerous, and the resemblance more or less marked. Two banking associations may be—not one and the same—yet each a banking association. Two Bible societies may be—not one and the same—yet each a Bible society. Two religious associations may be—not one and the same—yet each a Christian church—although each may have been independent of the other in its origin, although they may have dissimilar organizations and regulations, and bear different names.

What now says our author? "Ask any man if he considers the Presbyterian church as a part and branch of the Methodist church, and he will stare at you as if you had lost your wits, or were talking in riddles."—p. 237. To what scrutiny then is not our author himself entitled for putting the same question into his book, arguing it, answering it, and then stereotyping the whole? "The Presbyterian church," he says, "is no more a part of the Christian church, properly so called, than it is of the Methodist, the Baptist, or the Congregational church." They are distinct from each other, and from the apostolical church, he argues, because "they have organizations distinct." . . . "No matter how similar in form [*i.e.*, organization] and in principle [*i.e.*, doctrine] they may be; yet, historically, and in fact, they are not the same, but distinct from each other."—p. 236. But if a similarity in organization and doctrine does not make them identical, and if a numerical identity be an absurdity, what is the identity of which our author is in search? "Identity of origin." Does he mean by this that the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, and the Pentecostal church, had the same origin as to time, place, and circumstances? This were impossible. What then? They are identical "*outwardly and historically.*" And what is an "outward and historical identity?" His definite idea we must try to get from certain illustrations which he uses. He instances, for example, the institution of masonry, and the American Bible Society, to show how they, and by analogy, how the church, may be extended, and hence identified: The first by its separate lodges, the second by its auxiliary societies, and the third by establishing branches of its communion. But to make these illustrations pertinent, he was bound to show either that the Christian church, like the institution of masonry, is a secret society, and has secret principles of its extension; or that, like the American Bible Society, it has "established principles or provisions for extension," "rules of organization," defined and settled by a "written constitution." He was bound to show that a particular organization is necessary to constitute the Christian church; what the primitive church organization was; and that the church was originally extended, and can

be extended, only by establishing and perpetuating that same organization. This would not be consistent with his avowed purpose. And yet, inconsistent as it may seem, he will by no means let us conclude that he does not regard similarity in organization and doctrine essential to the identity of the church in its different branches; nor let us be ignorant of his view of the primitive ecclesiastical constitution. In his general observations on the "primary sects," he says, "No one of them has the ministry which our Lord instituted, continued and perpetuated, in the way which has always, in the church, been esteemed essential to its identity. . . . No one of them is based upon the creed of the primitive church."—p. 207. Episcopacy and the apostolical succession, and the primitive or apostolical creed, therefore, *are*, in his view, essential to the existence, extension, and identity of the church. That they are so, however, he does not purpose, directly or indirectly, to prove, but is simply careful not to omit saying that from which he would have their necessity both directly and indirectly inferred! His real purpose, therefore, according to the most definite idea which we can get of it, is to prove the exclusive historical connection and similarity in organization and doctrine, of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, with the primitive or apostolical church.

What is the plan by which he proposes to accomplish this purpose? It is simply to trace the history of the church as a visible society, from its first planting down to the present time, irrespective of both the points of its organization and doctrines. Is the plan either feasible or rational? Suppose he should happen to find the first two or three centuries next the apostolic period a dark age as to historic materials. What would his chain be worth, though perfect from the beginning of the fourth century, if it should lack two centuries on the apostolic end? What would it be worth if along the ages it should now and then want a century's link? Suppose again, one should propose to settle in his own mind the question, for example, of the identity of a community of modern Jews, so called, with the family of Abraham. Would either reason or faith bid him "take hours of prayerful thought from other labors, and bestow them on this"—namely—the question of "endless genealogies," and the dry, tedious process of tracing the sons of Abraham, from the first, in all their wanderings, and through all their vicissitudes, until the community in question should be thus historically identified? Or would the only plan which reason or conscience would suggest, be, to look for those marks which the hand of Him who hath scattered these children of Jacob among the nations hath

sealed in their hearts and foreheads? The former course, we cannot but retort upon our author in his own words, would be "a violation of common sense, which nothing but the stringent demands of a theory could ever occasion." Take too his illustration of tracing a vine from the root till we have identified a particular branch. Let us state a fact, and raise thereon a supposition. We have seen a vine with some of its branches trained for a distance under the ground, and then raised again to climb and cover a new trellis or espalier. Suppose, in a vineyard of different plants, this process to be indefinitely multiplied. Now, could any one save the vine-dresser, identify these particular branches with their parent stalk, in any other way than by the rule laid down by Him who called himself the true Vine, and his Father the husbandman—the rule of common sense—"ye shall know them by their fruits?" Take also his illustration of tracing the stream seen from the mountain. Premising that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is confessedly not the main church stream, but a tributary, would it not be wise to wait till it be seen where it and its sister streams—"these sects"—at last empty? To say that the Protestant Episcopal Church is one of the mouths by which the main river is emptying itself into the ocean of eternity, would look like seeking to identify the church by the distinctive doctrine of the very newest of the "autothentic sects."

What are the principles by which our author proposes to be guided in carrying out his plan? He lays down three principles of the extension of the church, by which to be guided in executing his plan for its identification. "(1) The church must be extended by living members, (2) going into a place where the church was not previously established, (3) for the purpose of preaching the true faith, and establishing the communion of the church there." By the "true faith" he means the doctrines of Christianity; and by "establishing the communion of the church," he must mean organizing a visible society. But this surely involves, on the part of him who would trace the history of the church, more or less respect to both the points of organization and doctrine—and of the particular organization, and the particular doctrines of the branch he is to identify. But his plan precludes all respect to either of these points. How then can he apply his principles? But read his own words. "The application of the foregoing principles would require an extensive investigation of church history, and it is possible"—(it ought not to be, surely, if he can do what he purposes, and by the plan and principles which he proposes to follow and apply) "that in many cases there are no documents extant, from which the precise

state of the facts can be ascertained." He lays down, therefore, "two other tests," which he considers as satisfactory, where they can be applied, as a careful examination of the historical facts. They "can be applied," he says, "with a less minute research into history, and yet lead to the same result." They are to be used, therefore, simply to avoid being tedious to his readers, and to facilitate his purpose. "(1) Does the society in question claim to be a part of the church that has always existed from the apostles' days, and to be now in communion with it, or any part of it? (2) Does that which is claimed to be the parent church acknowledge the one in question to have been duly founded as a branch of herself?" Apply these tests. A member of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and a member of the Church of England, meet. "Our church," says the former, "claims to be a part of yours: does your church acknowledge ours as her offspring?" "Yes," is the prompt reply: "the two are mother and daughter." "But"—interposes a blunt sectarian—"how is it with the Church of England?" "The Church of England," is the short response, "was established *probably* by St. Paul himself!" As the vanquished sectary cannot appeal to Paul—he beats a precipitate retreat! Seriously, since these tests do not require a minute "research into history," it is not easy to see their consistency with our author's proposed plan. Noticing next our author's remark, that "the full execution of my plan would require me to go over the whole history of the planting and extension of the church from the day of Pentecost up to the present time," . . . which "would require a great deal of dry detail"—and bearing in mind his admission concerning the application of his principles—it will not be strange if we find, on inquiry, that he has not carried out his plan—applied his principles—or proved his main conclusion.

Has he carried out his plan? The first two chapters and the last two of his book being in no sense historical, have of course no direct relation to his plan. Are they even indirectly consistent with it? Not the first chapter, for in this he discusses the point of the importance of those elements of organization which constitute the believers a church or society by themselves. (Compare, ch. 1, with p. 57.) Not the second chapter, for he devotes this to the discussion of principles inconsistent, as we have seen, with his plan. Not the ninth chapter, for in this the design of the discussion is to show that the identity of the church must be that of spirit. Not the tenth chapter, for in this the end of the discussion is to prove that the identity must be that of moral design. The historical chapters are from the third to the eighth

inclusive. In the third chapter, he barely asserts that in accordance with the principles which he has discussed, "the communion of the church was extended from its first establishment up to the time of the Reformation, with a progressive growth from century to century, until it covered the whole of Europe, the western part of Asia, and the northeastern part of Africa."—p. 82. The next paragraph is a virtual iteration of the same assertion, with several specifications. This is all our author has done in his book by way of tracing the history of the church from its first establishment to the Reformation!

Has he applied his principles to the extension of "the Church" by the establishment of branch communions, through the centuries from the age of the apostles down? Not in a solitary case, in any age, or in any land, between the apostolic period and the establishment of a branch of the Church of England in America! He passes, in the paragraph referred to above, over the first two centuries without a comment. He tells us who was consecrated, in the fourth century, the first bishop of Ethiopia—but not a word about the Ethiopian church. That in the same century the gospel was preached in Armenia, &c., but not whether branches of the church were there legitimately organized. That in the seventh century (again passing over two centuries in silence), "two missionaries, one from Ireland, and the other from England, planted the church in many parts of Germany," &c., but not in accordance with what principles. That in the eighth century Nestorian missionaries converted the Tartars—but not whether they inclosed these wild wanderers in Christ's fold. That in the ninth century the church made its way into Austria, &c., but not the history of this movement. That in the tenth century it became established in Poland, &c., but not how. That in the days of the apostles, and probably by an apostle's own labors, St. Paul's, the church of England was planted in that island: but he gives no historical account of its planting, and of course has not applied to its planting his principles of church extension and identification.

Has he then proved his main conclusion—and by the plan and principles which he proposed to follow and apply? That conclusion is as follows: "If, now, we can fix our attention upon the facts and principles that have been brought before our minds in the foregoing sections, long enough to see their full force and bearing, I think that we cannot fail to see, that it is as certain that the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States is the church of Christ for the people of this Union, throughout its whole extent, and in all its parts, as if no ages of darkness and corruption had intervened between us and the apostles, and no

sects had arisen claiming the Christian name!" p. 309. This, our author himself calls the main and all-involving conclusion of his work. The second adjective is by no means a mere redundant epithet. It is fitly chosen and well applied. We should fail to do full justice to our author, did we omit to state the principal positions which his main conclusion involves. (1.) It involves the position that all the "sectarian" denominations in the United States are guilty of a worse sin than that of schism—the presumptuous sin of being "mere intruders into a field which the Lord had committed to other laborers"—the Protestant Episcopal church! This position is involved in our author's reasoning against the English Papists, and in his argument on "the nationality of churches." By "the nationality of churches"—he means—"the fact, that the territorial limits of the jurisdiction of the church are commensurate with those of the nation in which it is situated." And by—"the nationality of an independent branch of the church"—he means—"that the branch of the church which has the right to existence and jurisdiction in any nation at all, has a right to jurisdiction in any and every part of it, and throughout the whole extent of its domain." The "sectarian" denominations in our country, therefore, according to our author, sustain to the Protestant Episcopal church the relation which we have stated. Let prayer then be made, without ceasing, of "the Church" unto God for "these sects," for—they know not what they do. (2.) The main conclusion involves the position, that except in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal church we cannot perform the duties, appropriate the promises, or enjoy the privileges of the gospel. In other words, "sectarian" denominations, however orthodox and sincere, are dupes of a supposition! Alas! then, for our departed kindred and friends who "supposed" that in these communions they were walking in the commandments and ordinances of the Lord: who "supposed" that they enjoyed the promised presence of the Savior, and the promised comfort of the Holy Ghost; who fell asleep in Jesus—as they and we "supposed"—"supposing" that when they should awake it would be in his likeness, to be filled with the promised fullness of his joy! (3.) The main conclusion involves the position that other denominations have, each of them, a test of conversion not only different from that of the Protestant Episcopal church, that is, from the true test, but distinctively its own. We would like to be informed which of the "primary sects" makes an approval of its distinctive denominational feature or features the test of conversion? or which of them makes its denominational appellative the synonym of "Christian?" (4.) The main conclusion

involves the position, that there is a fundamental difference between the piety of the sects, and the piety of the Protestant Episcopal church. Here, we fear it would be our duty to plead "guilty"—were we to regard our author as holding up before us *the* standard of piety in the Protestant Episcopal church. "The spirit of the church" and "genuine piety" he makes convertible expressions. This "church-spirit," or "piety," is said to show itself by a variety of manifestations. The features of this manifestation which our author selects as serving to distinguish the "Protestant sects" from the "Protestant Episcopal Church," and thus as serving to identify the latter exclusive of the former with the primitive church of Christ,—are—not "observance of the moral precepts—the duties of good citizenship, and of good neighborhood—meekness, humility, quietness, temperance, sobriety and truth"—these, he says, "may all be regarded as fruits of the Spirit; and hence these things, or at least a tendency to them, and an approval of them, must be found in all the branches of the church." But he is liable to find not simply "an approval of them" and "a tendency to them," but—"these things" themselves, in some of the "Protestant sects." It will not do, therefore, to make "these things" distinctive tests, or the highest manifestations of genuine piety! Hence, the test-manifestations which he specifies, and in the order of their announcement, are—charity for the errors, faults and corruptions of the church—regard to the decisions and canons of the early councils concerning the holy days—regard to the divine institutions—regard for liturgical worship—regard to the festivals of the church! We simply call for the chapters and verses where Christ and the apostles set forth as secondary tests of piety—the manifestations which our author passes over so lightly, and raise to the rank of primary or distinctive tests the features which he has brought forward and illustrated. (5.) The main conclusion involves the position, that the sacraments, and the preaching of the gospel among the sects, are utterly without efficacy! To expect in any other communion than the Protestant Episcopal church the divinely ordained benefits of baptism, the Lord's Supper and the ministry, involves the same illogical error, in our author's view, as the application of what the Scriptures say of the house and worship of God, to the temple and rites of Vishnu! (p. 384.) This explains why, among "the sects," baptism never "sanctifies," "cleanses," "regenerates," "closely and intimately unites with Christ," whatever "very great and very important spiritual effect" these expressions denote! Explains why the Lord's Supper is never attended with "a communication or impartation of the body or blood of Christ" to its recipients; whatever "great spiritual

benefit" this "manifestly figurative language precisely does mean!" Explains why the preaching of the gospel is never accompanied with "the powers of absolution," whatever we are "disposed to understand the words as implying!" (6.) The main conclusion involves the position, that sectarianism, or the disposition of other denominations to maintain their several communions, is the great modern manifestation of the spirit of Antichrist; that its chief moral causes are pride and self-will; that it is the principal cause of the infidelity, practical and speculative, which abounds in our land, and of the irreligion of our age and nation, and that, cost what self-denial or struggle it may, it must be abandoned! That is, the various religious denominations in the United States must abandon their several communions and unite with the Protestant Episcopal church, before infidelity and irreligion—evils for which all who belong to these sectarian societies or churches are more or less responsible—will cease! We have no reply to make to such arrogant and absurd assumptions. We rather put the question at once: Has our author established what he himself has so aptly denominated "the main and all-involving conclusion" of his work? Has he proved this conclusion by the plan which he proposed to follow, and by the principles which he proposed to apply? Is there, in his book, any continuous process of historical research such as we were led to anticipate, and such as can be likened to the tracing either of a branching vine or of a winding stream? We have already anticipated, and sufficiently answered these questions in the negative. Indeed, nothing that we have dwelt upon thus far has any direct or indirect historical relation to the main conclusion, excepting the single unsupported statement that St. Paul, *probably*, introduced the gospel into England! We should feel, therefore, that some apology were due our readers for having dwelt so long on the irrelevant portions of this book, had we not felt bound to follow the leadings of our author, and had not our purpose been to furnish a key to the beauties of his work as a whole. The exclusive outward and historical identity of the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States with the primitive or apostolical church, our author professes to have made visible through the church of England. The historical fact which he must have shown is the apostolical origin of the Church of England. And in bringing this fact to light he must have made us see two points: (1.) That "the church" which Augustin is said to have found in Britain at the close of the sixth century, was planted by the apostles; (2.) that the visible ecclesiastical institution, known in our day as the Church of England, is identical, as an outward ecclesiastical association, with "the

church" which Augustin is said to have found in Britain. If he has not made us see the first point, after fixing our attention upon the facts and principles that have been brought before our minds long enough to see anything which is not positively invisible—no matter how luminous he may have made, or may not have made, the second point—his "main and all-involving conclusion" falls to the ground. What, then, is his historical proof of the first point in question?

"It is not perfectly certain who first introduced the gospel into England!"

"In the first century, Clement says: 'St. Paul published righteousness through the whole world, and in so doing, went to the utmost bounds of the west.'"

"Stillingfleet has shown that this expression was *very generally* used to include England!"

"In the second century, Irenæus said that the apostles propagated Christianity among 'the Celtic nations,' that is, Germans, Gauls and Britons!"

"But perhaps the best and most explicit testimony is that of Eusebius. He says, that some of the apostles passed over the ocean 'to the British Islands!'"

"Jerome, in the fourth century, says that St. Paul having been in Spain, preached the gospel 'in the western parts.'"

"This is but a small part of the testimony, more or less direct, to this point." But it is "the best and most explicit," and therefore "it is sufficient, I apprehend, to establish the point that the gospel was established in Britain in the apostolic age, and probably by St. Paul himself!" With no more explicit or reliable information concerning the first introduction of Christianity into Great Britain, and with no definite knowledge of its history in England, for the first five or six centuries, he professes—after "hours of assiduous toil and prayerful thought taken from other labors to bestow on this"—to have produced an original historical defense of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States! We are inclined to think that he *has*. And we not only further concede "that the novelty of the plan will attract and interest readers;" but we venture to predict that the execution, for attractive interest, will totally eclipse the novelty! We have quoted every word of the historical testimony which our author has cited to establish the first point, namely, that the apostles planted "the Church" in Britain. The second point, namely, whether the present "Church of England" is identical, as an outward organized institution, with the church *in* England, before the visit of Augustin, is set aside from our present examination by our author's failing to prove the first. But there

is still a point—on the point of the apostolical origin of the Church of England—which our author's "preface to the stereotype edition" of "The Church Identified," constrains us to mark and mention. It is this: That the previous edition wholly lacked the historical testimony cited in this to show that the "Church of England" was planted in Britain in the apostolic age, and probably by St. Paul himself. Truly, the previous edition of "The Church Identified" must have been a literary and logical curiosity! A book professing to identify historically, a single denomination in the United States with the primitive and exclusively apostolical church, through the Church of England, yet giving no historical testimony to show the apostolical origin of the Church of England! Even the stereotype edition, as we have seen, distinctly admits that this point "is not perfectly certain," and gives no historical facts to define and corroborate the ambiguous legendary statements quoted from the ancient writers! More than this: Our author has given us no definite history of the Church of England for the first six hundred years! It is possible that this may be one of the "many cases" in which, as he forewarned us, "there are no documents extant from which the precise state of the facts can be ascertained."

We now propose to give, in a catechetical form, a summary of the results of our examination thus far of this remarkable work.

Question 1. What is the chief object of the work entitled—"The Church Identified?"

Answer. The chief object of the work entitled "The Church Identified," is to enable one with *certainly* to identify "the Church," here in these United States, from amidst so many claiming sects.

Q. 2. What is the definite idea of the identity of the church?

A. An outward and historical connection, as a visible society, having the same organization, order, and doctrines with the primitive or apostolical church—is the definite idea of the identity of the church.—p. 207.

Q. 3. What rule is given to direct us how we may thus certainly and exclusively identify the church?—(p. 207.)

A. Go back to the first planting of the church, and trace its existence down the current of time, in its spread over the face of the earth, until we find it extending itself into our own country—this is the only sure rule given to direct us how we may certainly and exclusively identify the church.—p. 31.

Q. 4. What is taught concerning the application of this rule?

A. It is taught that the principles for the application of this rule are those by which the church was extended and expanded by the Apostles.—(p. 38.)

Q. 5. Does the rule given to direct us, how we may with certainty identify "the Church" from amidst so many claiming sects, allow any discussion of points of external order and organization, or respect to the doctrines of the church?

A. The rule given allows of no discussion of points of external order and organization, either as it regards their nature or their importance, and is irrespective of the doctrines of the church.—(p. 7, 29.)

Q. 6. Do the principles laid down for the application of this rule allow of respect to the points of organization and doctrine?

A. The principles laid down do require that we have respect to both the points of organization and doctrine.—(pp. 41, 42.)

Q. 7. Is the rule given departed from in any of the chapters of the work entitled "The Church Identified"?

A. The rule given, is departed from throughout chapters 1, 2, 9, 10, of the work entitled, "The Church Identified."

Q. 8. Are we led to expect an application of the principles laid down for the application of the rule given to direct us how we may with certainty identify the church here in these United States, from amidst so many claiming sects?

A. We are led not to expect an application of the principles laid down, &c., since this would require an extensive investigation of church history; and it is possible that in many cases there are no documents extant from which the precise state of the facts can be ascertained!—(p. 53.)

Q. 9. Is any expedient suggested whereby we may dispense with such an extensive and minute research into church history; meet this possible contingency of a want, in many cases, of the necessary historical documents; and yet be brought to the same result?

A. Two other tests are suggested, which require not a moment's research into history, and which, if we but *assume* the apostolical origin of the older church, will settle in our minds the question of the apostolical origin of the younger, as fully as though we had carefully examined into all the facts of the early history of each!—(p. 54.)

Q. 10. Are we led to expect the full execution of the plan proposed for the identification of the church?

A. We are led not to expect the full execution of the plan, &c., since this would require the author to go over the whole history of the planting and extension of the church, from the day of Pentecost to the present time, and show the application of the principles laid down . . . throughout. This, as will be seen at once, would require a great deal of "dry detail" which would have

no immediate bearing upon the immediate practical result at which the author is aiming!—(p. 64.)

Q. 11. In what sense does the author of the work entitled “The Church Identified,” permit us to expect the execution of the plan proposed?

A. In the sense of a selection of those portions only of the history of “the church,” which have an immediate connection with the immediate practical object before him.—(p. 64.)

Q. 12. Is such the obvious ground of selection in the first historical chapter?

A. Such is not the obvious ground of selection, &c., since the selected portions of the history of “the church,” in this chapter, have no immediate bearing on the immediate practical result, which the author has set before him.—(p. 82.)

Q. 13. Is such the ground of selection in the second historical chapter?

A. In the first section only of that chapter, the author barely quotes four unsupported or ambiguous statements from as many ancient writers, to prove the apostolical origin of the Church of England: but gives no historical facts of its planting, and no selected portions of its history for the first five centuries! This omission sets aside the claim of chapters 4, 6, 7, to any immediate connection with the immediate practical result to which the author would bring us.

Q. 14. Is such the ground of the selected portions of the history of “the church,” in chapter 5?

A. Such is not the ground, inasmuch as “the origin of modern sects” is plainly no portion of the history of “the church.”

Q. 15. What is the immediate connection with the immediate practical object of this work, of the last historical chapter, entitled “The Romish claim to Jurisdiction in the United States”?

A. The immediate connection is, that it furnishes the key-stone for the author’s historical arch, wrought out of the beautiful and durable material of “the Church” divided against itself!*

Q. 16. To what selected portions of the history of “the church” has the author applied the principles laid down for its identification?

A. To no selected portions of the history of “the church” between the age of the apostles and the planting of the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States has the author applied

* Our author admits the Romish church to be a branch of the church of Christ. He argues the right of the Protestant Episcopal church to exclusive jurisdiction in this country, because of its pre-occupation of the field.

the principles of the extension of the church, laid down for its identification!

Q. 18. Are we now enabled with *certainly* to identify "the church" here in these United States, from amidst so many claiming "sects"?

A. Though the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States was planted by the church of England: and though it is not perfectly certain who planted the church of England—still "if we can fix our attention upon the facts and principles that have been brought before our minds long enough to see their full force and bearing . . . we cannot fail to see that it is as certain that the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States is the church of Christ for the people of this Union, throughout its whole extent and in all its parts, as if no ages of darkness and corruption had intervened between us and the apostles, and no sects had arisen claiming the Christian name!" pp. 112, 309.

We refrain from comments. But if our author himself indeed thinks that he has proved to a certainty "the main and all-involving" conclusion of his work, in the name of logical consistency and of true charity, what does he mean by that gratuitous attempt, on page 241, to distinguish between "these sects" as "societies" or "churches," and "the persons composing them"? We owe our sincerity, zeal, and piety—such as they are—under God—to our connection with these sectarian societies, or churches. And now hear our author—"Their sincerity and their zeal I do not call in question. And though it is an undeniable fact, that their piety is of a different character from that which we find in the church . . . yet nothing that I have said must be understood to deny that theirs is sincere [he does not say genuine] and may be accepted in the day of judgment! This is a point on which I wish to form no judgment—to express no opinion!" But what judgment and what opinion must not the individual members of these sectarian societies, or churches, form and express of such charity as this? Yet we are told by our author, that "the main conclusions of his work are coincident with what has been generally held and taught by Episcopalians in this country!" If such be the fact, "these sects" ought to know it. If the fact be otherwise, as in our heart we believe, let those thus misrepresented disown the imputation. Our present controversy is not with the Protestant Episcopal church. It has not been in our heart to say a word in disparagement of that communion. We have not seldom been a privileged worshiper and auditor in its assemblies: joining—though we "prefer worship with an extemporaneous prayer"—in the responses of its liturgy; and stirred and edified by the eloquence of its clergy. We have

written simply to expose the unfounded and unbounded assumptions of the book before us. We believe that by such works as that the body of Christ is hurt, and His Spirit itself wounded in the house of his friends. We believe that the special tendency of this book is to fulfill our Lord's prophetic declaration: "I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother; and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his household!" In opposition therefore to the narrow and arrogant dogmatism of this book, we hold that, on the day of Pentecost, there was undeniably in existence at Jerusalem a visible society called the church, which was simply the company of penitent believers in Jesus, who met daily in the temple and from house to house, for religious worship, the hearing of the word of God, and the observance of the Lord's Supper; with no plan of ecclesiastical organization, and no office save the apostolic. Repentance, faith, and baptism in the name of Jesus admitted new members to its communion; and the characteristics of its membership were simply—"steadfast continuance in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship; and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." We hold it to be equally undeniable, that there was in Antioch a visible society of Christian converts, before, and independently of, any preaching or organizing instrumentality of apostle, presbyter, or deacon. Men of Cyprus and Cyrene, members of the church which was at Jerusalem, who were among the number scattered abroad by the persecution that arose about Stephen, came to Antioch and spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. The hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord. There is no scriptural intimation that this visible society of Christians was not as essentially a church before the visit of Barnabas, as during the year of his and Paul's ministry among them. It can no more be shown that Christ or the apostles instituted a plan of ecclesiastical order and organization as essential to the existence of the church, and of all its branches, in every country, and through all time,—than that he or they elaborated a system of civil polity for every people, in every land, in every age. The Scriptures do not make a particular ecclesiastical constitution essential either to the existence, or to the extension of the church. To assert the contrary is not only to assert what has never been, and cannot be proved—but it is to exalt the form above the principle, the body above the spirit, the instrument above the end to be promoted. It is to confound the extension of a particular ecclesiastical organization with the dissemination of Christianity. This is the great error of our author. Everywhere in the pages of this book we read of extend-

ing "the Church"—of identifying "the Church" as an outward visible society. And the idea, as we have shown and might show yet more fully, unquestionably is that of extending "the church" and identifying "the church" as an organized institution—the plan of whose polity and order were clearly defined and unchangeably settled by Christ and the apostles.

Neither this idea nor language was ever in the mind or mouth of Paul. His idea was simply that of extending the power of "the faith" over the hearts and lives of men. And his language was : "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." We assert, therefore, "without fear of mistake," that any visible society of Christian men and women, whose associated design is their mutual growth in the knowledge of our Lord and in grace, through the stated preaching of the gospel, and the observance of its ordinances, and the addition to their number of such as shall be saved, is essentially a Christian church ; like the visible society called "the church which was at Jerusalem ;" like the visible society called "the church" that was at Antioch ; like the visible societies called "the churches throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria ;" like the visible societies called "the churches of the Gentiles." We assert, "without fear of mistake," that every such visible society or church, if faithful to him, Christ acknowledges and will keep as the apple of his eye ; while from every such society which shall leave its first love, fall from the first works, and not repent, he will remove its golden candlestick, though an angel were its star ; will root it up though it were a shoot from the true vine, planted by Paul, watered by Apollos, nurtured by Timothy, and fostered by John !

We assert, "without fear of mistake," that there is an invisible general assembly or church to which all true believers in Jesus belong. It includes all the loyal subjects of God's government in heaven, and all who have believed with the heart in God or in Christ on earth. Its members, before the advent of the Savior, were all who believed in Jehovah as the living God, and the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. Its members since are all who have believed with the heart in Jesus, and been steadfast followers of them who, through faith and patience, have inherited the promises. This general assembly of believers, this invisible church, is independent of geographical, civil, or ecclesiastical divisions ; is above, out of sight of, all sectarian organizations, all denominational lines. Nor is this a modern theory. Abraham believed in a promised seed to be gathered from all the nations and all the families of the earth. The psalmist sung of the same, and the echo of his strain still

lingers to inspire hope for the heathen and for the uttermost parts of the earth. Isaiah looked forward to Paul's time, and onward still afar, and with a prophet's ken he saw the Gentile converts from every continent and from every isle flying as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows. Paul looked backward to the ages of the prophets and the patriarchs, to Abel's day, and upward to the heavens; and by faith, which to him was the evidence of things not seen, he saw the holy ones of the past, all those who had been remarkable for their faith in God, and who had finished their course, compassing the skies as a great cloud of witnesses, and looking to see how he and his fellow-believers run the race that was set before them. Ninety-four quotations our author has "taken the pains" to lay before us—"all the passages in the Testament in which the word 'church' occurs"—to show that the expression "a church" is unscriptural; that the form—"the church"—forbids either the supposition of more than one denomination of Christians, or the "modern theory" of an invisible church! Once, however, it must be admitted, *a* and *the* are used interchangeably of the invisible general assembly of the redeemed. In twenty-seven of these ninety-four quotations, the word is not "church" but "churches." And the *definite* article is used for the simple and sufficient reason that in all these cases, as the context shows, either a definite Christian society is spoken of, or definite societies, or the invisible aggregate of believers are denoted; these facts show that the "modern sectarian" mode of speaking, in the premises, is not unlike the primitive, and sets aside, as idle, all our author's assumptions and conclusions from the Scriptural use of the article *the* instead of *a*. The only quotation which gives our author any uneasiness, as seeming to favor the "modern theory" of an invisible church, is the passage in which the expression occurs, "the church of the first-born, which are written in heaven." He relies "chiefly upon the connection in which the expression occurs," for concluding that it denotes not "persons living on the earth," but the "orders of beings extending upward, in the scale of creation, from angels to the Deity." But why not apply the same principle of interpretation to the whole passage, and relying "chiefly upon the connection in which the expression occurs," also conclude that the clause—"the spirits of just men make perfect"—denotes "the orders of beings, in the scale of creation," from God the Judge, to Jesus the Mediator? The truth is, if we would understand, or enter into the spirit of the great-hearted apostle in this noble passage,—“above all Greek, above all Roman fame,”—this passage, in which he *identifies* the church of the new dispensation with the church of the old, we

must get upon a higher and broader platform than the dogma of only one national or one denominational church. We must mark where the apostle stands, in what presence, and to whom he speaks and what he says. He had stood, wrongly yet honestly, on the narrow and exclusive dogma named. From that Christ had struck him down with the flash of his glorious gospel. The scene on the plain of Damascus was but a symbol of the more marvelous light which opened the eyes of his understanding, to see not only the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, but the glorious truth, that all who have "put on the new man" belong "where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all." He now stands, therefore, on the high, broad, true platform that all the regenerate are in Christ, and that Christ is in all of them; that they are his, and he is theirs; that they are members of his body, which is the church! He speaks in the presence of that great cloud of witnesses, invisible to mortal vision, whom yet faith had opened his eyes to see as they compassed the stadium whose bounds are the extremes of the Christian life, and the runners, from all the nations; in the presence of an innumerable company of angels; in the presence of God the Judge, and of Jesus the Mediator. He speaks not simply to one national or one denominational church, but directly to his fellow-Hebrew believers in Jesus; virtually to the Gentile converts of his time, likewise; and to all who have since finished, are now running, or shall hereafter enter, the Christian course.

When we mark that he does not tell us who these Hebrews were, farther than that they were true believers in Christ; and that in this epistle he uses that much-abused phrase, "the church," but once, we are almost constrained to think he was divinely instructed as to the omission. He must, however, use it once. And then he puts it where no one denomination of Christians can get to pull it down. They must first break through the army of the angels, and then confront the Omnipotent God, and then they shall descry, between God the Judge and Jesus the Mediator, still another detachment of the invisible host of the elect. In the presence of this vast invisible assembly, now seen by faith on the Mount Zion, in the heavenly Jerusalem, surrounding the throne of God and the Lamb, the saints nearer than the angels, and speaking to all the regenerate of his time, and to all who were to be born again,—what does Paul literally and virtually say? "To this innumerable company of angels; this general assembly and church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven; and these spirits of just men made perfect,—ye are

come! To this innumerable and invisible company of angels and of the redeemed, ye already as truly belong, as though on your heads, as on theirs, the crowns of gold were now glittering, and your voices, like theirs, were singing the conqueror's song!"

And now, in conclusion, with our author's leave, we will compare the church of God to a vine. Planted by the hand of the Lord God in the Garden of Eden, removed into the land of Canaan, carried into, and brought out of, Egypt, and planted again in the goodly land of promise, where it covered with its shadow, for a time, simply Canaan's hills and waters, we see it sending out its boughs unto the utmost bound of earth's ancient mountains, and unto the farthest sea. And when at last it shall be transplanted by God the husbandman, to the "better country—that is, "the heavenly"—every branch which bore fruit here, shall live, bloom, and bear fruit there, helping to beautify the one true vine forever!

We will compare the church likewise to a river. Having its source in Eden, and flowing, for a time, within the bounds of a single kingdom; we see it on its winding way receiving tributaries from all lands. And when it shall enter its golden channel in the heavenly Jerusalem, the voices of its myriad streams shall mingle, and make the one voice of its many waters!

ART. VIII.—MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D.C.L. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. In two volumes. Edited by HENRY REED. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 472 & 518.

It is now about fifty years since "the Lake Poets," or "the Lakers," as they were contemptuously styled, made their appearance on the arena of English literature. Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, with one or two individuals of inferior note, were the men on whom this appellation was bestowed by the critics of the day, rather from the accident of their early and intimate friendship, and the fact of their residence in the country of the Lakes, than from any striking similarity in their poetry, or in their theory of the art. Their critics, however, obstinately connected them together, and assailed them and their writings, for a series of years, with a measure of hostility and contempt, the like

of which has scarcely been known in the history of criticism. This hostility and its consequences, were outlived by them all. Southey first emerged from its shade. Coleridge scattered the clouds that were continually gathering about him, consuming them by the overpowering rays of his burning genius; or lighted up their darkest and gloomiest folds with the lightning of his splendid imagination—till at last the tempest left him, an object of sorrowing admiration to the generation that worshipped him in his decline. Wordsworth, the real Laker, the most inveterate offender of the three, was content to bide his time: he waited long but patiently, till the heavy and unbroken cloud gradually thinned away, and nothing but sunshine was left for his fame. The Lake Poets are now dead. Coleridge died in 1834, and no man has been bold enough to write the history of his life, or of his mind. An unfinished and unsatisfactory fragment, called his life, with scattered and one-sided memorials from Cottle, De Quincey and others, are all the records which we have of one of the greatest, as well as one of the most singular, intellects that ever lived. Southey departed next, leaving behind the record of one of the most blameless, consistent and studious lives, that adorn the history of literature. Wordsworth died last, as it was fit that he should; and we have now before us his memoirs, written by his nephew, giving us all that we are to expect of the personal and literary history of this remarkable man.

These memoirs are not so much the personal as the literary biography of Wordsworth. It is fit that they should be so. For his life was not a life of stirring excitement, and it is principally interesting as it illustrates and explains his poetry. For poetry he lived. Poetry was his profession. To poetry he gave all his energies, his time, his thoughts, his fears, his cares. Nearly all his poems are immediately connected with some personal experience of his own, or some incident that befell the circle of his relations or friends. A very large portion of these memoirs consists of commentaries on these poems, in which the occasion of the poem is minutely described, and the intent of the writer carefully explained. In this way we are introduced to the secret workings of the poet's mind, we understand the objects for which he wrote, the principles which he cared to enforce, in short, the whole theory of his poetry as well as the theory of his life. A brief abstract of this life will, we trust, be acceptable to many of our readers.

Mr. Wordsworth was born at Cocker-mouth in Cumberland, April 7, 1770. He died at Rydal Mount, April 23, 1850, a few days after he had completed his 80th year. His birth and his death both occurred in the same region, where his childhood

was trained, and his life was passed. His childhood was remarkable for nothing except the development of a "stiff, moody, and violent" temper, which drew from his mother the remark, "that the only one of her five children about whose future life she was anxious, was William; and he, she said, would be remarkable either for good or for evil." This stiff and moody temper does not seem to have made him especially wayward in his later boyhood. On the contrary, in youth and earlier manhood, he appears to have been altogether exemplary in his conduct, and even affectionate in his disposition. But, though tempered by the restraints and discipline of the school, and altogether softened and subdued by the self-experience and self-control of manhood, this stiffness was the tough material furnished by nature, out of which was wrought the early and marked self-sufficingness and self-reliance of the youth, and the sturdy independence with which the man held on his course, reckless of the criticism and contempt which frowned along his pathway, for more than thirty years. The gentle restraints of a mother's guiding hand were peculiarly needed by such a youth, so sensitive to the monitions of love, but so fiery and obstinate in his resistance to force. These were early removed, for his mother died in his eighth year. But in their stead was furnished the wonderful ascendancy of an only sister, two years younger than himself. This ascendancy began in the poet's childhood, and it was with him through his life—ministering gentleness to his harsher nature, and material and excitement to his poetic genius. Of the character and power of these influences, we shall speak hereafter, for the story is one of the most interesting that is furnished in the history of genius. After the death of his mother in 1778, Wordsworth was separated from his sister, and was sent to school at Hawkshead, where he remained till 1787, when he began his residence at Cambridge, as a member of St. John's College. His education at home and at school, was remarkable only in two or three particulars. His father had taught him in childhood, "to learn portions of the best English poets by heart, so that at an early age he could repeat large portions of Shakspeare, Milton, and Spenser." His knowledge of Latin was no more than respectable for an English school-boy. The mysteries of Latin versification he never mastered, and his knowledge of mathematics, though greater than was requisite for admission to the University, was not at all uncommon for a native of the North-western counties, where, as De Quincey tells us, the mathematics were studied almost universally, and persons in humble life attained to great proficiency in them. The school at Hawkshead was in one or two respects peculiar, and these peculiarities had much to do

with the formation of the poet's character, and the development of his genius. The boys were distributed in very small companies "in the village and neighboring hamlets, at the houses of *dames*," and they were allowed extraordinary liberty, in respect to daily rambles and sports in the open air. Of this liberty the poet availed himself most liberally. No habit of his life seems to have been formed at an earlier period, none was more thoroughly wrought into his very nature, none had more to do with the theory and results of his poetry, than this delight in outdoor walks.

"It was his habit to make the circuit of the lake for miles, early, before school hours, with one of his school-fellows, pacing side by side—

‘Repeating favorite verses with one voice,
Or conning more, as happy as the birds
That with us chanted;’

And in the winter season when the lake was frozen over, and

‘Clear and loud
The village clock tolled six,’

then was a time of rapture. The skates were braced on, and he and his comrades

‘All shod with steel,
Hisssed along the polished ice in games
Confederate.’

He describes his own character at this period, as follows:

‘Nothing at that time
So welcome, no temptation half so dear,
As that which urged me to a daring feat;
Deep pools, tall trees, black chasms, and dizzy crags,
And tottering towers—I loved to stand and read
Their looks.’

The meadows also, and the mountains, and ‘the twilight glens’ were his playground. Fishing and hunting were his games; and on holidays he and his fellows went further a-field, to the broader waters of Windermere and to the monastic ruins of Furness.”—vol. I, pp. 40–41.

Thus was formed and fixed, the habit which remained with him through life. De Quincey affirms that he had calculated upon good data that Wordsworth must have “traversed a distance of 175 to 180,000 English miles.” Whether this was so or not, it is certain that he had a passion for this kind of exercise, which nothing could displace or overcome. His first summer vacation was given up to a thorough review and exploration of his boyish haunts. In his last vacation, instead of reading for his degree, we find him chasing on a pedestrian tour over the continent through Switzerland into the North of Italy, among regions then

rarely visited by Englishmen, and at that time places of real danger. After he left the University, he went again to the continent, rambling and halting, here and there, as suited his fancy. Again he goes with his sister to Scotland on a very exciting and romantic excursion. After he had established himself in his mountain home, it would seem that he lived to walk, and walked to live. He walked by day and by night, in sunshine and in storm. He composed his poetry when walking. In his walks he found most of his subjects. He read when walking, not books, as did Robert Southey on foot and John Wesley on horseback, but nature, for Wordsworth never cared for books; and last of all he could find no better name for his longest poem than *The Excursion*. Truly, he may well be denominated the *peripatetic* poet. How much this habit had to do with confirming the bent of his genius, we shall see by and by. Our only concern at present is with the inquiry, whether this youthful fondness for out of door life at school awakened in his mind that imaginative love of nature, which, whether it was a reality or a dream, made up his actual life. Is it rational to suppose that at an age so early, he had learned to invest the forms of nature almost with a personal existence, and to see under her changing aspects the expressions of personal feeling? Was this a habit of early boyhood? or was it an after growth of mature years? How came his passion for nature to be so absorbing, above all how was it that he learned to invest her scenes and changes with a personal being, so that communion with nature thus clothed with colors lent from his own creating imagination, became to him not merely the pleasure but the business of his life? In answer to these questions, questions which very naturally present themselves, De Quincey says, "we are not to suppose that Wordsworth, the boy, expressly sought for solitary scenes of nature amongst woods and mountains, with a direct conscious anticipation of imaginative pleasure, and loving them with a pure disinterested love, on their own separate account. There are feelings beyond boyish nature, or, at all events, beyond boyish nature trained amidst the necessities of social intercourse. Wordsworth, like his companions, haunted the hills and the vales for the sake of angling, snaring birds, swimming, and sometimes of hunting, according to the Westmoreland fashion, on foot. It was in the course of these pursuits, by an indirect effect growing gradually upon him, that Wordsworth became a passionate lover of nature, at the time when the growth of his intellectual faculties made it possible that he should combine those thoughtful passions with the experience of the eye and the ear." There is much truth in these remarks, though we are not satisfied that they fully explain the growth

and the strength of this peculiar passion. The passion in the case of Wordsworth was certainly peculiar, and it stands almost alone in the history of the race. No writer ever possessed it in such strength, or lived upon it with so constant and persevering a satisfaction. No Druid ever attached to the responses of the woods a deeper meaning, or worshiped their spirit with a profounder reverence, than Wordsworth from his earlier manhood. In addition to what is said by De Quincey, we venture a passing observation. A taste for active sports out of doors is nothing novel in boys who are bred in the country. The passion for adventure, the love of power and conquest, the restless desire to seek out some novelty in mountain, wood or stream, the exhilaration that is found in tiresome rambles, which when once learned invites to an eager repetition of the joy, and above all the health, the glow, the animation, which exercise in the open air always imparts, are entirely sufficient to account for this most common passion. The child, who from the necessity of a city training, or from the foolish fancy of mistaken parents, is a stranger to it, is robbed of one of the purest enjoyments of life. It is not to be forgotten, however, that all children live far more in the ideal world than we are apt to think. The imagination acts from an earlier period, and acts with greater energy, than we in our prosaic world are willing to believe is possible. The power of nature in her graver and grander aspects to excite and interest the child is not slight. If the child is conducted to the heart of an ancient forest, or suddenly made to look up or down a lofty precipice, or introduced to the wild and mysterious play of the Aurora, a sense of awe and mystery is always observed, and in the case of a sensitive child to a painful degree. We can well understand how nature should begin to excite and feed the imagination of a youth even who is fond of out-door life, and who has the opportunity to gratify and confirm this taste. The most serious hindrance to such a result, are the coarsely sensual tastes, and the low and vulgar passions, which are so often the curse and shame of boyhood. But let these be restrained by moral and religious culture and refined by intellectual training, and let there be cherished therewith a love for activity in the scenes of nature, and it cannot be but that the imagination of the youth will be powerfully influenced by external scenery. Especially will this be the case, if the habits of the child are introverted, if he be fond of roaming and of reverie, and if the scenery be in any way grand and mysterious. Strange as it may seem to those who have had no experience but of city life, or who have known the country in childhood only by the wild excitement of a brief holiday, we have known not a few who in their

boyhood have contracted a romantic interest in the scenes of their earliest rambles, and have invested them, from the first, with the intensest interest that could be borrowed from an active imagination. It is true the imagination has in such cases followed the laws which a childish fancy always makes for itself. But it is not less really an imaginative interest than that with which the educated eye, the matured intellect and the feelings disciplined by the experience of life, converse with nature as she speaks to the soul. A taste for scenery as such, is, we believe, beyond the years of youth and almost beyond those of early manhood. It requires a special education. It is developed and confirmed only by constant exercise and opportunities. But it is one thing to have an eye for the *pictures* of nature, and quite another to be strongly interested in her scenes. Indeed the imaginative interest precedes by many years the artistic eye.

If these facts are so, we are prepared to understand how Wordsworth, with his temperament and training, acquired the taste which determined his life,—how from an early period, his imagination was haunted by visions and images from the world of the eye and the ear. He was self-dependent and self-relying, fond of being alone, and of feeding his sense of loneliness by plunging into the awful stillness of nature when deserted by man. He demanded and lived upon the stirring excitement of out-door sports, and of boyish adventure. Neither care nor sickness, nor brooding anxiety, depressed his cheerful spirits. He was early taught to find delight in the pictures that poetry and fiction present, such as stimulate a childish imagination, often indeed to excess. His ear was early accustomed to the rhythm of numerous verse, and his mind was thus refined above the squalor of inaction and stupidity, while yet his intellect was never so absorbed and stupefied by study as to lose the freshness of its interest in the real world. Wordsworth was never a bookish man, hardly enough of a reader for his good, and for the perfection of his poetry. In this he was a striking contrast to Southey. Wordsworth's library did not number as many hundreds as that of Southey did thousands, and we are gravely told by De Quincey that one cause of the infrequent intercourse between the two neighbors and fellow-Lakers, was the disagreement of their tastes, on this special point. Southey studied books. Wordsworth studied nature, and not nature only, but he also studied man—other men in the joys and sorrows of their domestic and social life, and himself especially, as he was affected by the physical universe, in his power to feel and think. This last was his peculiar theme; to this point his self-inspection was mainly directed. In this respect he differs from

Thomson, Crabbe and Cowper, who are more or less the copyists of nature's pictures, while Wordsworth gives his an intensely human interest by a real or fancied relation to the feelings of men. A striking instance of this kind of observation is recorded by De Quincey. We give a part of the story as told by him, as it furnishes the clew to a great number of the poems of Wordsworth, and explains much that to many persons seems mysterious about his theory of nature. On a certain occasion, the poet and the narrator had been waiting with impatience by night on a lonely road for the mail-coach, which they expected would bring them news of the highest interest. 'At intervals, Wordsworth had stretched himself at length on the high road, applying his ear to the ground, so as to catch any sound of wheels that might be groaning along at a distance. Once, when he was slowly rising from this effort, his eye caught a bright star that was glittering between the brow of Seat Sandal, and of the mighty Helvellyn. He gazed upon it for a minute or so, and then, upon turning away to descend into Grasmere, he made the following explanation:—"I have remarked, from my earliest days, that if under any circumstances, the attention is energetically braced up to an act of steady observation, or of steady expectation, then, if this intense condition of vigilance should suddenly relax, at that moment any beautiful, any impressive visual object, or collection of objects, falling upon the eye, is carried to the heart with a power not known under other circumstances. Just now * * * at the very instant when the organs of attention were all at once relaxing from their tension, the bright star hanging in the air above those outlines of massy blackness fell suddenly upon my eye, and penetrated my capacity of apprehension with a pathos and a sense of the infinite, that would not have arrested me under other circumstances."

We have dwelt, perhaps, too long upon the question, how early it is possible that a child's imagination should be wrought upon by scenes and sports such as Wordsworth enjoyed. That the time was very early in his own case, his testimony is most explicit, and ought to be decisive. "The Prelude" gives the history of his childhood, and in it are recorded with striking minuteness, and in a language which will speak to the experience of many a man who was once a boy in the country, the well remembered awe, and fear, and hope, and delight, with which each object in nature was studied from a very early period.

But we proceed with the biography. In 1787, Wordsworth commenced his University life. This life was not a congenial one for him. His intellectual pride, his independent spirit, and his love of sincerity, were offended with sundry outworn forms of

academic life, and he was ready to accuse the entire system, especially in its religious observances, with rank hypocrisy. The studies were not agreeable to his tastes, and he chose to follow his tastes rather than his duty, and what he afterwards learned with sorrow and regret, to regard as his true interest. He was not vicious, though idle and wayward. He never drank to excess except in one solitary instance, which strange to tell was in honor of the great poet who had then begun to be his heart's idol. For it was on occasion of his first visit to the rooms of the grave and temperate Milton, that he allowed himself to be elated with wine, a fact which is singular enough in the life of so somber and grave a mortal. His life at the University was not lost to him. He pursued his favorite studies in the English poets. He became master of Italian. Above all he used the new material for observation which spread itself before him, to confirm the principles which he had begun to form, and to fix those tastes which became the masters of his life. He records in "The Prelude," the interest with which he studied the fresh and buoyant life of the youths who thronged the University—how he meditated upon the memories and revered the haunts of the great men who had hallowed the place by their presence—how he used the hollowness and pedantry of the artificial growths of scholastic dullness, to set off the contrast with the plain, strong-minded, and earnest-hearted men with whom he had been familiar in his native vales. Above all, he tells us of "the quiet and exalted thoughts of loneliness," which, though at times they gave way to empty noise and superficial pastimes, yet returned to him in his frequent resorts to nature and himself, so that the simplicity and strength of his principles and hopes were neither corroded nor broken-down by the artificial atmosphere which he was forced to breathe. He describes also his first vacation, and the delight with which he revisited the scenes of his childhood, and how each familiar object awakened a pleasure that could not be controlled. The men, too, whom he saw again not in the exaggerated forms and heightened colors of a morbid fancy, but with the severe discernment of a scrutinizing and matured vision—these appeared all more worthy of his homage, greater and nobler in their simple yet earnest life, their rough but strong sense of truth and right, than the artificial and shallow pedants whom he had left at the University. It was then and thus that he began to study man, and it was with these views of the true dignity and worth of manhood, that this poet of humanity, as well as poet of nature, fixed those convictions which, with all the offense which they occasioned, give the highest worth to his writings. It was while at the University, that he formed the purpose of devoting

himself to poetry. With this purpose in view, however dimly seen at first, he was more steady in regulating his reading and studies according to his own judgment, and in opposition to the wishes of his friends. It may here be mentioned as a singular preference for a poet, that the languages were never a favorite study with him, while his lofty and severe imagination found a strange delight in the cold abstractions of geometry, and the symmetrical progress of its constructions. Whether this is to be ascribed to the natural workings of an imagination such as his, or to the caprices of the poet's taste, we will not stay to discuss. While at the University he was restored to the society of his sister, who had been separated from him since their childhood, and who thenceforward became literally to him his better genius, his true Egeria, the softener of his harsh tendencies, the quickener of his imagination, the companion of his walks, the inmate of his house and of his heart.

Mr. Wordsworth's last summer vacation, in 1790, was spent in a pedestrian tour on the Continent, instead of being devoted to reading for his final examination. In company with a friend, he traversed France and Switzerland over the Alps into Italy, and through a part of the Tyrol. A long letter to his sister reveals his passionate interest in nature, and shows distinctly the way in which his mind was affected by the new scenes that were then given to his eye. "I am," says he, "a perfect enthusiast in my admiration of nature in all her various forms; and I have looked upon and, as it were, conversed with the objects which this country has presented to my view so long, and with such increasing pleasure, that the idea of parting from them oppresses me with a sadness similar to what I have always felt in quitting a beloved friend." "At this moment, when many of these landscapes are floating before my mind, I feel a high enjoyment in reflecting, that perhaps scarcely a day of my life will pass in which I shall not derive some happiness from these images." This tour furnishes the materials for one of his earliest poems. In January, 1791, he took his bachelor's degree. After this, he made a four months visit to London. The effect of this visit, as he has recorded in "The Prelude" the impressions which it made, was to deepen his love for the country, and to disgust him more entirely with the hollowness and degradation of the high and low life, which he saw in the city. The summer was spent in a visit to a friend in Wales, and a pedestrian tour through the northern part of the principality. In September, he went to France, then in the period of the intensest excitement of hope and ardor, before this intoxication was suddenly arrested by the reign of terror. In France, he resided till near the close of 1792, sym-

pathizing intensely with the new political and social changes, and exulting in the belief that a new era was dawning upon the world. But he was filled with horror at the change which soon came on. The massacres which he saw at Paris made the night terrible, and haunted him in his dreams, not only then, but for years afterwards. Foreboding the changes which soon were realized, he fled from Paris. But, though saddened and disappointed, he did not cease to sympathize with the republicans on the Continent. He openly avowed republican principles, declaring himself an enemy to hereditary monarchy and an hereditary peerage. In a private letter to a friend, he says, "I am not among the admirers of the British constitution." These opinions, we need not say, he afterwards entirely, and from conviction, abandoned and disavowed. He was now twenty-three years old. His friends had expected him to take orders as a clergyman, and he himself had some anticipation that he should select the clerical profession. But on account of his political views, or for lack of a definite religious creed, he decided not to take the step; and he rejected the law, as he had neither "strength of mind, purse, or constitution, to engage in that pursuit." He had just published his first poems, "The Evening Walk," and "Descriptive Sketches," which are quite unlike his later productions, except in their accurate and minute pictures from nature. He entertained the project of a literary journal, to be called "*The Philanthropist*." His pecuniary resources were exhausted. All that remained was the hope of recovering a debt owed to his father's estate, which hope had been long deferred. His friends looked upon him with coldness, as one who had wasted his college life, and worse than wasted the years that followed. His only hope seemed to be to make an engagement with some London newspaper. While waiting for a reply on this subject, he was employed in attending upon the bedside of a friend who was dying of consumption. Shortly after, this friend died, leaving Wordsworth the unexpected legacy of nine hundred pounds, simply on the ground of the testator's expectation that he would thus be enabled to do something for the welfare of man, if so far relieved from dependence and toil, as to devote himself to his poetical studies. The name of this friend was Raisley Calvert. Rare was the act of that young man—rare his thoughtfulness and good sense. Many a dispirited son of genius might have been saved from bitter disappointment and degrading cares, by such an interposition. Many a studious youth might have followed his bent with ardor and success, to the advantage of poetry, of science, of truth, if such benefactors were more frequent!

This legacy at once determined his course. He gave himself to poetry for life. It also restored him to the society of his sister, to whose influence it was owing, more than any and all other influences, that he attained the capacity to be a poet, through the gentle and feeling nature, which she strengthened within him. At this critical period, he needed such an influence more even than he required pecuniary independence. "She weaned him from contemporary politics, and won him to poetic beauty and truth." For years before, his whole soul had been enlisted in political reforms. Though never a violent reformer, and shrinking with horror from the butcheries of the French revolution, he had committed all his hopes for mankind upon the changes in their social condition which were to result from a change in political institutions. Bitter was his disappointment, desponding his future hopes, feeble his faith in the benignity of Providence, and skeptical his trust in truth and goodness, when the result of the experiment on which he had staked his entire being, not only failed to answer his expectations, but seemed likely to fulfill the hopes of its worst enemies. His state of mind is described at length in "The Excursion," in the person of "The Solitary." The process of recovery is not minutely detailed. Neither "The Prelude" nor the *Memoirs* throw as distinct a light upon this period of his life as we could desire. But both concur in the testimony that he owed everything to the influence of his sister.

"She, in the midst of all, preserved him still
A Poet; made him seek beneath that name
And that alone, his office upon earth."

Says his biographer, "She was nearly two years younger than he was, endued with tender sensibility, with an exquisite perception of beauty, with a retentive recollection of what she saw, with a felicitous tact in discerning, and admirable skill in delineating natural objects with graphic accuracy and vivid gracefulness." "Her face," says De Quincey, "was of Egyptian brown." "Her eyes were not soft, nor were they fierce or bold; but they were wild and startling, and hurried in their motion. Her manner was warm and even ardent; her sensibility seemed constitutionally deep; and some subtle fire of impassioned intellect apparently burned within her, which, being alternately pushed forward into a conspicuous expression by the irrepressible instincts of her temperament, and then immediately checked, * * * * gave to her whole demeanor and to her conversation, an air of embarrassment, and even of self-conflict, that was sometimes distressing to witness." She it was "to whom he

has acknowledged obligations of the profoundest nature, and in particular this mighty one:" "that whereas the intellect of Wordsworth was, by its original tendencies, too stern, too austere, too much enamored of an ascetic, harsh sublimity, she it was—the lady who paced by his side continually through sylvan and mountain tracks, in Highland glens, and in the dim recesses of German charcoal-burners—that first *couched* his eye to the sense of beauty; humanized him by the gentler charities, and engrafted those graces upon the ruder growths of his nature, which have since clothed the forest of his genius with a foliage, corresponding in loveliness and beauty to the strength of its boughs and the massiveness of its trunks." "She was a person of very remarkable endowments intellectually, and in addition to the other great services which she rendered to her brother, this I may mention as greater than all the rest, viz., the exceeding sympathy, always ready and always profound, by which she made all that one could tell her, all that one could describe, all that one could quote from a foreign author, reverberate as it were, *à plusieurs reprises* to one's own feelings, by the manifest impression it made upon her. The pulses of light are not more quick or more inevitable to their flow and undulation, than were the answering and echoing movements of her sympathizing attention." "Properly, and in a spirit of prophecy, was she named Dorothy"—"in its Greek meaning, *Gift of God*; well did this name prefigure the relation in which she stood to Wordsworth, the mission with which she was charged,—to wait upon him as the tenderest and most faithful of domestics; to love him as a sister; to sympathize with him as a confidante; to counsel him as one gifted with a power of judging that stretched as far as his own for producing; to cheer him and sustain him by the natural expression of her feelings—so quick, so ardent, so unaffected—upon the probable effect of whatever thoughts, plans, images he might conceive; finally, and above all other ministrations, to ingraft, by her sexual sense of beauty, upon his masculine austerity, that delicacy and those graces, which else it would not have had."—*De Quincey, Lit. Rem.*, Vol. I., pp. 270, 271.

With this sister the poet began his housekeeping at Racedown, in Dorsetshire, in 1795, and she was his constant companion, and the inmate of his family, till his marriage in 1802, and ever after.

Reading, writing, walking and gardening, were the employments of their peaceful life, which was distinguished for nothing worthy of notice in literature or any other way, till 1797, when Coleridge made his first visit to Wordsworth. In 1793, Coleridge, then a member of the University, had read the poems of Wordsworth then just published, and they had made a deep impression

upon him. In the interval, he was married and had published a volume of poems at Bristol. In 1797, he met Wordsworth for the first time, and formed that acquaintance which was destined to exert so marked an influence on English poetry and literature, and which waked such a storm of wrath and contempt as has rarely been equaled. Their intimacy ripened into a warm friendship, and it was to be near Coleridge that Wordsworth and his sister moved to Alfoxden, near Nether Stowey, where Coleridge then resided. Soon a pedestrian tour was projected for the three. To defray the expenses of this tour, a volume of poems by the two was to be prepared, and hence "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and the rest of the volume entitled "Lyrical Ballads." The volume was published anonymously in 1798, and with it commences the history of the Lake school of poets. It is true, Wordsworth had already published a few poems, and Coleridge and Southey together had published a volume at Bristol. But "The Lyrical Ballads" were appealed to by the critics as the first avowed and daring attempt to set up a new school of poetry. For the public were informed that the poems were written "chiefly with a view to ascertain how far the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes of society is adapted to the purposes of poetic pleasure." At this announcement all the respectable people took fire, that is, all who condescended to notice the book at all. The sale of the volume was very slow and a second edition was not called for before 1802, although the first had consisted of but five hundred copies. The criticism of the Monthly Reviews which represented the respectable *routiniers* in literature, is written entirely in the appropriate vein. The writer seems to have been strongly impressed with the genius of the unknown *author*, and to be greatly surprised, that a person of so much genius should on the subject of poetry, have formed a taste so shockingly vulgar. He says, "the author's first piece, 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,' in imitation of the *style* as well as of the spirit of the elder poets, is the strangest story of a cock and bull that we ever saw on paper; yet, though it seems a rhapsody of unintelligible wildness and incoherence, there are in it poetical touches of an exquisite kind." "Distress from poverty and want is admirably described, in the 'True story of Goody Blake and Harry Gill:' but are we to imagine that Harry was bewitched by Goody Blake? The hardest heart must be softened into pity for the poor old woman; and yet, if all the poor are to help themselves, and supply their wants from the possessions of their neighbors, what imaginary wants and real anarchy would it not create. Goody Blake should have been relieved out of the *two* millions annually allowed by the state to the poor of this

country, not by the plunder of an individual." And yet notwithstanding these ludicrous comments in a pompous strain of solemn gravity, the critic shows himself alive to the merits of the several poems, on each of which he remarks, and to be possessed of a candid and discriminating mind. The Edinburgh Review had not yet begun to exist. We have been able to find no other critical notice. Cottle, the publisher, says, that "the severity of most of the reviews was so great that its progress to oblivion seemed to be certain." In September, 1798, the triad migrated to Germany, where Coleridge studied German and Kant, and Wordsworth and his sister studied German, and wrote English poetry. They spent their winter apart, Coleridge at Ratzburg, and the Wordsworths at Goslar. The latter returned to England early in the spring of 1799. Near the close of that year they went to Grasmere, making a long winter walk of some twenty-one miles in a single day, and turning aside amid snow and ice to admire a half frozen waterfall. On this trip one of Wordsworth's most pleasing poems was partly composed. They found an empty house at Grasmere, and were so delighted with the scenery that the house was rented, and here the brother and sister resided for eight years. This was the first settlement of the poets in the country of the lakes. Southey meanwhile went to Portugal, and after his return he also settled in the same region, and like Wordsworth, passed here a long and busy life, each in his chosen valley, till each died in his favorite home. In 1802, "The Lyrical Ballads" were republished and accompanied by a second volume containing most of the poems that had been written since the first was issued. What is worthy of notice is the fact that this edition was accompanied by an extended essay, with a note on poetic diction. These observations contain the author's theory of poetry, his fearless criticisms on the prevailing taste, and is marked by the calm assurance of one who felt himself entitled to speak with authority on such a subject. The composition of new poems in the same vein with those previously issued, and the audacity of justifying himself in his choice of themes and diction, only provoked his critics to a more contemptuous hostility, and provided new materials for the coming explosion. In 1802, the same year in which this new edition of "The Lyrical Ballads" was published, the Edinburgh Review was started. It originated, as is well known, in a circle of enterprising and witty young men, most of them lawyers, who were bent on making a sensation in the world of politics and literature. They adopted from the first the dashing and fearless style of criticism, which has been imitated on the largest scale wherever the English language is spoken, in both journals and newspapers. Self-confident, sar-

castic, and reckless, it planted its well-directed blows against whatever it deemed false in politics and pretending in literature. Bent upon creating a sensation, it did not spare the sacred nor the venerable. It was determined to be popular. It reflected the prevailing taste, only to a keen and burning point, gathering and concentrating the convictions, the tastes, the prejudices of its audience, that it might send them back to their own admiring judgment, ready to approve, of course, what they had always believed, and seeming to appreciate the wit and eloquence with which their own verdicts were rendered, as though the wit and eloquence were their own. The new school of poetry was the finest possible subject, a mark ready furnished for the arrow that quivered on the string. Accordingly, the first number attacks the Lakers, not however in the person of the real representative and ringleader, but in that of Southey. "Thalaba" is reviewed with some severity, with hints by no means doubtful or gentle for the new school to which he was thought to belong. In 1805, another review appears, but its subject is Southey's "Madoc," the new school of poetry being still the real object of attack. No notice is yet taken of Wordsworth, or of his formal theory or his offenses in practice. It was not till 1807, that on occasion of the publication of two new volumes of poems, this journal deemed him worthy of their critical animadversion, being "glad to have found an opportunity of attending somewhat more particularly to his pretensions." The review opens with the merest commonplaces in regard to the permanent and fixed character of the ancient and orthodox standard of poetry, expressed in a severe and sarcastic tone, and then proceeds to discuss the new doctrines in a contemptuous manner. It does not state them as they were really maintained by Wordsworth. It takes no notice at all of the able discussion of the subject which he had published five years before, and of the searching criticism to which he had subjected "the pompous and inane phraseology" which had been transmitted so long from one to another, that it was worth borrowing no longer. What is more inexcusable than all, the critic, instead of confining himself to what was really open to objection in the diction of the poet, sneers at poems that are now ranked among the finest gems of English poetry.

We do not propose here to discuss Wordsworth's theory of poetry. This has been done most ably by Coleridge in his *Literary Life*. Its defects are there faithfully explored, and the merits of Wordsworth as a critic and poet are amply vindicated. There are, however, two or three points of literary history which are worthy our attention. The question will very naturally be asked, how was it that three poets so unlike as Southey, Coleridge,

and Wordsworth, should have been grouped together, and subjected to the same hostile objections, as constituting an innovating school of poets. This question is answered in part, but only in part, by the fact that they were friends, strongly attached in their sympathies and principles. As poets they were greatly unlike. Southey, except in a few pieces intended to be humorous, and Coleridge, without an exception, were neither justly open to the charge of adopting a vulgar and degrading diction. Each one is strongly marked by his peculiar excellences of thought and language, and almost as strikingly by peculiar defects. But they had this in common, that they rejected the inane and meaningless diction which had till then, with but few exceptions, been the fashion of poetry, and that they assumed a new freedom in the choice of words and in the variety of meter, asserting for themselves the same liberty, and aiming to exercise the same mastery over the English tongue which the elder poets had used. Their range of diction is vastly wider, their versification far more varied than those of their contemporaries. Their words are all used to convey a thought—they are not the stale and outworn gifts of a mechanical memory—not the gaudy patches which fashion had sanctioned since the days of Pope. The images are gathered fresh from the fields of nature, by an eye that saw their beauty and appropriateness, and a hand that plucked them from the wild in which they grew—not the wilted flowers which others had culled or the artificial imitations that had never been fragrant. The feeling is real, not imitated. Before their time, with the exceptions of Thomson, and Cowper, and Burns, it was the duty, and often the painful labor of the poet to translate the thoughts and feelings which he would express, into a studied and pattern phraseology, which could never do justice to the sentiments which he would convey, if indeed it did not itself stifle the power to think and feel at all. The merit of these poets is not, however, confined to the outward garb of diction alone. They are not to be viewed simply as reformers of the poetic dialect. It was because they had new thoughts and new feelings—because with the freedom of language which they adopted from the elder poets, they also had somewhat of the same thoughts, the same lofty principles, the same free spirit, the same strength, and fire, and tenderness, that the poetry of all was marked as having certain features in common, and having these features, was scoffed at by the critics of the day. Each of these poets had his marked and peculiar defects. Southey was diffuse and prosaic, extravagant and tedious. Coleridge was strained and obscure. Wordsworth was at times puerile, heavy, and monotonous—but these defects do not detract from their peculiar excellences, nor did they prevent

them from working the great reform in English poetry and English literature, which it is their glory to have accomplished. The high excellences of all were not appreciated, the characteristic defects of each were scarcely distinguished, but they were together subjected to the common charge of having adopted a puerile and vulgar diction. This was a charge level to the common apprehension, it furnished the finest possible theme for satire and denunciation. Under this head, after the readers had been tuned to the proper mood of contempt, the really objectionable lines could be grouped with some of the most inimitable touches of poetry, both alike could be made ridiculous, and the whole could be dismissed with the ready epithets at which the circles of fashion had learned to raise a laugh.

There was still another reason why the peculiar faults of Wordsworth were selected as the theme of reproach, and he himself was afterwards singled out to bear the burden of public contempt. He had from the first sympathized with man,—not with the artificial man of wealth and fashion,—but the real man wherever he was to be found, especially where he was true to his whole nature, to the tenderness of the domestic affections, to the dignity of independent industry, to the ties of neighborly sympathy, and to the surpassing worth of an honest and religious life. He had found his ideal more perfectly realized, at least more commonly diffused, among the dalesmen of the Lakes, than in any other community of men, and he dared claim for their humble joys and the incidents of their lowly life, the dignity of a human interest and the elevation of being worthy to be used as poetic themes. These dalesmen were small proprietors of the soil, which was endeared to them often by ancestral recollections. They were industrious, contented and virtuous, not ignorant of letters and science, yet plain in their manners and humble in their aspirations; with but little of the sharpness and enterprise of the New Englanders, they were in other respects what the inhabitants of the strictly rural parts of New England were, a century ago. These were the men with whom Wordsworth had chosen to fix his abode. From intercourse with them he sought his themes. In following their humble fortunes, in watching the workings and development of their character, he studied the soul and the destiny of man. That Wordsworth knew what he was doing in forming these judgments and in acting upon them, is evident not only from the poetry which he produced, but also from the reasons which he was able to give for these judgments. There is in the *Memoirs* (pp. 167–172) an interesting letter to the Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox, written in 1801, accompanying a copy of ‘*The Lyrical Ballads*.’ In this letter, he speaks of the dalesmen

of the Lakes, of his own views of their condition and of the dignity of their character and affections, as fit themes for his poetry—vindicating thereby, the very points in his poetry which were the theme of reproach. The reply of Mr. Fox is altogether honorable, not only as it does justice to that most humane and generous spirit which was always ready with its sympathy—but as it evinces a rare elevation above the prejudices of his time. Mr. Fox expresses his preferences for “Harry Gill,” “We are Seven,” “The Mad Mother,” and “The Idiot,” the very poems which were the standing occasions of surprise from the respectable monthly reviews, and of contempt from the sarcastic Edinburgh. A private letter in explanation of his views (pp. 194–202) deserves to be read in the same connection. But what did these young lawyers of the Edinburgh Review care for such country people as these dalesmen? Very likely they were altogether ignorant that such people had a character at all, and did not dream and had no conception of the dignity and strength of their principles, and of the tenderness and truth of their affections. Or they were so impressed by their uncouth manners and their ignorance of those conventionalities, which were to them the whole of man, that their associations with them were ridiculous only. How insufferable and idle the thought that the solemn Mr. Wordsworth should expect people of refinement to be interested in their trivial affairs! Or what did these profane lawyers care for the virtues which dignified these men in the eyes of the poet—for their earnest piety, their faith in duty and in God? It is true they professed to be the friends of reform and of the lower classes. Mr. Wordsworth had been as good a democrat as the best of them. At this time we may suppose his sympathy with French reforms had hardly died out. It might be supposed that to such a man this reforming review would be especially friendly, and especially that it would be pleased with his interest in men of humble life. But this was not the democracy which they bargained for, and as in many other cases, so was it proved true in this, that the professed friends of the people and the oppressed, care least for them except as a watchword for their party schemes.

But we return to the life of the poet, and, to take it up where we left our narrative, must go back a few years, from the point where some of our remarks have carried us. Wordsworth was married in 1802 to Mary Hutchinson, the companion of his childhood. Her gentleness of manner, the even flow of her spirits and her quiet demeanor are well described by De Quincey, and from all accounts she seems to have been in all respects suited to the man and to the kind of life which he led. That he thought so is most

evident from the beautiful lines, "She was a phantom of delight," &c., written of her in the third year of their married life. The personal addresses to her, written at different periods of their life, are some of the most interesting of his poems, and give us delightful views of the poet's domestic character. He was pre-eminently a man to be fond of his home, to whom his home was pre-eminently the world next to the interior world of thought and feeling with which indeed, the inmates of his domestic circle had much to do. He had five children, of whom two died at the ages of six and four in 1812. Here seems to be the place to speak of his means of living and his domestic economy. His poetry did not, till long after the meridian of his life, yield him any pecuniary return worth speaking of. Yet he was never straitened in his resources, never urged by the constant stimulus of writing for a support which kept Southey's pen in daily and hourly motion for forty years, and at last consumed all the life and intellect he had, long before his appointed time. The legacy of Calvert first enabled him to begin life with his sister, and to their frugal living and simple tastes, yielded a scanty but not a mean support. Soon after his father's estate yielded him and his sister more than a thousand pounds by the payment of the debt long due from the elder Lord Lonsdale, which was made by the son. After this an uncle of Mrs. Wordsworth left her some thousands of pounds. In 1814, he was appointed to the office of distributor of stamps, which yielded about five hundred pounds a-year, and this salary was afterwards nearly doubled by a new arrangement of the office. In De Quincey's language, "he has never had the finer edge of his sensibilities dulled by the sad anxieties, the degrading fears, the miserable dependencies of debt; that he has been blessed with competency, even when poorest; has had hope and cheerful prospects in reversion through every stage of his life; that at all times he has been liberated from *reasonable* anxieties about the fiscal interests of his children; that at all times he has been blessed with leisure the very amplest that ever man enjoyed, for intellectual pursuits the most delightful; yet, that ever for those delicate and easy pursuits, he has possessed in combination, all the conditions for their most perfect culture—the leisure, the ease, the solitude, the society, the domestic peace, the local scenery—Paradise for his eye, in Miltonic beauty, lying outside his windows, Paradise for his heart in the perpetual happiness of his own fireside." (*Lit. Rem.* Vol. I. pp. 351-2.) This is all very true, but it should be remembered that it is one of the rarest of all occurrences in the history of literature for a literary man to possess tastes so simple, habits so restrained and frugal, and a love for the country so decided. It is still more

rare that one with such tastes, perseveres in so constant a flow of literary activity and especially of poetic productiveness, for the love of the art, and from a conscientious desire to make the utmost of the poetic gift, for the welfare of man. Still more rare is it for one to do this, unawed by present popularity, in the face of hostile and contemptuous criticism, with the firm and unflinching faith that he was in the right, and that his poetry would at some time be read. It is no explanation of his power or of his genius to say that he was the favorite of fortune, while still it may be true that he owes much of his success to the happy circumstances of his condition, conspiring so exactly with his tastes.

Wordsworth was pre-eminently happy in his friends. He made the acquaintance of Sir George H. Beaumont in 1803, who had been attracted by the genius of Coleridge, and through Coleridge was introduced to Wordsworth. This noble and gentle spirit early took a strong and practical interest in the fortunes and future fame of the two friends, and purchased a small estate near Keswick and presented it to Wordsworth, whom at that time he had never seen. In a letter to the poet, he says, "I had a most ardent desire to bring you and Coleridge together. I thought with pleasure on the increased enjoyment you would receive from the beauties of nature, by being able to communicate more frequently your sensations together, and that this would be a means of contributing to the pleasure and improvement of the world, by stimulating you both to poetical exertions." Sir George must have been a delightful man. With a poet's eye, a painter's hand, gentle, courteous and accomplished, he was the charm of every circle, and shed a delightful light and warmth over his own rural neighborhood. Walter Scott says of him in his diary, as he records the fact of his death at the age of seventy-three, he was "by far the most sensible and pleasing man I ever knew." The only record which he desired should be engraven on his tomb, were the particulars of his age, &c., and the words, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord;" which request is to one who knew anything of the excellence of the man, one of the most impressive and touching memorials of his character. Sir George was one of Wordsworth's most constant, most trusted and best beloved friends. Well might he say of this friendship, that it was "among the blessings of his life." For this friend was ever ready to sympathize with his aims and his tastes as well as to defend him from wrong, and at death he bequeathed him an annuity of one hundred pounds to defray the expenses of a yearly tour.

The Earl of Lonsdale was also his constant friend and benefac-

tor. About the year 1805, hearing that Wordsworth had negotiated for an estate in Paterdale and had declined buying it on account of the price at which it was held, he purchased it himself for one thousand pounds, and offered it to Mr. Wordsworth, who refused to receive anything except the excess above the amount previously offered by himself. To the Earl of Lonsdale's influence he was indebted for the appointment which gave him the largest portion of his income.

The poet after his marriage in 1802, still resided at Grasmere, his sister continuing an inmate of his house. In 1803, the brother and sister took a long tour in Scotland, during which the poet met Sir Walter Scott, and received a friendly and hospitable welcome. The record of this tour, given from the pen of the sister, acquaints us with the workings of her brother's mind, shows us how one poem after another was suggested by the incidents of the journey, and how the two were ever on the watch to turn all that they saw or which befell them to a poetic use. This period also was marked by the death of the poet's brother by shipwreck, which event produced a deep impression on his mind, and is often alluded to in his poems. About this time "The Prelude," or the history of the poet's mind, was written, and laid aside for more than forty years, till its publication in 1850, after the author's death. In 1807, Wordsworth published two volumes of additional poems. "The Lyrical Ballads" had found a slow but steady sale, and had passed through successive editions. Wordsworth's admirers were few, but they were ardent. It was felt that his influence was increasing, and the *Edinburgh Review* took these new volumes in hand, in the critique, on which we have already remarked. Its remarks are not only pointed and sarcastic, but the tone is still more offensive from its superciliousness and contempt. The critic treats his subject like a school-boy, and berates the poet with but little discrimination and without the slightest deference to his avowed principles and taste, and his manifest genius. It is interesting, in this connection, to read a letter from Wordsworth to Lady Beaumont, written in 1807, the same year in which this critique was published. Her ladyship, as would seem, had been greatly distressed at the poet's unpopularity, and had expressed to him her grateful sympathy. In reply he says, "it is an awful truth, that there neither is, nor can be, any genuine enjoyment of poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live or wish to live, in the broad light of the world—among those who are, or are striving to make themselves, people of consideration in society." "Trouble not yourself upon their present reception; of what moment is that compared with what I trust is their destiny? to console the afflicted, to add sun-

shine to daylight, by making the happy happier; to teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel; and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous; this is their office, which I trust they will faithfully perform, long after we are mouldered in our graves." "Be assured that the decision of these persons has nothing to do with the question, they are altogether incompetent judges. These people in the senseless hurry of their lives, do not *read* books, they merely snatch a glance at them, that they may talk about them." "To conclude, my ears are stone-dead to this idle buzz, and my flesh is insensible as iron to these petty stings; and after what I have said, I am sure yours will be the same." The tone of the letter is that of entire indifference to present popularity. There is no anger, no vexation nor chagrin, but the expression of calm and cheerful confidence in the future triumph of his fame.

And yet Wordsworth, at this very moment, was entering upon the darkest period of his reputation. The circle of his warm admirers was indeed steadily though very slowly increasing. But the hostility of his opposers was also more decided, and for the time it was more decidedly influential, controlling the public mind for the time, carrying away all who had been half-hearted in their liking for him, by literal fear, and silencing those who might be disposed to speak in his defense. The influence of this decided attack of the Edinburgh was not slight. That journal was rapidly rushing on to the flood-tide of its popularity. Byron, with his energetic verse, and the strange attractions which he lent to passion and pride, occupied the public attention, and raised the laugh anew against the Lakers. Besides, it was well understood that Wordsworth's pretensions were of no common order, that he dared to chide the public for their failure to like his poetry, that he called in question their capacity to judge upon such a question, and boldly denounced their rage for the poets who were in fashion. This only did him harm for the time, and excited hostility and contempt from the multitude who thought themselves insulted by his insinuations. From 1807 to 1815, no new edition of his poems was called for, and a portion of the time was given by him to writing in prose. With his ardent interest in the politics of the time, he could not be silent in regard to the famous convention at Cintra, but wrote a pamphlet of great eloquence and power, which was published in 1809. In 1809-1810, Coleridge's *Friend* was written under his roof, and one memorable letter—in answer to Mathetes—was written by himself. This letter has been read by many a young man in America, as well as in England, and has done much to fix them in a generous course of self-culture, to the neglect or abandon-

ment of the usual arts of a factitious and short-lived popularity. This letter is a distinct and decided expression of his own moral ideal, and in this view is a striking manifestation of the moral greatness of the man.

Wordsworth left Grasmere in 1807; spent some months at Coleorton, in a house of Sir George Beaumont, and then removed to Allan Bank, not far from his previous residence. From Allan Bank he removed to the Grasmere parsonage. Here his children died; and from this house of bereavement and grief, he removed to Rydal Mount, about two miles distant, in the spring of 1813, which was his home till his death. At this time he received the appointment of distributor of stamps in the County of Westmoreland. At Rydal Mount he spent nearly forty years of his life. His domestic establishment was plain; his house was modest and rural in its air and its interior accommodations, and the whole economy of the family was arranged so as to conduce to that "plain living and high thinking" which were the poet's ideal. His library was never large. He read but few books and he needed but few; but those few were selected for his own uses, and in accordance with his taste. He was not indifferent to any of the smallest conveniencies, and the humbler concerns of his own household or those of his neighbors. He prided himself on his skill and care, in regard to minor things, and he lived on the most familiar footing with his friends among the poor. De Quincey gives a curious account of the impression made upon him, at his first visit to Wordsworth's house at Grasmere, by the humble style of the housekeeping, and how he was surprised to see the teakettle boiling over the fire of the sitting-room, which was also the poet's library. A friend of Professor Reed tells us that the dining-room at Rydal Mount, which he visited in 1849, was not ceiled, but the rafters were visible. And yet there was in this dwelling, taken in connection with the scenery which it commanded, such a harmony with the man and the poet, with his principles, his poetry and his life, such perfect fitness in all that was seen and heard, that we do not wonder that Miss Jewsbury wrote of it:

"Poet's lot like this hath been,
Such, perchance, may I have seen,
Or in fancy's fairy land,
Or in truth and near at hand.
If in fancy, then, forsooth,
Fancy had the force of truth;
If, again, a truth it were,
Then was truth, as fancy fair.
But, whichever it might be,
'Twas a Paradise to me."

In the summer of 1813, "The Excursion" was published. It is a fact worth recording, that the first edition, of only five hundred copies, required six years for its sale, and that another edition, of the same number of copies, sold no more rapidly. It was announced by the Edinburgh Review to its readers, by the memorable sentence, "This will never do," which opens an article of unjust, and therefore weak, criticism. In 1815, appeared "The White Doe of Rylstone," a poem which in his old age he regarded as the most perfect work which he had produced. It seems to us to combine his best features, with few of his faults. Walter Scott, who had read it in manuscript, speaks of it as Wordsworth's "masterly poem on the fate of the Nortons," and yet, the Edinburgh says of it, in the first sentence of its critique, "This, we think, has the merit of being the very worst poem we ever saw imprinted in a quarto volume," and closes the sentence by declaring that it consists "of a happy union of all the faults, without any of the beauties, which belong to his school of poetry."

In 1819, "Peter Bell" was published. This, though in the author's most offensive style, was quite popular, two editions having been sold within a year. We pass over his various tours on the Continent, in Wales, together with their poetic memorials. We cannot refrain from calling the attention of our readers to the chapter containing his opinions on education, which is given in connection with the history of this period of his life. The long letters contained in this chapter, with the address on laying the stone for new schools at Bowness, are full of good sense, profound thought and acute observation, while they breathe the most elevated moral and religious feeling. Such compositions, in prose, prove beyond question the strength and discrimination of the writer's intellect, and bear the undeniable impress of mental and moral greatness. Those who profess to slight or dislike his poetry, cannot but confess that his prose is correct, finished and eloquent, embodying always profound thought and noble feeling to a degree hardly equaled by any compositions of the present century.

Here seems to be an appropriate place to speak of his political opinions. In his youth, and his earlier manhood, he was an ardent republican. But as the French republic gave itself up to the dominion of cut-throats and murderers, his disappointment and chagrin were without bounds, and as it proceeded to declare war upon all mankind, his humanity was shocked, and his zeal for her cause, and his sympathy with her fortunes, were extinguished. This indifference gave way to active dislike, when the military despotism of Napoleon roused all Europe to arms. He

separated from the whigs on the question of hostility to the tyrant, and he most heartily cheered on his country in her struggles to drive him out from Spain, and to crush his power, and hailed the victory of the allies with enthusiastic joy and a splendid lyric ode. As was natural for one of his habits, and especially for one of such habits when instructed by experience, he attached less and less importance to external reforms, and more and more to the deepening of moral and religious principles, and to the defending them by all that was venerable in ancient manners, all that was sacred in the forms of government; while he did not abate in the least from the simplicity of his own tastes or the warmth of his interest in the humbler classes. When the reform bill was passed, he had no confidence in the measure, and protested against the proposed creation of new peers as an act which would destroy the English constitution and shake the foundations of society. The secret of his opposition lay in his utter want of confidence in the reforming party; his full belief that they were unsound in their principles, irreligious in their aims, and selfish in their hopes. Of professed reformers of all sorts he had a cordial distrust, and possibly a harsh abhorrence, believing them to be destructive and disorganizing in their aims, unscrupulous in their means, coarse and violent in their abuse, loud and brawling in their noisy demonstrations, and hollow in their professions of benevolence. It is a singular fact, that Dr. Arnold, his warm friend, who was so like the poet in purity of principle and in many of his tastes, should have held views so unlike to his in regard to certain questions of religious and political reform.

The record of the poet's life, from 1819 to 1830, contains little of striking interest relative to himself, his reputation or his writings. From 1830 till his death it presents us with changing pictures of the deepest interest. First, we have his strong interest in the reform agitation, and in the political changes on the Continent, which interest continued for years, amounting at times to the deepest distress and the saddest forebodings. Then we have his melancholy pilgrimage to Scotland, to bid the great Poet of the North farewell, on his departure for Italy. In 1803, Scott had greeted him and his sister on their first tour northward, and now, about thirty years after, he saw the "whole world's darling" tottering in decay. This tour yielded a rich harvest of poems, besides the sonnet beginning "A trouble, not of clouds," &c., written in view of Scott's expected departure. Soon his beloved sister is prostrated upon a bed of sickness, and remained in the house into which she had brought so much sunlight, an invalid for years, an object of the tenderest solicitude to her

brother. The allusions in his letters to her condition and character are frequent and touching. Writing to Charles Lamb, after receiving a copy of the *Essays of Elia*, he delights to speak of the pleasure they had given his "poor, dear sister, on her sick bed," "whose tenderness of heart I do not honestly believe was ever exceeded by any of God's creatures. Her loving kindness has no bounds. God bless her forever and ever." Coleridge, too, was yielding to infirmity, racked by bodily sufferings, which pointed to his not distant departure. "He and my beloved sister," he says, "are the two beings to whom my intellect is most indebted, and they are now proceeding, as it were, *pari passu*, along the path of sickness, I will not say towards the grave, but, I trust, towards a blessed immortality." In 1834, Coleridge died, and when his early friend read from the letter which gave information of his death, how "the last use he made of his faculties was to call his children and other relations and friends around him to give them his blessing, and to express his hope to them, that the manner of his end might manifest the depth of his trust in his Savior Christ," his voice failed and broke from emotion. Another tour in Scotland, taken in 1833, was commemorated in poems not a few.

In 1836, death entered his house for the first time since the loss of his children in 1812, and the sister of his wife, Miss Sarah Hutchinson, was taken away after a long residence in the family. In 1837, he visited Italy for the first time, and as usual made the scenes and incidents of the way furnish themes for his poetic effusions. In the summer of 1839, he was honored at Oxford with the degree of D.C.L. In the enthusiasm of the reception, Dr. Arnold took part, and the brief record which he made on the occasion furnishes a striking comment on the change which had befallen the poet's reputation since the *Edinburgh Review* had bestowed upon him its last salutation. "I went up to Oxford, to the commemoration, for the first time in twenty-one years, to see Wordsworth and Bunsen receive their degrees; and to me, remembering how old [Justice] Coleridge inoculated a little knot of us with the love of Wordsworth, when his name was in general a by-word, it was striking to witness the thunders of applause, repeated over and over again, with which he was greeted in the theater by undergraduates and masters of arts alike." In 1841, his only daughter Dora was married to Mr. Edward Quillinan. In 1845 her health began to fail, so as to render it advisable for her to seek a southern climate. In 1847, she died, to the grief of all her relatives, and especially of her aged father. Of the death of this daughter, he said that the loss of her "had taken the sunshine out of his life." In 1843, Southey had died, and he

now felt literally alone. The same year he was appointed Southey's successor to the Laureateship, which appointment after some hesitation he consented to accept. In 1844, Lord Lonsdale died, his neighbor, benefactor, and friend. In 1846, his only surviving brother, Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, was also removed. The effect of these oft-recurring deaths was most visible in the increased humility and reverence of his chastened spirit—while the loftiness of his imagination and the solidity of his judgment seemed not in the least impaired. His expressions of religious feeling were more frequent and free, and his eye looked through the visible scenery of nature which had been so long its delight, as though it would gain a distinct and satisfying view of the objects which were soon to break upon his spiritual vision. The question has often been asked, why was Wordsworth no more a religious poet—why with his strong reflective tendencies, with feelings so reverent before the grand in nature, and so ready to respond to all that deeply interests the heart of man, he should not have referred more distinctly to the sublime verities of the Christian faith, and expressed more frequently the language of devotional feeling. He everywhere takes these truths for granted, it is true—his heart is alive to the sacredness of conscience and the loveliness of Christian faith and hope—but he rarely ventures on the ground occupied by the avowedly religious poet. The answer to these questionings is to be found in his fixed principles on these subjects. Whether his views were right or wrong, they were too strong to be overcome. He feared to err in his exhibitions of truth, if he should depart so far from the representations of the Scriptures as would be required for the purposes of the poet. His reverent nature was shocked by the liberties which Milton had allowed himself—much as he honored the judgment and genius of the great poet. He would not permit the warm and ardent expression of religious feelings, from the strong dislike of his sensitive nature, to expose these most sacred emotions to the rude inspection of the multitude, and to allow the words which were chosen to utter his own heart's praises and prayers to be lightly uttered by those who could not understand the fullness of their original meaning. He did not profess to be a religious poet. He did not believe this was his gift. Rather did he regard it as his function to "elevate the mind to sacred things." He recognized a distinction between "religion in poetry and versified religion." "For my own part," he says, "I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but the contrary. I felt it far too deeply to venture on handling the subject as familiarly as many scruple not to do." But that his

own life was that of a devout and humble believer, we have the most abundant reason to be assured. His poetry could have been written by no other than a believing Christian. His attachment to the Church of England was earnest and affectionate, not by a blind and superstitious fondness for the machinery of her ritualism, but because he believed those rites to be the expressive symbols of spiritual realities. But though in this way he was a devoted churchman, he could understand and honor the Puritans who worshiped in a tabernacle unadorned, and had but little sympathy with those Oxford bigots, whose love of the Church is so profound that they can hardly read Milton with patience, because he was "a schismatic and a rebel." The life of Wordsworth was externally devout and exact. His dwelling was hallowed by morning and evening devotion, and the longer he lingered on the earth, the nearer did his soul approach to heaven.

The last twenty years of his life, from 1830 to 1850, were brightened by an entire change in respect to the public regard. During the ten years previous to 1830, the seeds had been sown which were to spring up in the sure harvest of his fame. The character of the middle and higher classes of English society was improving. A more earnest and serious spirit took the place of the skeptical and sneering tone which had been fostered by the leading reviews and certain favorite poets of the day. In the Universities and Collegiate schools, circles of young men were beginning to find a charm in the poetry of Wordsworth, and to kindle with a fervid zeal for the honor of his name. Wordsworth's offensive peculiarities were less obvious or were wholly laid aside in his later productions, while his grand and surpassing excellences stood out more prominently to the view of all candid and right-hearted men. In the year 1835, he published another volume, entitled "Yarrow Revisited," &c., which was received with universal favor. The leading reviews now begin to do him honor. He is spoken of everywhere as the great living poet of England, who had effected a change for the better in the literature of his age, and become the revered teacher of a whole generation. Not a pen writes except in his praise. The thundering shouts which greeted him from the convocation at Oxford, and the selection of his name as the only one to be thought of for the Laureateship, were but expressions of the judgment of the whole English people in his praise. On this side the Atlantic his reputation was as widely spread. Here, if possible, he found friends more numerous, more decided and more hearty than in England. Rarely has it been the lot of a poet or writer to begin with an unpopularity so decided, so determined and so long continued. More rare has it been for one to

encounter it with so much cheerfulness and confidence, such entire certainty that it would pass away. Still more rarely has it happened that it has passed away during the lifetime of the subject of it, more entirely than he himself could have dreamed, and given place to an enthusiasm as cordial as the previous unpopularity.

We would not be understood to intimate, that the man Wordsworth was without personal foibles. Doubtless he was self-sufficing to a degree somewhat inconvenient to the sensibilities of those who did not approach him in the attitude of admirers. The habits of mind which led him to dwell in lonely communion with nature, and to watch the operations of nature on his own heart, tended to make him abstract and austere in his manner. The stiffness with which he held fast to his principles, and the positiveness with which he propounded them, show that he was not pliant in his constitution. He was not a humorist. We doubt whether he could have taken or given a joke, with readiness or grace. His seriousness, doubtless, sometimes degenerated into a kind of mock solemnity. His satisfaction with his chosen range of thought, and the perseverance with which he worked at his favorite veins of feeling, the seclusion with which he confined himself to his favorite authors, and would not place himself at the point of view which was occupied by minds unlike his own, must have seemed like narrowness of mind and obstinateness of temper. Allowing all this to be true, the leading elements of his character were so noble, so pure, so humble, so teachable, so reverent, so full of love, and his prejudices were so on the side of the old-fashioned virtues of frugality, integrity and self-dependence, that we may pardon the austerity of the teacher, for the value of the lessons which he was over-earnest to inculcate, not more by his words than by his life.

We do not propose to speak at length of Wordsworth as a poet, or to go into a formal criticism of his poetry. We are quite willing to allow that his poetry has serious defects, nay, that it has positive blemishes. We admit that the great themes which are ever recurring—nature and man—though noble in themselves and developed by him in a way which has greatly enriched the world of thought and feeling, do yet recur too often amid the variety of scene and circumstance which gave birth to his poetry. We look sometimes for something else. We require the artist to exhibit a greater variety in his productions, and to show himself capable of other than this ever-recurring strain. He is often diffuse and weakens the thought by an unnecessary minuteness of detail, stating every particular with painful precision, when he might leave much to be inferred, after a bold stroke or fertile sug-

gestion. He is not condensed, energetic, passionate, wakeful. He does not arouse and hold the attention, but requires that the attention should be applied by the reader himself, and sometimes with a painful effort. His poetry is founded on local and personal themes, and often in such a way, that you must put yourself in the place of the writer, and by information other than that which the poem supplies, in order fully to enter into the spirit of his work. The biography supplies in a good measure this defect. It adds a new interest to the poetry of Wordsworth, and will be thought necessary as a commentary on his works. Indeed, hereafter, it will be hardly possible to read his poetry without a reference to his life. But ought poetry so to be written, or, if it may now and then be allowed, should this be the general rule? Making all these concessions, it still remains true, that the reason why Wordsworth is not more extensively popular is, that the calm reflection which his views of nature and of man require and presuppose, is a stranger to the mind of so many who call themselves readers. Many there are whose ear is satisfied with a jingle of words, especially to a merry movement, whether there is meaning, or pathos, or imagery, or whether there is none. There are many who are ready to be roused by some appeal to the grosser and more violent passions. Many read in such haste and so passively that they must be moved upon by the poet, and will not rouse themselves to the slightest possible co-operation. There are very many who have an ear for harmony that is refined, a practiced taste, a poet's eye, and a wakeful attention, who never meditate upon the teachings of nature, or the destiny of man; who have none of that "moral thoughtfulness" which, as Arnold justly remarked, is the attainment of few, but the charm of all who possess it. The poet of reflection cannot speak to the ear, nor paint to the eye of those who never think morally. It is no unreasonable reply which we make to all such, who find little interest in Wordsworth, that they may learn to love his poetry when they will learn to think, and that to learn to think, they will do well to read his poetry. That Wordsworth was a poet of a very high order, no competent critic will deny. His views of the art were high. His conception of the labor required for its enduring achievements was severe and lofty. His own self-criticism was unsparing. The pains which he bestowed on his imagery and his diction, were immense. The attentive student of his poems will find proofs of his skill and genius and art continually developing themselves to his view the more closely he studies him.

The influence of Wordsworth upon the literature of England was not slight, and the fact of his having exerted an influence so

great and so good, sets him apart as one of the great men in the history of literature. Even in the days of his unpopularity he made himself felt. Byron stole the sacred fire from the altar which he was not ashamed to defile by his irreverent scoffing. The influence of Wordsworth is plainly seen in some of his poems in a greater depth of meaning, in a more meditative and kindlier tone and a closer observation of nature. A school of minor poets were formed under his influence who showed the striking impress of his genius on every page of their writings, whatever is their style of poetry, whether in the sonnet, the drama, the narrative or the lyric vein. The great living poet Tennyson owes much to his master's power. Nor is this influence to be seen in the poets only. It may be traced most clearly in the writers of prose, in the greater elevation of their themes, the more refined taste, the more humane spirit, and the kindlier and more courteous tone, as well as in the higher intellectual culture, which is the consequence of the familiar acquaintance with the older English writers which Wordsworth and his associates have brought into fashion.

Still more striking, if possible, has been his influence on the mind of England, and we may add of America. The most perverse *laudator temporis acti*, will certainly not deny that an immense improvement has been going on, especially in the last thirty years, among the higher classes of educated men, in respect to purity of feeling, elevation of taste, and refinement of manners. A new element, an elevating influence, seems now to be infused into all the higher departments of literature, a spirit more reverent of God, more obedient to conscience, more fond of the beautiful and grand in nature, and more considerate of the lower classes, which is strikingly contrasted with the coarse jests, the vulgar taste, the savage satire, and vile personalities, which were not inconsistent with the highest position in the world of letters. To go back no farther than a generation, such is now the truthful and the lofty tone of English literature, that neither Byron as he always was, nor Bulwer as he *once* was, could by any power of genius, acquire the ascendancy or receive the homage which were yielded them twenty-five years ago. The youth at the Universities have felt this influence, and now-a-days we see the better classes of the educated men of England begin to take upon them more thoughtfully the question of their duties to the poor, and to cherish a kindlier feeling to the degraded and the depressed.* We do not speak here of the brawling radicals, who

* In introducing the poet to the authorities of the University, Keble uses the following language:—"Possim etiam illud docere, Academiam, ipsas que adeo literas non bene cavere posse suavitatem illam austeram et solidam, quam solet alumnos suos imbuere

brawl because of spleen or envy, or from an insane passion for notoriety—nor of the professed agitators, who carry the lowest and vilest tricks of hackneyed partisans into the temples of freedom and of God, but of the quiet but real reformers, who, in their own neighborhood and spheres of influence, are seeking to give freely of all that they have and are, for the elevation of their fellow-men. No one living man, in our judgment, has done half so much for this improvement of the principles and feelings of the educated classes in England, as the poet, who, in a selfish and sensual age, dared to dignify the joys and sorrows of humble men by making them the only themes of his poetry,—who dared to say to a fickle and worldly generation, that nature had charms to which they were utter strangers, and that worth and dignity and intellectual strength dwell rather with the man who reflects and loves, than with the most successful combatant in the strife for science, or wealth, or fame, who sells himself to win the prize. It was a wise and kindly ordering of Providence, that for two generations, while England was rushing up to unexampled wealth and power, and her educated men were in danger of being dazzled by a coarse and earthly splendor, there should be heard from a poet, who believed what he sung, the language of monition and reproof, and that these words should be uttered with the attractions of poetry. That voice has been heeded, that poetry has rested, gently as the softly falling snow, on the minds of scores of thoughtful youth, who were soon to take the highest positions of influence that are granted to birth, to art, to wealth and learning; and thus he who dwelt at first in a humble cottage, and clung to a simple life among the mountains, now is heard and felt in the splendid drawing-rooms of fashion, in the venerable halls of ancient learning, nay, we doubt not in ducal and queenly palaces; so much has the heart of old England been elevated and softened, and made strong, by his wise and healthful teachings.

This influence upon the literature and the men of his time has also been religious. The thoughtful spirit, the reverent tendencies, the kindly and humane affections, the contemplation of nature, the musing upon the destiny of man, the earnest self-inspection which are enforced by Wordsworth, and without which his poetry cannot be relished, are all eminently fitted to awaken and cherish a religious spirit. They lift the mind towards things

sapienter et bene acta pauperum juvenus. Verum huic loco satis superque me fecisse arbitrabar, Academici, si semel vobis eum in memoriam revocarem, cum præsertim is præsto sit nobis in nobili hac coronâ, qui unus omnium maximè poetarum, mores, studia, religiones pauperum collocaverit non dicam bono verum etiam cœlesti lumine. Ad ejus itaque viri carmina remittendos esse hoc tempore putabam, si qui ex intimo animo sentire vellent arcanam illam necessitudinem honestæ Paupertatis cum Musis severioribus, cum excelsa Philosophia, immo cum sacrosanctâ Religione."

sacred. They surround it with an atmosphere that invites devotion and faith. They induce the temper without which the kingdom of heaven cannot be entered. They lift the soul above the body, the conscience above the intellect, the triumphs of wisdom and patience above those of cunning and intrigue. They teach the thinker to be conscious of his ignorance, to know his weakness ; to value science and truth as it conduces to moral perfection and to the peace and well-being of the spirit. The principles and the spirit thus inculcated, are invested with the charms of delightful poetry, and are enforced by arguments so winning and powerful that they are fitted to guide the minds of ingenuous and thinking youth, in the way of life. Wordsworth's poetry has had no slight influence in causing the thinking men in England to become more religious in their character, and the literature of the day to be more Christian than it was one or two generations ago.

With all this, the life of the poet had much to do. His poetry had power, but how much more his poetry enforced by his life. There is force and truth in the remark quoted from Mackintosh that "Wordsworth might not be the greatest of poets, but he was the greatest *man* among poets."

This fact gives pre-eminent and lasting interest to the poet's life, of the close of which we can only say that it was a worthy ending to a life so good.

We intended to give a brief and condensed sketch of the chief incidents of this life. But we have found the path so pleasant, that we have been beguiled on our journey and have made it longer than we intended—not too long, we hope, for the patience of our readers.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The New Testament: a Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version.
By JAMES MURDOCK, D.D. New York: Stanford and Swords. 1851. pp. ix. and 515. 8vo.

THE Peshito Syriac version of the New Testament is a very important and interesting document in sacred literature: (1.) On account of its great antiquity, being referred by many learned men to the second century; (2.) On account of the language, which is almost identical with the vernacular language of Christ and his apostles; (3.) On account of its faithfulness and intrinsic worth, being free and unconstrained without being loose or paraphrastic; and (4.) Because the manuscripts of it are derived to us without essential variations from Maronites, Jacobites, and Nestorians, who thus become vouchers for its faithful preservation. Hence it has been highly and justly esteemed by the learned, and may be consulted with advantage on some controverted points of theology.

Our readers will be most concerned to know how this version differs from the common English version.

1. The Peshito version makes a much more frequent use of the copulative conjunction *and* to connect sentences. See Matt. 17: 12, 14, 17, 25. etc. This conduces greatly to what is called the *simplicity* of the version.

2. The Peshito makes a frequent use of the interjection *lo* or *behold*. See Matt. 3: 10. 17: 12. 10. Jo. 9: 25. 14: 29, &c. The use of this particle gives life and vivacity to the version.

3. The Peshito has uniformly *our Lord* for *the Lord*. This has probably arisen from early ecclesiastical usage, and shows the deep reverence of the first Christians for our Savior. It is remarkable that this version reads *our Lord*, Luke 16: 8, where *the lord* in the parable and not *our Saviour*, is evidently intended.

4. The Peshito clearly distinguishes between *hades* and *gehenna*, and between *devil* and *demon*, (terms confounded in our common English version,) and thus gives fixedness and weight to these important ideas.

5. The Peshito interchanges *presbyter* and *bishop*, showing that in the view of the translator these terms were synonymous.

6. The Peshito discriminates more accurately than our common English version, when *ra cabbara* is used to denote the singular. See Matt. 12: 10, 12, where our translators have improperly used the plural.

7. The Peshito employs *emadh*, (which properly signifies "to stand,") and its derivatives for "being baptized," and the cognate terms. The reason of this is not fully understood.

8. The Peshito has special omissions, (see Matt. 10: 8. 27: 9, 35. Luke 22: 17, 18. John 7: 53 to 8: 11. Acts 8: 37. 15: 34. 18: 6. 28: 29. 1 Jo. 5: 7,) additions, (see Acts 2: 14. Heb. 4: 8.) or alterations, (see Mk. 2: 26. Luke 9: 34. Acts 1: 19. 5: 4. 10: 28. 12: 15. Rom. 12: 16. Eph. 3: 1. Heb. 10: 29. 1 Jo. 1: 1.) which the reader may consult at his leisure.

9. The Peshito version, in rendering the Greek term uniformly, has not distinguished, (as in the English version,) between *throne* and *seat*, *covenant* and *testament*, *angel* and *messenger*, *apostle* and *messenger*, *washing* and *baptism*. This characteristic of the Peshito unhappily cannot be exhibited in an English translation.

These are the more important variations between the Syriac Peshito, the sacred depository of the Christian religion in the East, as held by different and opposing sects, and the *textus receptus* or received Greek text, which is represented in our common English version and is held by the different denominations in the West. The true text, as developed by scientific criticism, lies between these two, and of course is nearer to the Syriac text than is King James's version. These differences, it will be seen, are comparatively unimportant. They do not affect any one Christian doctrine. The two testaments, although they have been separated almost from the commencement of Christianity, in regions widely remote from each other, and have been preserved in different languages by men of different religious views, are, we may almost say, identically the same—a very important confirmation of the truth of our common religion.

The learned translator has performed a useful task. He has given us a correct and faithful representation of the original Syriac. His version will be read with delight by the common reader, and may be consulted with advantage by the scholar, whenever, as is often the case, he meets with a reference in his studies to that venerable Syriac version.

Justification by Faith. A *Concio ad Clerum*, delivered in New Haven, July 29, 1851. By LYMAN H. ATWATER, D.D., Pastor of the First Church in Fairfield. Published by request. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1851. 8vo. pp. 28.

THE subject of this sermon was assigned by the General Association of Connecticut. It is discussed at great length by the respected author, and abounds in passages of forcible argument and expression. It shows much reading and thought in the preparation, evincing a familiarity with the relations of the question to the doctrines of the Romish church, as well as to the controversies of our own times. The sermon is divided into the three following heads: "1. The meaning of the word justify, as used in relation to this subject. 2. What are meant by those works of the law by which we are not, and cannot be justified? 3. How we are justified only by faith in Christ." The third of these inquiries is the leading topic of the discourse. In discussing it, the author gives his theory of the atonement. In doing so, instead of developing the modes of justification in the way which has been customary with the New England divines since the younger Edwards, he has chosen another course. He sets up the Westminster Catechism for his text, and goes into a defense of the doctrine of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ as the necessary condition of justification. To do this was not only his right, but his duty, if such is his own doctrine. We have given his exposition of the subject some attention, and feel bound to say, that to argue as he does about the righteousness of Christ, only confuses the mind in the effort to clear up the meaning of the Scriptures, and embarrasses and weakens the whole argument. In the very first sentence he says, "It is to be presumed, at the outset, that a *righteous* God, judging men in reference to the claims of a *righteous* law, will justify them only in view of a *righteousness* either their own, or that of another reckoned to their account." There is in this sentence the resemblance of an argument, but not its reality. There is a play on the word *righteous*, thrice repeated; but we submit, whether the gulf is not very wide between the premises that God is righteous and judges by a righteous law, and the conclusion that he can only justify men by their own righteousness or that of another, if righteousness can only mean "conformity to God's law." Surely, the author cannot be ignorant that the younger Edwards has said with great truth, "though it has been said by divines of eminence that the justification of the gospel is the act of a judge proceeding according to law, it is plainly a mistake, and such a mistake as is plainly subversive of the grace of the gospel."

The author then adds, that 'this presumption is justified by the representations of the Scriptures: 1. That we are justified by faith in Christ as the ground of our justification. 2. That it holds up the idea of a substitution, so that by his obedience many are made righteous, or "the righteousness of God in him." 3. Faith looks to the atonement and the everlasting righteousness he has brought in as the ground of our justification.' The author surely cannot be ignorant that the phrases under the second head are thought by many orthodox interpreters to refer to the fact, that the justified are treated as righteous, and not to have the remotest relation to the righteousness, but to the atoning work of Christ, as the ground of this treatment. We ask also: Where in the Scriptures are we taught that faith looks to the atonement, and the everlasting righteousness, &c., he has brought in?

The author then raises four questions upon the definition of justification given in the catechism. The first is, "Is there a righteousness of Christ, which, when appropriated by faith, thus inures to the believer's benefit and justification?" To this he answers, "that Christ does become or furnish such a righteousness to the believer, appears from the most cursory view of the scriptural representations." The passages referred to are four. The author must be aware that

many orthodox divines give to all of these passages an interpretation different from that which he takes for granted to be the only one that can possibly be true.

The second question is, "In what does this righteousness consist?" We looked here with earnest scrutiny to see the answer. Perhaps, thought we, the author will explain the meaning of the word *righteousness*, used so freely in the Scriptures. Perhaps he will inform us, that as the same word is used for at least two Greek words, it may, in different connections, have different shades of meaning. Perhaps he will tell us that the word sometimes translated *righteousness*, is also translated *justification*, so that we need to scrutinize very closely the connection in which it occurs, in order to get at the true meaning. But we are disappointed. His answer is brief and decisive,—"I can form no idea of righteousness other than conformity to God's law." Thus the whole question is taken for granted and decided, simply, in our judgment, because righteousness in English is derived from righteous, and because a word of more limited signification in English is employed to translate a word of wider signification in the Greek. The author certainly must know that *dikaos*, in Greek, is an attribute of relation as well as of quality, meaning *right in law*, as well as *right in character*, and that *dikaioσbν*, *dikaίωσις*, *dikaλoπa*, in Greek, may have a similar breadth of meaning. After giving the answer thus briefly, he adds, "like every law, it consists of precept and penalty, and is equally righteous, equally binding, in both," and from this he argues that the righteousness of Christ saves us from penalty by suffering it in our stead, which is a negative benefit, and then obeys for us the law, which obedience is imputed for our positive good.

The author had certainly a right to vindicate this cardinal doctrine of the gospel in his own way. But the way is novel in New England, and we are not yet convinced that it is attended with any advantage. It is not the way adopted by the younger Edwards in his three sermons preached in 1785. We are aware it is the way sanctioned at Princeton, but the arguments used by Dr. Hodge in his Commentary, seem to us anything but decisive. We believe with Edwards, that "if the meaning of these propositions be that the believer is righteous with Christ's righteousness," "then they amount merely to this, that Christ has satisfied the law on his behalf, and that he, for Christ's sake, is justified and saved." This we believe to be New England theology, and what is better, to be true theology. We commend the author for his zeal in behalf of the cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith. We can only express the desire that his other able arguments had not been deformed by this unscriptural hypothesis.

The Elements of Christian Science. A Treatise upon Moral Philosophy and Practice. By WILLIAM ADAMS, S.T.P., Presbyterian of the Protestant Episcopal church, in the diocese of Wisconsin. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. 8vo. pp. 379.

THIS book should rather be entitled "A Treatise upon Moral Philosophy, &c., on Church Principles." Like Sewell's *Christian Morals*, it is an attempt to base the whole of moral philosophy on revealed Christianity, not on Christianity as revealed in the Scriptures, but as revealed in the church by men divinely commissioned to teach man his duty. We do not mean that these principles are so baldly asserted in this volume as they are in Sewell; nor that some parts of the volume are not very valuable and interesting. We speak only of the system, the philosophy of morals, so far as any is taught in the book. We say so far as any is taught, for there is a singular mixture of theology and philosophy, of science and poetry, which leads us to doubt whether the author ought really to be tried before the ordinary tribunals, and according to the principles "in such cases set forth and provided."

The author divides his volume into six books, under the following titles:—Human Nature; The Conscience; the Spiritual Reason; the Heart or Affections; The Home and its Affections; The Human Will. A glance at these titles will satisfy any one who is competent to judge that the order of scientific development cannot be very strictly observed in the transition from one of these topics to another. A few instances of the questions which are started by the author, and of the answers which he gives, will serve to convey some idea of the contents of this treatise.

Under the head of Human Nature, the author asks, "Is man's nature good or evil?" To this he answers, "It cannot be indifferent, like that of the brutes. It cannot be partly good and partly evil. It cannot be entirely evil. Therefore it must be good," adding, by and by, "but fallen." In his argument about these several answers, he treats the nature of man precisely as if it were a physical constitution, determined by its very nature to specific results. He does not recognize the peculiarity by which a nature can be moral at all. He does not reason as though a nature could be wholly good in its constitution and wholly bad by its perversion. He introduces this afterward, but not until his reasoning has been vitiated by its omission. Had he recognized this distinction, which is fundamental and elementary, he would not have indulged himself in so passionate a tirade against the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity as occurs on p. 21.

In Chap. II., he discusses the nature of good and evil. He asks, what is good? Recognizing the fact that there must be some common quality that makes all virtuous actions good, he asks what that quality is. He answers, goodness, absolutely considered, is God. Goodness in man is "that which is likest God." He scorns any other analysis than this, and says, "to a Christian, the supreme good is God; the supreme law of action is the revelation of God; the pillar and ground of it is the church;" that which applies it the spirit, and that which receives it, the nature of man.

The account given of Conscience, in the second book, is as follows: The action of Conscience is threefold,—to prohibit, to record, to prophesy retribution. In all of these offices "We attribute to this faculty a *personal power*, as if it were the influence upon us of an individual who is not ourselves." But this personal power, thus dimly recognized, can be no other than a personal God. Conscience is therefore God speaking to man. The decisions of Conscience are not "the thoughts" of men "accusing, or else excusing, one another," but the direct utterances of God. To distinguish, however, those judgments of conscience which are fallible, from those which are infallible, the author is forced afterwards to distinguish between "*Conscience, the natural faculty in us*," and the "*voice of the Holy Ghost without us*;" conscience, the eye and the light which we see; conscience, the ear and the voice which we hear. We cannot go farther into the criticism of the contents of the volume. It is most instructive to read, as it shows how the poetico-scientific way of treating theology and morals can be as readily used to sustain the highest views of church authority, as well as the most lofty notions of the sufficiency of human reason; how it is of the easiest application to the servile creed of Hobbes, as to the haughtiest independence of the modern rationalist. In respect to practical ethics, there is much truth, strikingly and beautifully set forth, showing the author to be possessed of rare elevation of mind, as well as of much practical sagacity. We regret that views so just and so forcibly illustrated, should be deformed by so feeble, so obscure, and so inconsistent a philosophy.

Select Discourses of Sereno Edwards Dwight, D.D., Pastor of Park street church, Boston, and President of Hamilton College, in New York. With a memoir of his life. By WILLIAM T. DWIGHT, D.D., Pastor of the Third Congregational Church, Portland. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1851. 12mo. pp. 382.

THIS is a volume of great interest, in some respects the most valuable that has recently been given to the public. The discourses on the death of Christ have long been out of print, and have been anxiously inquired for in vain. The discussion of the subject, as a Scriptural argument, is one of the most thorough and exhausting which has ever been produced in this country, and is a fine model of this kind of investigation. Its publication at the present time, when the subject is so much mooted in our churches, will be hailed by many of the younger clergy. These sermons are worth more than the cost of the volume. The other sermons are also models in their kind: direct in argument, forcible in style, warm and earnest in feeling. They are fine examples of what a superior mind, enriched by liberal culture, and, above all, trained by the conflicts and experience of the bar, can furnish for the pulpit, without losing aught of simplicity or clearness. Indeed we cannot but think, that in these days, when there is a tendency to almost every way of preaching, except the right way, the publication of sermons written with so little pretension, and so great excellence, is most timely. The memoir is also written in good taste, and with that moderation and self-restraint which is fit in a brother when speaking of the character of a brother. We regret that the sermon, "Forbid them not," is not in the collection, it is so full of practical wisdom and pious feeling. We hope the volume will receive, as it ought, a wide circulation.

The Life and Times of John Calvin, the great Reformer. Translated from the German of PAUL HENRY, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin. By HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S., &c. In two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 519 and 454.

THE second volume of this great work is now given to the public by the enterprise of the Carters. The obligations of theologians and scholars for this gift will be readily acknowledged. The name of Calvin is too conspicuous in the history of the church, to be exposed to reproach, from the ignorance of his revilers or defenders. His history is too intimately connected with that of theology to be left in the shade. It is of the utmost importance that there should be at hand a candid, thorough and copious biography to qualify the indiscriminate praises of those zealous partisans who ascribe a perfection more than human to the leader of their party, and to reprove the ignorant and malicious attacks of unscrupulous and prejudiced adversaries. Dr. Henry's work meets all these conditions. It is candid. This is obvious to any one who takes up any portion of the work, especially such a one as the account of the trial and execution of Servetus. The story is told in an impartial, cool and dignified manner, which enforces conviction and shames down calumny. Not only is the work candid in reality, but it will be believed to be so, from the fact that Dr. Henry, from his own position, is above the suspicion of partiality. As a German Protestant, he will not be suspected of any bias for Calvin's doctrines or character. As a Christian and student, he does not lack sympathy for his surpassing merits as a man, a scholar, and a theologian. The work is thorough and exhausting. No part of it is superficially treated, but every question is thoroughly canvassed and searched to the bottom. The contemporary history, the state of the times, the politics, secular and ecclesiastical, the personal peculiarities of all

the great actors, the local history of Geneva, its surrounding scenery, even the old divisions of the city, its walls and environs, and the modern alterations, all are held present to his view, as the back-ground and framing to set forth the story of Calvin in its right relations to the times, and in its proper relief, as contrasted with the men of his day. The references are copious, and the quotations are satisfactory. Nothing on this score is deficient, but the means are at hand for the justification or refutation of the biographer's opinions. We regret, indeed, that the work of translation did not fall into the hands of a scholar, more accurate, and more in sympathy with all the views of the reformer. We regret also the heaviness of the style, and the erudite dullness of the composition. But this is more apparent than real. To the general reader even, who will commence the reading in an earnest spirit, the interest will warm and increase as he advances, till it will rise to excitement. To the scholar and the theologian, it will be a treasure-house of constant reference and instruction. The reading of ecclesiastical history in the lives of the most eminent men of past times, is fitted to confirm the believing, to liberalize the narrow-minded, to correct those tempted to error. It cannot be too strongly recommended to the Christian teacher. The preacher is in all respects improved by it for his appropriate work. Especially is he encouraged by the lives of eminent preachers and theologians of other times. He feels that his work is great and important, and however discouraging its present aspects, and feeble its results, its fruit will remain. We mourn that so few have a taste for reading of this kind, and that of the few who have the taste, so many are limited in the means to gratify it.

General History of the Christian Religion and Church: From the German of DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the last Edition. By JOSEPH TORRAY, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Volume Fourth, comprising the fifth volume of the original, (Ninth and tenth parts of the whole work). First American Edition. Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster. 1851.

A MINUTE, comprehensive and familiar acquaintance with individual facts, philosophical skill in connecting these facts together so that the whole shall correspond as near as may be to the plan of divine providence, in accordance with which they took place, and a Christian spirit united with versatility and depth of intellect and feelings, to enter into and understand and sympathize with the great men of the church and the world,—these would seem to be some of the more important characteristics of the church historian. They were in a very remarkable manner combined in Neander. In respect to knowledge—a thorough and familiar acquaintance with the original sources,—he stands in the first rank; but it is in the power of identifying himself with the times, and of looking at the great men of various temper of mind and various character, from that point of view in which they appear as they really were, and then of estimating all these facts and analyzing all these characters with a genuine Christian spirit, that Neander is unrivalled. It is delightful to read church history under the guidance of a teacher, whose warm Christian heart, enlarged by broad contemplations of Christian life, beats in unison with whatever is good in whomsoever it may be found; who can do justice to Tertullian as well as to Chrysostom, to Bernard as well as to Abelard. It is delightful to pursue one's studies with a truly learned, a truly profound, a truly liberal, warm-hearted, catholic Christian man. And such was Neander.

The present volume brings down church history from Gregory the Second to Boniface the Eighth, almost to the fourteenth century. Among other things it

treats of the renowned schoolmen of the middle ages, Anselm, Abelard, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, William of Paris, and others. The student of philosophy and the student of profane history will find much here to interest and instruct them. It is hardly necessary to say that Neander has been very fortunate in his translator.

Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Translated from the German by E. C. Otté. In three volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff Street. 1851.

THIS is one of the great works of the present age, if not the very greatest. The vast circuit which it takes through the regions of knowledge, the precision and directness with which it speaks of the difficult question of science, the comprehensiveness of its views and the accuracy of its details, all make it a most remarkable work. Humboldt, it is not too much to say, is the only man living who could have written it. The first volume was published in Germany, in 1845, the second in 1847, the third not till very recently. But although the work has been written within a comparatively recent period, the fundamental principle of it—"the combination of cosmical phenomena in one sole picture of nature"—was announced more than twenty years ago, in the public lectures of the author. The idea then announced has been at length realized. There have been three translations in England. The present publishers have done well in adopting the translation of E. C. Otté, and in following the edition of Bohn. And in every respect, the American is equal to the English edition.

The Philosophy of Mathematics: Translated from the Cours de Philosophie Positive of AUGUSTE COMTE. By W. M. GILLESPIE, Professor of Civil Engineering and Adj. Professor of Mathematics in Union College. New York. Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff Street. 1851. 8vo. pp. 260.

WE have read this book with much pleasure and instruction. We agree entirely with the estimate which the translator has made of it. It is the opinion of mathematicians, we believe, that it contains the best classification of the several sciences included under the general term Mathematics, which has as yet been proposed. Indeed, in point of simplicity, sharp and definite distinctions, and masterly development, we see not what more is wanted. We observe there has been some controversy in the religious newspapers as to the position which Comte holds in the world of science, and the translator has been somewhat blamed for the way in which he has spoken of him. Possibly a fuller account of the author would have been better; but if this is actually the best work on the subject of which it treats, as we suppose it to be, we see no objection against saying so.

The History of Rome. By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, Head Master of Rugby School, and Member of the Archæological Society of Rome. Three volumes in one. Reprinted, entire, from the last London edition. New York: Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. 1851. pp. 670.

THIS history of Dr. Arnold is so well known that no criticism is needed in a notice of this kind. It will be sufficient to say, in regard to this edition, that in printing the three volumes in one, the publishers have made the work much more convenient as a text-book for school; and we are glad to learn that it has been extensively used for this purpose.

London Labor and the London Poor: A Cyclopædia of the condition and earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work, and those that will not work. By HENRY MAYHEW. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 83 Cliff street. 1851. pp. 531.

THIS work uncovers a world of heathendom existing in the midst of the highest civilized and the most christianized nation of Europe. We felt, in glancing over its pages, that the world of abominations which the Apostle Paul so graphically describes, was here restored to life. Some commentator has remarked that the disinterment of Herculaneum and Pompeii confirms all that the apostle has said even when applied to the most civilized nations of antiquity. But we doubt if there is any debasement depicted in these disinterred cities which is more horrible than what has been brought to light, not from hidden recesses, not from burrows under ground, but in the lighted streets of London and on the fair fields of England. It lies within sight of the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster. But not the least remarkable thing about these disclosures is, that the large majority of the people who make up this world within the world of London, are engaged in the ordinary avocations of life. They are tradesmen. They sell articles of diet and wearing apparel, cheap luxuries and cheap literature, as well as the cheap incitements to vice. They have their laws of trade, their competitions, their upper and lower classes, their wholesale and retail merchants, their authors, their literature, in its several classes, from a merry ballad to a horrible tragedy; their theaters and their operas, but no school-house, no church, no household. It is men and women, with every restraint removed but that of brute force, laboring but just to escape starvation, debased by harsh and dreadful poverty, "without hope and without God in the world."

Is it possible that this state of society has been suffered to grow up without guilt by that *National Church*, the most richly endowed of any in the world, which claims, as its peculiar mission, to teach the *whole* people of England the way of life? We trust that the disclosures made in this volume may be the means of arousing the Church of England to its duty in this matter, and may serve as a lesson to our own countrymen not to suffer such things to take a start in any of our cities. If this should be the result, the publication will be timely; though we must acknowledge, we doubt whether the *general* circulation of the volume will be of any advantage to the community. It is not safe always to describe vice, even with a good intent.

Literary Reminiscences; from the Autobiography of an Opium Eater. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. New Haven: T. H. Pease. 1851.

WE have heretofore spoken of this collection of the writings of De Quincey. We need not repeat what we then said upon the great value of his productions. But the present volumes of literary reminiscences possess a peculiar interest. De Quincey lived for many years in the neighborhood of Wordsworth and Southey, and was intimately acquainted with Coleridge, Lamb, Wilson and other men of letters, especially of that class who denied the supremacy of the *Edinburgh Review*. We have here his recollections of those distinguished men, and in some respects he gives us a different view of the "society of the Lakes," from that we had before entertained. But a work containing the literary reminiscences of such men as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Southey, Davy, by such a man as De Quincey, needs only to be made known to be welcomed by every student of English literature and by the general reader.

Posthumous Poems of William Motherwell, now first collected. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851.

MOTHERWELL is a true poet. He moves in the domain of fancy, not like a stranger, but like one whose home and possessions are there. His lyrical poetry is remarkable for smoothness of rhythm and beauty of diction. Tenderness and delicacy characterize his thoughts, simplicity and naturalness his expression. There is nothing in this volume equal to the choicest pieces in the earlier collection of his poems; though this volume, like that, is characterized by great ease of versification and delicacy of sentiment, and often by exquisite beauty of expression. The pensive pieces lack the depth of pathos, and the warlike ones the vigor, which mark the best of his productions. Yet, there are gems in this collection, such as, "The Rocky Islet," and "Oh, think nae mair of me," which will make it welcome to his numerous admirers.

The History of the United States of America, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress. By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Volume II. John Adams & Thomas Jefferson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851. 8vo. pp. 686.

THIS volume is filled with much interesting matter. It contains the history of the violent contest which resulted in the overthrow of the Federal party, and the predominance in political power of the Democratic party. The idolaters of Thomas Jefferson will not be much pleased with the exhibition which is here made of him, or rather which, by means of his letters, he is compelled to make of himself. Others, who would be glad to see full justice done to him, will think, perhaps, there is still needed a comprehensive and philosophical development of his whole character.

Appleton's Dictionary of Machines, Mechanics, Engine-work and Engineering. Illustrated with four thousand engravings on wood. In two volumes. Vol. I. pp. 960. Vol. II. pp. 960. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1851.

WE have several times, during the publication of the successive numbers of this work, spoken in its behalf. And now that it is completed, we again commend it to the attention of our readers. A glance even at its pages will give one a high opinion of the great extent of the domain of mechanical science. It would seem as if almost everything was done by machinery. The work has been prepared with uncommon care and at great expense; it is beautifully printed, on good paper, and the drawings are every way admirable. It is an equal honor to publisher and editor. Such a work was much needed, and we doubt not it will be extensively useful.

The Literature and the Literary Men of Great Britain and Ireland. By ABRAHAM MILLS, A.M., Author of *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres*, &c. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

THESE volumes contain a course of lectures which the author has delivered professionally during the last twenty years. The title gives a sufficiently correct idea of what may be found in the work. The author treats first of Anglo-Saxon and of Anglo-Norman literature; he then commences with the first production in the English language, and traces the course of English literature down

to the age of Johnson, with which he ends. He gives a short biographical sketch of each author, mentions their principal works, and adds extracts from their writings. These selections are well made, and the sketches accurately drawn. The reader, however, will not meet with much criticism, and what there is does not go beyond the range of Blair. The scholar will be a little surprised to find the author assuming, in regard to Ossian, that he actually composed the poems attributed to him by Macpherson. Indeed, he calls him "the brightest and perhaps the only ornament of the Celtic age." We think this question ought to be considered as settled. We cannot commend the work for profound criticism, but the reader will find a connected account of the principal English writers with well-selected extracts from their writings.

Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson, late Minister of the Free Church of Scotland. By the Rev. JOHN BAILLIE, Linlithgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851.

WE take a great deal of pleasure in making our readers acquainted with this memoir. The editor has well expressed, in a few words, what they will find in it—"Genius and high scholarship, dedicated to the service of Christ, and laid a living sacrifice at his feet, is the life sketched in these pages." Dr. Kalley and Mr. Hewitson were the two principal instruments in the great work of reformation in the Island of Madeira. Dr. Kalley laid the foundation and Mr. Hewitson reared the superstructure. While the work was in progress, prudence required that the details should not be published. There is now no longer any reason for withholding a full account of what has been well called "the greatest fact of modern missions." The Christian world should know the history, both external and internal, of a work which, in one of the darkest spots of Popery, rescued so many souls from her grasp. Such a history will be found in this volume. It is the first account of the whole work we have had, and its authenticity is placed beyond all doubt. Dr. Kalley himself has given an account of its first stages, in a series of "Notes," contributed by him for this memoir, while Mr. Hewitson's letters and journals furnish the remainder.

Memoir of Adoniram Judson: Being a sketch of his Life and Missionary Labors. By J. CLEMENT, Author of "Noble Deeds of American Women." Auburn: Derby & Miller. 1851.

THIS volume comes before the public with sufficiently modest pretensions. It claims to be little more than a compilation, and contains but little biographical matter that has not already been given to the public. It can be viewed only as an outline sketch of Mr. Judson's life and missionary labors. It even announces that a more extended memoir—from the pen, we suppose, of Mrs. Judson, already a favorite authoress—is in process of publication. Such a work, giving a more detailed history of the Baptist missions in Burmah and Maulmain, is certainly demanded, and will be anticipated with no little interest. So far as the present will prevent the sale of the larger memoir, we regret its publication, but so far as it may operate to excite higher interest in the devoted Judson, father as he was of the American Baptist missions, and render the work by Mrs. Judson more extensively useful and pecuniarily profitable to herself, we rejoice. Viewed as introductory only to that work, the volume by Mr. Clement, executed as it is with no little merit, will be favorably received. It is issued by the publishers in good style, and, for a time, at least, will meet a ready sale.

Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, late Rector of Walton, Herts. By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. With an Introduction by STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851. pp. 398. 409.

THE name of Bickersteth is well known in the church of Christ. Without brilliant talents, without profound genius, without extensive scholarship, he accomplished far more than is good and enduring than many who possess all these. Of sober but ardent and energetic piety, of great earnestness and force of purpose, and of thorough business habits, acquired in the study and practice of the legal profession, he was well qualified for the position he held in the church of England—a position in reality far higher than that of the majority of her bishops. He was prominent in every good work, for many years secretary of the Church Missionary Society, a leading member of all the other religious societies of the day, and, as his final labor, an ardent promoter of the Evangelical Alliance. As an author, his writings are of a practical kind, and the many readers which he has had in all denominations will be glad to see this memoir.

The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, Condensed from the larger work. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A., author of the "Pictorial Bible," "The History and Physical Geography of Palestine," etc., and editor of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. Assisted by Rev. JAMES TAYLOR, D.D., of Glasgow. Illustrated by numerous engravings. Boston: Published by Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. 1851.

KITTO's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature has a well earned and deserved celebrity. It embodies the products of the ablest and latest researches in Biblical literature, and is the result of the contributions, not only of the editor, but of many writers eminent in the various departments of that great field of study. It is high commendation of this Popular Cyclopædia to say that it is Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, adapted to the use of parents and teachers of the young and the public generally, by a condensation of most of its matter, and the entire omission of some articles more interesting and valuable to clergymen and theological students than to general readers; and that both parts of this abridging process have been performed judiciously and skillfully. We predict for it a wide circulation among the religious public.

Daily Bible Illustrations; Being original readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the family circle. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A., editor of the "Pictorial Bible," "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," &c. Solomon and the Kings, &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851.

THIS volume, treating of Solomon and the Kings, completes the series of Bible illustrations. The reader is now furnished with a reading lesson for every day in the year. It was the design of the author to embrace the whole Bible within the range of these lessons, but he has been compelled by the abundance of his material, to limit himself to the historical books of the Old Testament. He now proposes to prepare a new series, founded upon the remaining portions of the sacred writings. We hope he may do so. The author is admirably qualified for the work he has undertaken. The plan is a good one, and the execution of it thus far has been equally good.

The Rainbow of the North: A short account of the First Establishment of Christianity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society. By S. TUCKER. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851.

THIS small volume contains an account of the first establishment of a Protestant mission within the domains of the Hudson's Bay Company—within a region which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and northwards from the Canadas and the United States to the utmost limits of the American Continent. The first mission was established at the Red River colony. This was in 1820, just one hundred and fifty years after Charles II. granted a charter to Prince Rupert and his associates to undertake an expedition to Hudson's Bay, and conferring upon them the exclusive right of trade in that region. This was the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company. The missionary efforts which were commenced in 1820 have been continued to this time, and with such encouraging success, that in 1849 there was appointed a bishop of Rupert Land. This volume gives a history of these missionary efforts, and it powerfully illustrates how the missionary spirit in every branch of the church of Christ will bring out the self-denial, faith, hope and charity of our common Christianity.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. 1851.

THE brief prayer which our Lord gave to his disciples for their instruction is so well adapted to all hearts, and to all ages, scenes and emergencies, that, though treated by a multitude of writers, it is not exhausted, but is a fountain of thought ever fresh and rich. We welcome this additional volume on that subject with pleasure, as indeed we do every volume from the pen of Dr. Williams. He is one of the best writers of the country, and has no superior in his own religious denomination. We rejoice that our Baptist brethren have such a star in their literary and theological firmament.

This volume consists of nine lectures, one on each clause of the Lord's prayer, preceded by an elegantly written preface of a few pages, and followed by an appendix composed chiefly of pertinent and choice extracts from select and able expositors of the same portion of the Scriptures. The style of the volume is pure, chaste, simple and classical; and its thoughts are earnest and practical, while they are often select and fresh, and occasionally profound. It is a valuable addition to our practical religious literature.

An Exposition of the Apocalypse: In a Series of Discourses. By THOMAS WICKES, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Marietta, Ohio. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, City-Hall Square. 1851.

THIS is a series of twenty-seven sermons, in which the author endeavors to bring out and down to the popular apprehension, the meaning of the Apocalypse. His object is so to develop the nature of the symbols employed in that sacred book, that all can judge for themselves whether he makes a right application of them in coming to his conclusions. He adopts Mr. Lord's principle of interpretation, though he arrives at different results on some important points. They who agree with the judicious book of Mr. Brown, on the Second Advent, which we noticed some time since, will not accord with Mr. Wickes's views of the millennium. This is doubtless one of the many expositions of the Apocalypse which are contributing, perhaps, to a correct understanding of its meaning: though when we sit down to read any of them, we are reminded of the remark of

Scaliger, that "Calvin showed his wisdom in declining to write an exposition of the Apocalypse;" and, when we rise from the perusal, we are not fully convinced that Scaliger was not right, and that all other writers might not wisely have followed Calvin's example.

The Star of the Wise Man: being a commentary on the second chapter of St. Matthew. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B.D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. 16mo. pp. 116.

WE always read the works of this author with great pleasure. He unites a familiarity with the writings of the Fathers with an intimate acquaintance with the modern critics, and presents the results of his learning in an agreeable and winning style, while he never forgets to mellow his compositions by a strain of graceful and earnest pious feeling. The chapter which is the subject of this work is a fine subject for his pen. We regret only that he has not tried upon it his powers of severe and learned criticism. The volume is, however, instructive and interesting.

P. S.—We learn by a communication in the Boston Traveller, (July 22d), and from other sources, that certain remarks in a literary notice of Agassiz and Gould's Zoology, published in our May number, involve matters of a personal nature. We beg leave to say that we were not aware of the fact, and that if we had been, we should not have published that part of the notice.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WE have found it difficult to notice works which are published in successive numbers. We shall hereafter merely report the progress of such publications, after we have once informed our readers of the character of the work. There are also some books which, either from being well known, or for other reasons, do not require an extended notice; these we shall place under the present head.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or Illustrations by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics and Traditions of the War for Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. With six hundred Engravings on wood, by Lossing and Barrett, chiefly from original sketches by the author. New York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. 1851. Nos. 1-17.

Every additional number only convinces us more and more, of the great and permanent value of this work.

English Literature of the Nineteenth Century: On the plan of the author's "Compendium of English Literature," and supplementary to it. Designed for college and advanced classes in schools. By CHARLES D. CLEVELAND. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, No. 6 South Fifth Street. 1851. pp. 738.

The selections in this volume are all good, and the account of the several writers well drawn up. We cheerfully commend the volume to the attention of teachers and others.

Popular Anatomy and Physiology, adapted to the use of students and general readers. By T. S. LAMBERT, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. With one hundred and fifty wood-cuts and beautiful lithographic descriptive illustrations. Portland: Sanborn and Carter. New York: Leavitt and Co. New Haven: A. H. Maltby. 1851. pp. 407.

Practical Anatomy, Physiology and Pathology: Hygiene, and Therapeutica. By PROF. T. S. LAMBERT. Illustrated by five colored plates and over one hundred wood engravings. Portland: Sanborn and Carter. New York: Leavitt and Co. New Haven: A. H. Maltby. 1851. pp. 258.

The title page of these works gives a sufficiently good idea of their contents. They appear to be well adapted to the end in view, and we understand they have been introduced into several schools.

Greek Ollendorff; being a progressive exhibition of the principles of the Greek Grammar: designed for beginners in Greek, and as a book of exercises for Academies and Colleges. By ASAHEL C. KENDRICK, Professor of the Greek language and literature in the University of Rochester. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 371.

This seems to us in every respect by far the best book of the kind which has yet been issued. It deserves the attention of parents and teachers.

The Exercise of Faith, in its relation to authority and private judgment. By the Rev. M. MAHAN, A.M., assistant minister of St. Mark's church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1851. 32mo. pp. 183.

The author of this book has recently been elected Professor in the General Theological Seminary in New York. The curious reader may learn from this volume his position in regard to a point of much interest in his church.

The Elements of Algebra, designed for beginners. By ELIAS LOOMIS, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the University of the city of New York, author of a "Course of Mathematics," "Recent Progress of Astronomy," &c. New York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff Street, 1851. pp. 260.

We should judge this book to be very well adapted for beginners.

A Manual of Roman Antiquities with numerous Illustrations. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, Rector of the Grammar School, etc., etc. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff Street. 1851. pp. 451.

This, we have no doubt, will be found a useful work.

History of Josephine. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. pp. 328.

History of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. By JACOB ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. pp. 318.

We have heretofore expressed our high estimate of this series of histories. We need do no more now than announce the publication of these two volumes.

Oration pronounced before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, July 17, 1851. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D. Albany: Gray, Sprague and Co. 1851.

This oration is written with the same refinement of taste which characterizes all Dr. Sprague's productions.

Naomi; or the Last Days of Jerusalem. By MRS. J. B. WEBB. First American, from the ninth London edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1851. 12mo. pp. 422.

A Book of Romances, Lyrics and Songs. By BAYARD TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields. 1852. pp. 153.

We received this well printed volume too late to enable us to prepare a notice of it for the present number.

For the same reason we omit to mention a few other books which we have received.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX.

A.

Adams' Appleton's Mechanic's Magazine and Engineer's Journal, noticed, 318.

Adams' Elements of Christian Science, noticed, 619.

Aguilar Grace, Women of Israel, noticed, 151.

American Almanac for 1851, noticed, 149.

American Character, the Puritan Element in, 531.

Puritan Element in the American Character; The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, History and Genealogy of the Davenport Family, reviewed, 531. Pride of Ancestry, remarks upon, 532. New England knows her origin; its character, 533. Traits of the national character in which the Puritan element is seen, confidence in the nation's destiny, and yet a vigorous application of means to attain the desired end, 536. Spirit of adventure and love of home, 538. The principle of Conservatism combined with that of reform, 539. A jealousy of encroachments against freedom, and yet a spirit of submission to law, 541.

Amusements; A plea for amusements. By Frederic W. Sawyer, 345. Rest, diversion, recreation defined, 346. Amusements defined, 347. Are they Scriptural? 348. Their expense, their moral character, 350. Objections answered, 351. Laws and rules of recreation, 355.

Andrews, E. A.; His Latin-English Lexicon, noticed, 144.

Appleton's Dictionary of Mechanics, noticed, 625.

Arnold's History of Rome, noticed, 623.

Atwater's Concio ad Clerum, noticed, 618.

B.

Baldwin, Hon. Simeon, sketch of the life and character of, 426. Parentage and early life, 427. Residence and study with his brother, Rev. Ebenezer Bald-

win, of Danbury, 427. Character of his brother, 428; his death, 429. Mr. B.'s college life, 430; his public life, 431; his domestic life, 432; his religious life, 432; his intellectual and moral qualities, 438; his death, 437.

Baptized children, relation of to the church. Hall on Baptism, reviewed, 372. Dependence of the race on the conduct of the first pair, 373. Welfare of children dependent on the conduct and character of parents, 374. Their power to mould the character of children, 375. The Abrahamic covenant. What was it? Is it still in force? Its import in relation to baptized children, 376-382. Objections answered, 382. Importance of revived interest in this subject, 384-388.

Bards of the Bible; by George Gilfillan, reviewed, 198.

Barrow, Dr. Isaac. The works of Isaac Barrow, D.D., &c., reviewed, 498. In what class of thinkers and writers is Barrow, 499. Will not be liked by dialecticians, or those of the directly opposite tendency, or those who love the modern smart style, 499-502. He is distinguished by his great copiousness, 502. Absence of prettiness or conscious beautifying of style, 503; by his courage, in thought and in speech, 505, 510.

Bartlett, W. H. C., LL.D.; Elements of Natural Philosophy, noticed, 158.

Benevolence, Systematic. The Divine Law of Benevolence; by Rev. Parsons Cooke. Zaccheus, or the Scriptural Plan of Benevolence; By Rev. Samuel Harris. The Mission of the Church, or Systematic Benevolence; By Rev. E. A. Lawrence. Reviewed, 14. Forty-first report of the A. B. C. F. M., table of receipts, increase of, during its whole existence; little advance in the last ten years, 14. Is the Christian public less interested in missions? 16. Necessity of a systematic plan, 18. The bearing of the works reviewed on this point, 19. A more comprehensive discussion desirable, 21. Relation between the

- use of wealth and religious prosperity, 22-28.
- Bigelow*. Jamaica in 1850, noticed, 155.
- Brown on the First Epistle of Peter. Expository Discourses on First Peter*; by John Brown, D.D., reviewed, 242. The work characterized, 244. Requisites of expository preaching, 247. It should have unity, 247; should be historical, 249; and practical, 252. Advantages of expository preaching, 254-261.
- Brown, Rev. David*; his Second Coming of Christ, noticed, 152.
- Brown, Rev. John, D.D.*, on the First Epistle of Peter, reviewed, 243.
- Brown University*; President Wayland's report to the Corporation, reviewed, 110.
- Buttman's Greek Grammar*, noticed, 459.

C.

- Campbell's Age of Gospel Light*. The Age of Gospel Light; or the Immortality of man only through Christ. By Z. Campbell, reviewed, 544. The book teaches that the good are made immortal and the wicked are annihilated, 545. Is death, according to the Scriptures, an extinction of existence? This question discussed, 545. Texts which declare that some who have died are still in existence, and others which speak of the existence of man after death; Mr. Campbell's explanation of them, examined, 546-553.
- Campbell, Life and Writings of*. His Life by Beattie, and his poetical works, reviewed, 261. Sketch of Campbell's life, 262; his parentage, 263; birth, boyhood and university life, 264-266. Pleasures of Hope, written when, 267; characterized, 271. His residence at Sydenham, 273. Gertrude of Wyoming, 277. Residence in London, 280. Campbell, the founder of the London University, 281. Death of his wife, 282. His zeal in behalf of Poland, 283. His lyric poems, of the first rank, 285. His death, 289.
- Caucasus. Circassia; or a Tour to the Caucasus*; by G. L. Ditson, reviewed, 88. Object of the article to give an account of the Circassian nations, and of the war among them, 90. Their country, 90; its inhabitants, their tribes and population, 92; their languages, 93; their religions, 96; their political institution, 97. Degree of civilization and natural characteristics, 100. Origin and account of their war with Russia, 101-109.
- Chapin, Rev. Aaron L.* His Inaugural Address, reviewed, 110.
- Christian Civilization*; Physical Science and the Useful Arts related to, 481.
- Christianity revived in the East, &c.* By H. G. O. Dwight, noticed, 153.
- Christ in Theology*; by Horace Bushnell, D.D., noticed, 310.
- Christ's Second Coming; Will it be premillennial?* by Rev. David Brown, noticed, 152.
- Cobbin, Rev. Ingraham*; the Illustrated Domestic Bible, noticed, 156.
- Collegiate Education, Reforms in*; Reports and Addresses of Presidents Wayland, Woolsey, Mahan, and Chapin, reviewed, 110. Question discussed. Has the system of education in the New England Colleges generally (as alleged respecting that of Brown University) failed of a support from students, and to give the education required by the times; the arguments of President Wayland on this point considered, 113-128. The new system proposed by President Wayland; the advantages claimed for it considered, 128-137. Miscellaneous criticisms on Pres. W.'s report, 137-144.
- Colonization, African*, and steamships to Liberia discussed, 70.
- Cooke, Rev. Parsons*; the divine law of beneficence, reviewed, 14.
- Comte's Philosophy of Mathematics*, noticed, 623.
- Congar Obadiah*; H. T. Cheever's autobiography and memorials of, noticed, 466.

D.

- Daggett, Hon. David*; sketch of the life and character of, 296. His parentage and early life, 298. Academical and professional course of study, 297. His political offices and service, 300. His eminence, 301. Analysis of his intellectual character, 302. His social and domestic life, 305. His religious life and character, 306.
- Dana, Richard Henry*; *Poems and Prose Writings*, reviewed, 28. His language chiefly Saxon, 29. Familiarity with early English writers, 30. Musical flow and cadence in prose, 31. His sincerity, 31. Melancholy tone, 32. True perception of inanimate nature and outward changes, 33. Strong moral impression, 34.

Davidson, Rev. Dr. Samuel; his Introduction to the New Testament, reviewed, 35.

Davis's Half Century, noticed, 311.

Devotional Sacred Music of America, noticed, 317.

Dickinson, Richard W.; His Responses from the Sacred Oracles, or the Past in the Present, noticed, 155.

Ditson, G. L., Circassia; *reviewed, 88.

Divine Government, Method of; by Rev. James McCosh, noticed, 151.

Domestic Architecture, Architecture of Country houses, &c.; by A. J. Downing, reviewed, 57. Relation of material to spiritual life, 58. Greater attention to domestic architecture, 60. Architecture becoming a profession, 62. Account of Mr. Downing's book, 64-70.

Downing, A. J.; The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste, noticed, 158.

Downing, A. J.; Architecture of Country Houses, reviewed, 57.

Dwight's Discourses, with a Memoir, noticed, 621.

Dwight, H. G. O.; Christianity in the East, noticed, 153.

E.

Ecclesiastes; Prof. M. Stuart's Commentary on, noticed, 471.

Egypt, the Monuments of; by Francis L. Hawks, reviewed, p. 1. Object of the work, 4. Mode of argument, case of Joseph, 5-9. Providential agency in preserving these monumental confirmations of the Bible, 11-13. Other bearings of the subject, 13.

Endless Punishment, a result of character; Letter to a young clergyman. Life and correspondence of John Foster, reviewed, 186. Foster's error in regarding future punishment an arbitrary infliction, 186. Ruin necessarily results from a sinful character, this argued and illustrated, 187-197.

English Grammar; The English language in its elements and forms, with a history of its origin and development. By William C. Fowler, noticed, 153.

Everett, Edward; *Orations and Speeches on various occasions*, reviewed, 44. Their variety, 46. Extent and variety of knowledge communicated in an unpretending and practical manner, 46. Moral feeling, 47. Progressive and yet conservative, 48. Graceful and eloquent, 49. Important contribution to the history of the country, 51.

F.

Florida; Hernando de Soto's Conquest of. By Theodore Irving, noticed, 468.

Fowler, Wm. C.; His English Grammar, noticed, 153.

G.

Gilfillan, George; The Bards of the Bible, reviewed, 198.

Greece; Language and Literature of Ancient Greece. By William Mure, of Caldwell, reviewed, 161-186.

Green's History and Geography of the Middle Ages, noticed, 317.

H.

Harris, Rev. Samuel. Zaccheus, or the Scriptural plan of Benevolence, reviewed, 14.

Hawks, Francis, D.D., LL.D. The Monuments of Egypt, reviewed, 1.

Health and Disease. Works of Dr. Moore, Dr. Howe, Prichard and George Combe, reviewed, 223. Dignity of the Body—Laws respecting it which cannot be transgressed with impunity, 223. Health, the law; Disease, results from violation of law, 224. Duties of parents respecting health of children, 226. The mortality among children, its causes, 229. Insanity, its increase and its causes, 232. Health and training of women, 235. Overtaking a cause of disease, 237. Restatement of Positions taken in this article, 242.

Health. Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health by the Massachusetts Commissioners, noticed, 465.

Henry's Life and Times of Calvin, noticed, 621.

Hildreth's History of the Constitution of the United States of America from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to end of the sixteenth Congress, noticed, 472, 625.

Hollier, G. H. His Mount Hope, noticed, 475.

Hugh Miller's Old Red Sandstone, and Footprints of the Creator, noticed, 315.

Humboldt's Cosmos, noticed, 623.

Huntington, D. General View of the Fine Arts, Critical and Historical, noticed, 157.

Hunt's Poetry of Science, noticed, 315.

I.

Ik. Marvel's Reveries of a Bachelor, noticed, 318.

India and the Hindoos; by F. De W. Ward, noticed, 154.

India, two years in Upper; by John C. Lowrie, noticed, 155.

Irish Confederates; by H. M. Field, noticed, 474.

J.

Jamaica in 1830; by John Bigelow, noticed, 155.

K.

King, Hon. T. Butler; Letter on African Steamships, reviewed, 70.

Kitto's Daily Bible Illustration; noticed, 627.

Kitto's Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, noticed, 627.

L.

Lawrence, Rev. Edward A. The Mission of the Church or Systematic Benevolence, reviewed, 14.

Leyburn, Rev. John; Soldier of the Cross; A practical exposition of Ephesians, 6: 10, 18, noticed, 156.

Liberia; First Annual Report of the Trustees of Donations for Education in, noticed, 461.

Liberia. Steamships to Liberia, African Colonization; Report of Congressional Naval Committee and Letter of Hon. T. Butler King, reviewed, 70. Account of the proposed plan, 71. Reasons in favor of the enterprise, 73. Makes the military marine serve commerce, 73. Steam Navy of Great Britain, 74. Necessity of Steam Navy for this country, in order for successful commerce and naval defense, 75. Influence of African steamships on commerce with Africa, 78. Its influence to promote colonization, 81. Unnecessary and disastrous conflict between the colonization and anti-slavery societies, 86.

Lincoln's Horace, noticed, 317.

Literary Notices, 144-158, 310-319, 459-475, 616-629.

Lord's Epoch of Creation; The Epoch of Creation. The Scriptural doctrine contrasted with the geological theory; by Eleazar Lord, reviewed, 510. The work belongs to an earlier period, 510. The Bible and Nature, two great fields of investigation, to be looked on as distinct and as related to each other, 511. Revelation and Science should be studied with reference to the kind of

truth which they teach and according to their point of view, 512. No need of haste and over-anxiety about harmonizing them, 213. The main propositions of the book examined, viz.: the Scriptures must mean that the world was created in six natural days, and supernatural causes could have produced those appearances which have led to a belief of the great antiquity of the earth, 515-531.

Louisiana; Gayarre's Colonial History and Romance of, noticed, 471.

Lowrie, John C.; Two years in Upper India, noticed, 155.

M.

Mahan, Asa; His University report, reviewed, 110.

Mayhew's London Labor and London Poor, noticed, 624.

McCosh, Rev. James; His method of Divine government, noticed, 151.

MacFarlane, Robert; History of propellers and steam navigation; with biographical sketches of early inventors, noticed, 157.

Memoir of Adoniram Judson, noticed, 626.

Memoir of Bickersteth, noticed, 627.

Memoir of Hewitson, noticed, 626.

Middlebury College; Addresses and proceedings at the semi-centennial celebration, noticed, 157.

Military Orders; Various works reviewed, 388. Hospitaliers, Templars and Teutonic Knights, their origin, 398. Their regulations, 391-395. Their privileges, 395. Their wealth, 399. History of their power, from rise to fall, 400-422.

Mills' Literature and Literary men of England, noticed, 625.

Missions, Modern; The results of, permanent; John Foster on Missions; with an Essay on the Skepticism of the Church, by Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, reviewed, 207. The decline of the earlier missions, 208. Revival of Missions, 210. Grounds for believing that the success of modern missions will be permanent, 211-223.

Motherwell's Posthumous Poems, noticed, 625.

Murdock's Syriac New Testament, noticed, 616.

N.

Neander's Church History, noticed, 622.

New Testament, Introduction to; by Samuel

Davidson, D.D., &c., reviewed, 35. The author, who, 35. Design of the work, 36. Thorough discussion of preliminary and critical questions, account of it, 37-43.

Greek and English Lexicon of; by Edward Robinson, noticed, 146.

P.

Peabody, Rev. A. P.; Christian Consolations, noticed, 157.

Perkins, James H.; The memoir and writings of James Handasyd Perkins, edited by William Henry Channing, reviewed, 359. His early life, 359. Enters counting-house, his views of mercantile life, 360. Begins study of law, 362. Reasons for leaving it, 363. Editorial labors, 363. Unitarian clergyman, 364. Minister at large in Cincinnati, 365. His opinions on socialism and slavery, 366-7. Change in religious views, 369.

Physical Science and the Useful Arts in their relation to Christian Civilization; The Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, reviewed, 481. Advantages of such abstracts of scientific progress, 482. Physical sciences and the useful arts often stigmatized as mechanical and mercenary, this refuted, 486. No welfare of the mass of the people without them, 487. Nor their civilization and Christianity, 489. The civilizing and Christianizing results of increased facility for travel and transport, 493. This scientific and economic progress essential to the permanent conversion of the world, 495.

Plank Roads; W. Kingsford's work, reviewed, 290. Nature of a plank road, 290. Cost, income and advantages, 291.

Principles of Zoology; by Agassiz and Gould, noticed, 315.

Q.

Quincey's De, Literary Reminiscences, noticed, 624.

R.

Railroad Enterprise, its Progress, Management and Utility; Various reports, reviewed, 321. Obtaining a charter, 323. Interest dividends, 325. Bonds, floating debt, 326. Financial Agents, 326. Construction, 329. Management, 330.

Reports, 333. Profits, 335. Results, civil, commercial, and moral, 337.

Rhode Island; Address before the Historical Society of, by Elisha Potter, noticed, 474.

Robinson, Edward, D.D., &c.; His Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, noticed, 146.

S.

Stephens' Farmer's Guide; The Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture: by Henry Stephens, F.R.S.E., assisted by John P. Norton, M.A., Professor of scientific agriculture in Yale College, reviewed, 553. Guide for American as well as English farmers. Mr. S. belongs to the *exhausting* class of writers, 554. Thoughts respecting the present condition and future prospects of the New England farmer, 556-564. *Smith's New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography*, noticed, 318.

T.

Trench on Miracles, noticed, 314.

Tucker's Rainbow, in the North, noticed, 628.

V.

Venice; The Stones of; by John Ruskin, noticed, 473.

W.

Ward, F. De W.; India and the Hindoos, noticed, 154.

Wickes on the Apocalypse, noticed, 628.

Wide, Wide World; by Elizabeth Wetherell, noticed, 319.

Wilson's Church Identified; The church identified, by a reference to the history of its origin, perpetuation and extension into the United States; by the Rev. W. D. Wilson, D.D., Professor of moral and intellectual philosophy and of history in Geneva College, reviewed, 564. The author's purpose to show the exclusive identity of the Episcopal Church in the United States, with the church founded by Christ and his apostles, 565. How he attempts to do it, 567. The principles by which he is guided in carrying out the plan, 568. Has he carried out his plan—has he applied his principles, has he proved his main

- conclusion—these questions considered, 569–578. Concluding comments, 579.
- Williams on the Lord's Prayer*, noticed, 628.
- Williams, William R.*; *Religious Progress*, noticed, 156.
- Women of Israel*; by Grace Aguilar, noticed, 151.
- Woolsey, Theodore D.*; His historical discourse at Yale College, reviewed, 110.
- Wordsworth, William, Memorials of*; by Christopher Wordsworth, noticed, 472.
- Wordsworth, William, Memoir of*; Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D.C.L.; by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster, reviewed, 583. The Lake Poets, 584. Sketch of Wordsworth's early life and education, 585. His habit of rambling in the open air, its bearing on his poetic character, 586. His University life, 590. His choice of poetry as a pursuit, 594. His connection with Southey and Coleridge, 596. His treatment by the critics, 598. His marriage, 601. His means of living, 602. His friends, 603. His political opinions, 607. His popularity in the last twenty years of his life, 611. His influence on the literature and minds of England, 614.
- World's Advance*; *The Christian Retrospect and Register*: a summary of the scientific, moral, and religious progress of the first half of the nineteenth century: by Robert Baird, reviewed, 438. Errors, noticed, 440. Omissions, noticed, 442. Commended as a whole, 443. The half century characterized by great events, 444. Frequency and importance of scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, 445; application of steam, 446. Telegraph, stereotyping, lithography, daguerreotyping, 447–8. Mental activity in the masses of people, 449. Advance of freedom, 451. Distinction of color and slavery, 452. Reformatory movements, 450. Educational movements, 455. Religious progress, 456.

measures proposed in the bill of the committee; and to make such "suggestions as should occur to his mind, either favorable or unfavorable to the bill." This letter of Mr. King expresses warm approbation of the project, and communicates valuable information relating to the whole subject, of which we have freely availed ourselves.

The reasons which commend this enterprise consist in its relation to our commerce; to our naval armament; and to the settlement by colonization of the African coast, and the prevention thereby of the slave trade.

It is a very beneficent idea, which was first advanced in England about the year 1839, of uniting the military and commercial marine of a nation—of making the vast expenditures, required in naval armaments, subservient to the purposes of commerce in time of peace. This idea is destined to revolutionize the navies of the world—to turn the very expensive, and for the greater part of the time idle, or no better than idle, instrumentalities of naval warfare into beneficent agencies of peaceful industry. It employs for useful objects vast forces of capital, skill and labor, which for the most part are unemployed, or employed to little purpose. It will change the officers and privates of the navy, who for the great portion of the time are idlers, or employed in doing nothing that they may be kept busy, into industrious agents of productive business. It will ere long cause the inquiry, why huge and expensive vessels should lie under huge and expensive houses, in navy yards; or should lie rotting at the docks or in harbors; when the same or less expense would build steam vessels, capable of constant and useful employment, in time of peace in the duties and protection of commerce, and in time of war for its dread purposes. And it will cause the inquiry, also, why the men and officers of navies, maintained at great national expense in the many years of peace, should not be engaged in the war which it opens—in promoting national prosperity by the transportation of products and persons; while at the same time they guard the nation's commerce, and are ready at the first call for the sterner duties of war. Indeed, by the extension of maritime business, and the multiplication and interweaving of commercial relations over the world, it will go far toward preventing war. The substitution of steam navies capable of commercial business for the ordinary vessels of war, accomplishes on the sea, what it would be on the land, to turn swords into plough shares and spears into pruning hooks.

It may not suit at once the chivalrous notions of our naval officers to be employed in anything so useful as commercial business. It may seem to their martial tastes quite inglorious to be occupied in promoting freedom of intercourse and the exchange of products between nations. But, under the tuition of the pop-

ular common sense, and the popular sense of what is right, they will soon come to understand that production is far more honorable than destruction; that it is more honorable to transport men to other lands, or transport for them the products of other lands, than it is to send them suddenly and violently into eternity; and that it is far more dignified to be useful workers than to be fruitless consumers.

But in order to realize in any considerable degree this idea of the union of the military and mercantile marine, the ships must be steamships. It has been found by experiment that ocean steamers are not capable of resisting safely and successfully the efforts of a heavy sea driven by a head wind, unless they are built strong enough to carry guns, and to withstand the discharge of a heavy battery. It has also been found that they are far superior to sailing vessels in the certainty and celerity with which they convey freight and passengers. On the other hand, it is well known that sailing vessels can not answer the purposes both of a mercantile and military marine. If they are built so strong as to render them safe and suitable for service in war, they are so loaded with timber as to make it impossible for them to compete in the carrying trade with sailing vessels of the ordinary construction, and still less with steam vessels.

The opinion of the English government respecting the wisdom of creating a steam navy, to be employed in time of peace for the purposes of commerce and the transmission of mails, is forcibly expressed by what that government has done. On this point we quote, from the report before us, a statement of facts, for which the committee acknowledge themselves indebted to a speech made in the House of Representatives by Hon. Thomas Butler King of Georgia—the author of the letter to which we have referred, a gentleman who has evinced great intelligence and wisdom respecting commercial and naval affairs. Soon after the idea was conceived in 1839 of uniting the commercial and military marine by steamships;

“A contract was entered into with Mr. Cunard and his associates, for the conveyance of the mails from Liverpool, via Halifax, to Boston, in five steamers of the first class, for £85,000, or about \$425,000 per annum. It was stipulated that they should be built under the supervision of the Admiralty, should be inspected on being received into the service, and certified to be capable in all respects of being converted into ships of war, and of carrying ordnance of the heaviest description. Various stipulations were entered into in this and other contracts of a similar character, which placed these ships under the control of the government; thus, in fact, making them, to all intents and purposes, at the same time a part of the mercantile and military marine of the country.

“In 1846, the government enlarged the contract with Mr. Cunard and his associates, by adding four ships to run from Liverpool to New York, and increased the compensation to £145,000, or about \$725,000 per annum.

“In the year 1840, a contract was made by the Admiralty with the Royal Mail Steamship Company, at £240,000 sterling, or \$1,200,000 per annum, for

fourteen steamers to carry the mails from Southampton to the West Indies, the ports of Mexico on the Gulf, and to New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston. These ships are of the first class, and are to conform in all respects, concerning size and adaptation to the purposes of war, to the conditions prescribed in the Cunard contracts. They are to make twenty-four voyages a year, leaving and returning to Southampton semi-monthly. Another contract has lately been entered into for two ships to run between Bermuda and New York. These lines employ twenty-five steamers of the largest and most efficient description.

"In addition to the above, a contract was made, 1st January, 1845, with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for a line of similar steamers, seven in number, from England to the East Indies and China, at £160,000 sterling, or \$800,000 per annum. This line passes from Southampton, via Gibraltar and Malta, to Alexandria, in Egypt; thence the route continues overland to Suez, at the head of the Red Sea, from whence the steamers again start, touching at Aden, Bombay, and at Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon, from whence they proceed to Singapore and Hong Kong. There is a branch line connecting with this, from Point de Galle to Calcutta, touching at Madras.

"A contract was made, 1st July, 1846, for a Pacific line of British steamers, four in number, running from Valparaiso to Panama, touching at intermediate ports. This line connects overland, from Panama to Chagres, with the West India line.

"Besides these, there were, in 1848, twelve more lines of government steamers running between Great Britain and the continent of Europe; making a grand aggregate of one hundred and fifteen ocean steamships fitted for war purposes. Very recently the British Parliament has resolved to extend the mail steamship system to Australia."—pp. 5-7.

This statement, we presume, applies only to steam vessels of the larger class; for as long since as the year 1846, Mr. Secretary Bancroft reported, in a communication to the Senate, that the total steam navy of Great Britain at that time consisted of one hundred and ninety-nine vessels, of all classes. We have also had recent intelligence that the government of that country has resolved to put on a line of steamers from London to the Cape of Good Hope and the western coast of Africa. He also stated in the same report that the steam navy of France at that time numbered fifty-four vessels, (much increased now, as we see by the preceding extract) and that of Russia, exclusive of her Caspian fleet, numbered thirty-two—a statement which evinces that those powerful governments entertain the opinion on this matter so strongly expressed by the acts of the British government.

The necessity which this course on the part of European governments, and especially of the British government, imposes on the government of the United States, of entering promptly and vigorously on the same course, is very apparent. The United States can not otherwise protect their immensely extended coasts on the Atlantic and Pacific; nor can they otherwise maintain their proper relative position in the commerce of the world.

The new phenomenon of steam navies renders comparatively ineffectual means of coast and harbor defense, which have before

been deemed sufficient. It is affirmed by Mr. King, that our extensive coasts—consisting of the shores of the Atlantic from the St. Croix to the southern point of Florida, the shores of more than three fourths of the Gulf of Mexico, and the shores of the Pacific through seventeen degrees of latitude—can not be defended against a fleet of armed steamers by any system of fortifications which the skill of man could devise, or the wealth of the nation could establish. This affirmation is undoubtedly correct, as any one can see. Plainly, nothing but a steam navy can adequately protect our coasts and harbors against a steam navy.

Equally manifest is it that the United States must employ the improvements made by the application of steam to the purposes of foreign commerce, if we would maintain, indeed if we would recover, our former relative position in maritime business. It is well known that before the employment of steam in the navigation of the ocean, our lines of packet ships had overcome all competition in the great business of conveying passengers, correspondence and the lighter and more valuable kinds of freight; so that no packet ships from other countries entered our harbors. It is also well known that the enterprise of Great Britain, in entering first, by the union of public with private expenditure, into the business of ocean steam navigation, has in a great measure reversed this state of things. For some years past, the lucrative business carried on by our packet ships in the transportation of passengers and the lighter and costlier merchandise, has been chiefly transferred to the English steamers. The skill, ingenuity and experience, and the vast amount of public and private capital, employed by England in this new method of commerce, have, until lately, distanced all competition. And it is very plain that her steam mail packet system, extending to all parts of the globe, will, if she is not rivalled in it, monopolize the carrying trade, and secure the control and the profits of the commerce, of all nations; beside giving a partial and perhaps complete support to a steam navy, powerful enough to crush all the sailing navies of the world. Such is the superiority of steam ships to sailing ships in the certainty and rapidity of conveyance, that the former must inevitably take the place of the latter in all important branches of the carrying trade. The merchant who employs the latter can not long compete with the merchant who employs the former. The difference in the interest upon capital, and in the cost of labor, arising from the difference of time; and the difference in the seasonable supply of the market; would soon enrich the one and impoverish the other. The same change which has taken place on the land from the turnpike to the rail-way, and from the slow moving stage coach to the flying rail-car must take place on the ocean from the sailing ship to the steamer. Indeed, it is far advanced already. Who thinks now of travelling, or of

sending letters, by a sailing vessel, on any route which rejoices in a line of steamers?

But the change from our commercial marine of sailing ships to one of steam ships, so vital to the prosperity and even the existence of our commerce, can not be made, even gradually, without the aid of our government. The well known ingenuity and skill of our mechanics, and the sagacity and enterprise of our merchants, might, in time, compete successfully with the ingenuity, skill and longer experience in this department of labor, of English mechanics, and with the enterprise, and greatly superior capital, of English merchants. Indeed, the former decided superiority of our mercantile marine, as evinced by our packet ships, in the construction of vessels, and in the activity, intelligence and integrity of commanders and crews, assures us of this. But when the immense patronage of the English government is added to private English enterprise, the struggle of private American enterprise therewith is hopeless; competition becomes impossible.

The reasons, both as regards naval defense and commercial prosperity, for creating a steam navy which can be employed during peace in conveying mails, passengers and merchandize, have been in some degree appreciated by our national government. Congress, in connection with private individuals or companies, has provided for the establishment of several lines of steam ships, engaged to carry the mails, consisting of seventeen large vessels, suitable for service in war, and at all times liable to be taken by the government for such service. Nine of these, according to the arrangement, are to run between New York and European ports; five between New York and Chagres; and three between Panama and San Francisco.

This arrangement has been partially carried into effect already. The line between New York and Liverpool, which commenced its trips during the last year, has been brilliantly successful; rivalling, if not surpassing, the long established Cunard line of English steamers. The line on the Pacific from Panama to San Francisco commenced its work at a very fortunate period—soon after the discovery of gold in California. It has afforded the means of conveyance thither to a multitude of emigrants, of safe and speedy transportation of a great amount of gold to our Atlantic states, and of communicating regularly and rapidly with that territory, at a period when it was passing through momentous changes, of which it was very important that we should be informed. This line, and the line from New York to New Orleans which connects with it at the isthmus, are paying, as Mr. King judges, into the treasury of the government, in the form of postage, a sum quite equal to that received from the government toward their establishment and support. It was one object of

the line from New York to New Orleans to run off a British West India line of fourteen steamers; which received from the British government twelve hundred thousand dollars a year; and was under engagement to that government to touch at Havana, the ports of Mexico on the Gulf, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah and Charleston; being designed not only to carry mails, passengers and freight between those ports, but also to act in case of war upon our southern coast. This object has been accomplished. The American line, connecting with the European lines at New York, afforded a more direct and rapid communication with those southern ports. It thus has resulted in the withdrawal of the British line; and now guards the coast which that line endangered. The wharves and coal belonging to the British company in Havana have been purchased by the New York company. We think, in view of the operation of these lines thus far, that our Government may be congratulated on making a very successful beginning in the system of steam ships adapted to the purposes both of commerce and of war.

It is now proposed in the Report before us to add to these small but successful beginnings this African line. This project is commended by the general considerations which we have advanced in favor of creating by the union of public and private enterprise, a steam navy that will answer both military and mercantile purposes; and also by reasons peculiar to itself. It is good policy for our government to follow in this respect the example of the English government, which is not deterred from establishing a line of ocean steamers by the prospect that receipts from postage into the treasury of the government will not balance the expenditures on the line from the treasury, but makes postage quite a secondary consideration in its contracts; aiming principally at the creation of a steam navy to be called into military service when necessary, and at affording such commercial facilities as will be profitable to the people of Great Britain.

That such a line of steamships to Africa would greatly facilitate, develop and increase our commerce with Africa, is very apparent. On this topic we quote the language of the committee's report.

"The establishment of prosperous colonies on the western coast of Africa will, doubtless, tend greatly, in the course of time, to the augmentation of the commerce of this country. It appears that British commerce with Africa amounts to no less than five millions sterling, or about \$25,000,000 per annum. The belief is now confidently entertained in Great Britain, that an immense commerce may be opened up with that continent, by putting an end to the slave trade, and stimulating the natives to the arts of peace.

"The commerce of Africa is certainly capable of great extension, and it is worthy of observation, that the proposed steamers will open entirely new sources of trade.

"On this subject, the committee beg leave to submit the following particulars, from which the future resources of this vast undeveloped region may be, to some extent, anticipated.

"Palm oil is produced by the nut of the Palm tree, which grows in the greatest abundance throughout Western Africa. The demand for it, both in Europe and America, is daily increasing. The average import into Liverpool of palm oil for some years past has been at least fifteen thousand tons, valued at £400,000 sterling.

"Gold is found at various points of the coast. It is obtained by the natives by washing the sand which is brought down by the rivers from the mountains. An exploration of the mountains will probably result in the discovery of large quantities of the metal. It is calculated that England has received, altogether, \$200,000,000 of gold from Africa. Liberia is adjacent to the 'Gold Coast.'

"Ivory is procurable at all points, and constitutes an important staple of commerce.

"Coffee, of a quality superior to the best Java or Mocha, is raised in Liberia, and can be cultivated with great ease to any extent. The coffee tree bears fruit from thirty to forty years, and yields an average of ten pounds to the shrub yearly.

"Cam wood and other dye woods are found in great quantities in many parts of the country. About thirty miles east of Bassa Cove is the commencement of a region of unknown extent, where scarcely any tree is seen except the cam wood.

"Gums of different kinds enter largely into commercial transactions.

"Dyes of all shades and hues are abundant, and they have been proved to resist both acids and light.

"Pepper, ginger, arrow root, indigo, tamarinds, oranges, lemons, limes, and many other articles which are brought from tropical countries to this, may be added to the list. Indeed, there is nothing in the fertile countries of the East or West Indies which may not be produced in equal excellence in Western Africa.

"The soil is amazingly fertile. Two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, can be raised in a year. It yields a larger crop than the best soil in the United States. One acre of rich land well tilled, says Governor Ashmun, will produce three hundred dollars' worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow root.

"An immense market may be opened for the exchange and sale of the innumerable products of the skill and manufactures of our people. Africa is estimated to contain one hundred and sixty millions of inhabitants. Liberia enjoys a favorable geographical position. She is protected by the great Powers of Europe. The Liberians have constitutions adapted to the climate, and a similarity of color with the natives. They will penetrate the interior with safety, and prosecute their trade in the bays and rivers of the coast, without suffering from the diseases which are so fatal to the white man. Liberia is the door of Africa, and is destined to develop the agricultural and commercial resources of that continent, besides the means of regenerating her benighted millions."—pp. 18-21.

We notice that the committee say nothing of the capabilities of that country for the culture of *cotton*. They are, as we understand, quite promising; and are regarded with great interest, especially in England. Perhaps the committee thought it unwise to excite against the measure the jealousy of our own cotton growers.

We think that the committee have been led into an extravagant estimate of the annual amount of British commerce with Africa. According to the best information which we can obtain, that amount falls far short of \$25,000,000. The Colonization Journal for January 1851, gives a tabular statement of the com-

mere of England, and of the United States, with Africa. During fifteen years ending with July 1841, the imports of England from the western coast of Africa, according to this statement, amounted to a little less than fourteen millions and a half of dollars, or nearly one million of dollars annually. In the same period, the exports of British goods to the same region amounted to a little more than twenty-three millions and a half of dollars, or more than a million and a half annually. Great Britain also exported to Africa of foreign goods, chiefly of India cottons and American tobacco, during the same period, an amount of nearly half a million of dollars yearly. Since the year 1841, the trade between England and Africa has considerably increased. We have seen a statement, in the *Colonization Herald*, that there are at the present time two hundred vessels trading to the coast from the ports of Great Britain. McCulloch estimates the exports to the western coast, during the period from 1839 to 1844 inclusive, at two millions three hundred thousand dollars a year; and to the whole of Africa at seven millions of dollars a year. These statements fall far below the estimate of the committee, after making all due allowance for the increase of commerce between Great Britain and Africa. The trade of the United States with Africa is much less in amount. During the six years ending with 1849, the imports of African products into this country amounted to three millions three hundred thousand dollars, or a little more than half a million annually; and during the same time we exported to Africa yearly, a little more than six hundred and forty-three thousand dollars worth of our own products, and nearly sixty-one thousand dollars worth of foreign merchandise.

The increase in African commerce thus evinced, will doubtless continue, and would be vastly accelerated, by a line of steamers; and the nation which first establishes one will gain possession of a very large and lucrative trade. That nation should be the United States. For the principal article of export to Africa is a coarse quality of manufactured cotton, an article, whose raw material is produced here, and in whose manufacture we can compete with the world. Indeed, these coarse cotton goods can be made in the very states where the cotton is raised; and can be carried by the New Orleans ship of the proposed line directly to Africa, and exchanged for the valuable products of that country. Mr. King expresses the expectation, "that Africa will be the great customer, if not the main stay and support, of the infant cotton manufactures of the South; for it is plain that a great demand can be created, through the medium of the Liberia traders, for articles which can be manufactured more advantageously in the South than in any other part of the Union." However that may be, it is certain that through Liberia—the door to the mil-

lions of Africa who need our products, and who will send in return their products, old and new and very valuable, to our markets—there may be made to flow, by proper and seasonable enterprise, a commerce, if not as rich as that of the Indies, yet well worthy of the attention of enlightened statesmen and sagacious merchants.

But this proposed line of steamers would benefit other departments of our commerce besides that with the coast of Africa. It would give the impulse of steam communication to our trade with the Mediterranean, by affording connection with the steamers which take the circuit from Marseilles to Constantinople, and Smyrna, and along the northern African coast to Gibraltar—a trade which is increasing in value every year. The American and foreign freight between the Mediterranean and the United States during the year ending January 1850, was 208,703 tons. The value of the exports from the United States to that region during the same time amounted to \$6,933,601; and the value of the imports, as nearly as it can be ascertained, amounted to \$5,077,110. A line of American steamers would greatly stimulate and increase this trade, besides extending our national influences in that quarter.

The contemplated line would also facilitate the transmission of mails, and of freight and passengers, between the ports at which it would touch in Spain, Portugal, France, and England, and between those ports and the United States, and also between the West India islands (at which it has liberty to touch) and the ports of Europe and America. It is worthy of notice, moreover, that this line would afford a more advantageous mode of steam communication between New Orleans and Europe than is likely to be afforded in any other way. The New Orleans trade alone will not warrant a private company in the expense of ocean steamers. But one of the steamers of the African line could run direct from London and Havre to New Orleans; bringing the light and valuable fabrics of England and France to that city, as well as passengers for the south and for the west by way of the Mississippi river.

But the great argument for the proposed line of steamers is that it will promote the removal of free colored persons from this country to the western coast of Africa, where they will be established in prosperous and Christian communities under a republican government; and that thus it will tend powerfully, and in the only effectual way, to suppress the African slave trade.

This the committee consider the great argument; and it gives us pleasure to state that they have presented it as their chief reason for recommending the proposed measure. On this point we will give their views in their own language.

"But it is chiefly for the great and beneficent objects of removing the free persons of color from this country to the coast of Africa, and of suppressing the slave trade, that the committee are disposed to recommend the adoption of the proposed measure. The latter of these has been the subject of treaties by our government with other nations, with whom we have engaged to maintain a large naval force on the coast of Africa to assist in suppressing the inhuman traffic; while the emigration of the free blacks has long been an object of great interest in all parts of the country, and especially in the slave holding states, where they are looked upon by the whites with aversion and distrust. The policy of all or most of these states has been to discourage manumission, except on condition of the removal of the liberated slave. * * *

"The committee believe it is expedient to aid private enterprise in the colonization of the western coast of Africa, because it is the most effectual, if not the only mode, of extirpating the slave trade. The success of this measure will doubtless render the African squadron wholly unnecessary, thus reimbursing a large portion of the expense attending it, and at the same time better accomplishing the object for which that squadron is maintained. It may be expedient for some one of the great naval powers to keep a small force on the coast of Africa to protect Liberia, for a limited time, against the slave traders. But the attempt to suppress this unlawful traffic by blockading the coast has so signally failed that it will probably soon be abandoned by the great European powers. While the influence of the Republic of Liberia has been shown in the complete suppression of the trade along a coast of several hundred miles in length, the combined squadrons of Europe and America have not been so successful on other portions of that unhappy shore. In 1847 no less than 84,356 slaves were exported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil. * * *

"The committee beg leave here to present some interesting facts which satisfy them that the territory of Liberia is eminently adapted to colored emigrants from the United States; that the establishment of this line of steamships by the government will be a powerful stimulus to the cause of colonization, and will be the means of securing the emigration of great numbers of free blacks; that the slave trade will be substituted by a peaceful, legitimate, and valuable commerce, opening new sources of enterprise and wealth to our people; and that the civilization and christianization of the whole continent of Africa may be expected eventually to follow. The facts presented are collected chiefly from the publications of the Colonization Society.

"That portion of the western coast of Africa, called Liberia, embraces a tract of country included between the parallels of 4° 21' and 7° north latitude, extending about 400 miles along the coast. The first settlement was made by free negroes from the United States, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, in the year 1820. The objects of that Society were—

"1st. To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

"2d. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

"3d. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

"4th. To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

"5th. To afford slave owners, who wish, or are willing, to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception."

"The funds of this Society have seldom exceeded \$50,000 per year, but they have purchased territory, enabled nearly 7,000 free people of color to emigrate to Liberia, and have made provision, for such of them as required it, for six months after their arrival. In July, 1847, an independent government was formed, which has been recognized by France, England, and Prussia. Upwards of 80,000 of the natives have become civilized, and enrolled themselves as citizens of the Republic. The Liberians have a flourishing commerce. They have not only succeeded in suppressing the slave trade along their own

coast, but have also made treaties with several tribes, numbering over 200,000 souls, for the discontinuance of the traffic. They have purchased their territory from time to time of the natives, and are gradually extending themselves up to the British settlement of Sierra Leone and down to the Gold Coast.

"The interior settlements of the purchased tracts usually extend from about ten to thirty miles from the coast, and can easily be enlarged by purchase in that direction at a moderate amount. In no instance have the natives from whom the land was purchased been required to remove their residences. The land in the immediate vicinity of the ocean in Liberia is generally low, and in some places marshy; but there are some elevated spots. The land generally becomes more elevated towards the interior; and in some places, within fifty miles of the coast it is quite mountainous. It is desirable for the colony to become possessed of this back country as it is much healthier than the coast, and when the emigration from the United States becomes extensive, the mountain region will soon be occupied. The natives are a fine, healthy, athletic race; and even the emigrants to the lands on the coast have enjoyed better health than the emigrants to some of our western states in the first few years of settlement.

"Liberia is on the 'grain coast,' and is protected from the scorching winds of the north and east by ranges of mountains. The soil is fertile, and produces an abundance of Indian corn, yams, plantains, coffee, arrow-root, indigo, dyewoods, &c.

"Every emigrant is welcomed to the colony, and receives a grant of five acres of land, besides which he can purchase as much more as he pleases at one dollar per acre.

"The climate is not suited to the whites. The President and all the officials are colored men. There are flourishing towns, churches, schools, and printing presses. According to the statement of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who has recently visited the colony, the people are highly moral, well conducted, and prosperous, and the value of the exports of the Republic is at present \$500,000 per annum, and is increasing at the rate of 50 per cent annually.

"Not only will the slave trade be abolished by the establishment of colonies of free colored people on the coast of Africa, but, as already intimated, these colonies will be the means, at no distant period, of disseminating civilization and Christianity throughout the whole of that continent. Already, a great many of the natives have placed themselves under the protection of the Liberians, whose knowledge of agriculture and the arts inspires confidence and respect.

"As a missionary enterprise, therefore, the colonization of Africa by the descendants of Africans on this continent, deserves, and no doubt will receive, the countenance and support of the whole Christian world.

"Two points are now regarded, both in Europe and in this country, as settled truths, viz: 1st. That the planting and building up of Christian colonies on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave trade. 2d. That colored men only can with safety settle upon the African coast.

"That the free negroes of the United States will be induced to go in large numbers to Liberia, if a quick and pleasant passage by steam vessels be provided, and suitable preparation be made for them on their arrival, by the Colonization Society, can not admit of any doubt.

"The funds of that society, augmented probably twenty fold, will then be available, almost exclusively, for the comfortable establishment of the emigrants in their new homes—the expense of transportation chargeable to the society being merely nominal.

"It is estimated that there are no less than five hundred thousand free colored people in the several states, and that the annual increase therein of the black race is seventy thousand per annum. With respect to slaves, who may hereafter be manumitted, no doubt such manumission will, almost in every instance, be upon the condition that the parties shall avail themselves of the opportunity of emigrating to Liberia.

"The committee do not propose that the emigrants should be landed in Liberia and then left to their own resources. Liberia is at present incapable of receiving and providing shelter, subsistence, and employment for any great number of emigrants who may land there in a state of destitution. It has been the practice, heretofore, for the Colonization Society to provide for the colonists, whom they have sent out, for six months after their arrival, and the cost of such provision has averaged \$30 per head, in addition to the cost of transportation.

"A large amount of money will be required to settle the colonists in the first instance comfortably in their new homes. But there is no doubt, that if the government establish the proposed line of steamships, the people of the different states, and the state legislatures, will at once turn their attention to the subject of colonization, and that large appropriations will be voted, and liberal collections made, in aid of that object. The State of Maryland has already appropriated and laid out \$200,000 in this work, and the Legislature of Virginia has lately appropriated \$40,000 per year for the same purpose. But these sums are insignificant in comparison to what may be expected, if the government shall give its high sanction to the colonization of Africa, and provide the means of transportation by a line of steamships. In that event, the whole mass of the people, north and south, who for the most part do not appreciate the rapid progress, and the high capabilities of Liberia, will quickly discover the vast importance of colonization, and will urge their representatives to adopt measures adequate to the exigency of the case and the magnitude of the enterprise.

"There is good reason to anticipate, that important assistance will be rendered to the emigrants, not only by the missionary societies of Europe, but also by those governments which have taken an interest in the suppression of the slave trade, and which are desirous of opening channels for their commerce, and marts for their manufactures, on the western coast of Africa."—pp. 9-17.

These statements we believe to be in the main correct. We would add many other facts of interest, did we not fear to weary our readers by statements with which many of them are familiar. We will confine ourselves within narrow limits. The emigrant population of Liberia, and of the Maryland colony, according to the recent report of Mr. Gurley, is estimated at 6,900, and the native population at 240,000. During the past year, the government of the Republic has purchased many miles of additional coast, embracing the Gallinas—one of the most active and extensive slave marts on the whole African shore—for the express purpose of suppressing the slave trade. This purchase makes the colonized coast seven hundred miles in length, along the whole of which the slave trade was formerly carried on with great activity.* Louisiana is about to found a colony of her own in the

* We subjoin the letter of President Roberts giving an account of this purchase.

Monrovia, (Liberia,) May 17, 1850.

DEAR SIR: I have just returned from the windward coast, and find here the U. S. brig Bainbridge, on the eve of sailing for the United States, via Porto Praya. Capt. Slaughter has been kind enough to allow me an hour to send a letter or two by him. I therefore avail myself of the opportunity to send you a hasty note, to say that we have at length succeeded in securing the famed

Sinou country, where are now the people of the late Mr. McDonogh, who, after having worked out the price of their freedom, went thither some years since. Kentucky has made a purchase of forty miles square on the St. Paul's river, with a sea-coast of forty miles; whither an expedition will sail in a few weeks. During the last year, New Jersey has moved with great energy in the founding of a settlement, to bear the name of that state. Commissioners have been sent out to select a location, who will explore the interior; expecting that it will offer much better advantages than the coast as to health, soil, comfort, and trade. Massachusetts has chartered the "Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia," and her citizens are endowing liberally a seminary of a high order in that Republic. The legislatures of many states are taking favorable action on the subject; and some of them have instructed their senators, and requested their representatives, to use their influence to induce the national government to acknowledge the independence of Liberia, and to engage in the enterprise of colonization. During the last year, moreover, private benevolence in support of this enterprise has greatly exceeded that of any previous year. One man, McDonogh, has given by will \$25,000 a year, for forty years—an amount of \$1,000,000. The statement of the committee that Virginia has appropriated \$40,000 a year for colonization is not quite accurate. The legislature of that state appropriated for this purpose from its treasury \$30,000 a year, for a period of five years; and in addition to this laid a special tax for this purpose of one dollar a year on every free colored man in the state, between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five; which, it is thought, will amount to \$10,000 annually. This fact we state with deep mortification. This laying a tax exclusively on the poorest and most depressed portion of her citizens is an unjust and oppressive transaction.

territory of Gallinas to this government, including all the territories between Cape Mount and Shebar, excepting a small slip of about five miles of coast in the Kellou country, which will also soon fall into our hands.

For these tracts we have incurred a large debt, and we confidently look to you to aid us in meeting these liabilities at maturity. Had I not deemed it absolutely important to secure the Gallinas, to prevent the revival of the slave trade there, I would not have paid the price demanded. The purchase of Gallinas and the neighboring tracts will cost us about \$9,500.

The chiefs were aware of the object of the purchase, and urged strenuously the sacrifice, as they consider it, they must make in abandoning forever the slave trade, and demanded a large sum as an equivalent. In addition to the amount stated above, we have obligated ourselves to appoint commissioners immediately to settle the wars in the country, and open the trade in camwood, ivory, and palm oil with the interior tribes; and also settle among them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of instructing them in the arts of husbandry. This will also cost us a considerable sum, which will no doubt be returned in the end by the advantages the trade will give. Still the present outlay will be, I fear, more than equal to our ability.

The argument in favor of the proposed line of steamers to Africa, embodied in this extract from the committee's report, and in the facts which we have stated, must, we think, be convincing and moving to all whose minds are not preoccupied with opinions, judgments, or feelings, adverse to African colonization.

We are aware that many excellent men have been, and are, strongly opposed to the enterprise of colonization. There has been a long and bitter conflict between those who advocate the colonization of free people of color, and those who advocate the abolition of slavery; or more accurately, between portions of these classes. On the one hand, the colonizationists have been charged with being moved in their enterprise by hatred to the negroes, when the great body of them have been moved by true benevolence; and a society, which originated in the pure and heroic goodness of Samuel J. Mills, and was long warmly supported by the anti-slavery philanthropy of the country, and especially of New England, has been visited with reproach and opposition, on account of the manifold indiscretions and unphilanthropic heresies of some of its advocates, for whom it was in no wise responsible. And, on the other hand, it has been thought good support of the colonization society to pour contempt upon Anti-Slavery societies; and to heap abuse on those who imitate their divine Lord and exemplar, in preaching deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound. This conflict, in our judgment, is wholly unnecessary, unwise and unnatural. There is no reason why the friends of the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the colonization of free colored people, should not harmonize. Their objects, we are sure, are harmonious. Both may be aided by the friends of the African race, with entire consistency; and we may add that duty binds them to aid both. This conflict we regard as one of the most deplorable instances of that waste of strength and feeling, by reformers and philanthropists, in needless contention with one another, of which we spoke in our last number. We are heartily in favor of the abolition of slavery. And we are as heartily in favor of African colonization—of course with the full and unforced consent of those who are colonized. We believe that it will give a demonstration of the true and equal manhood of our colored brethren—of their capabilities of intelligence, enterprise, self-government, and social and religious prosperity. We believe it offers the best means of carrying civilization and Christianity through the darkest continent of the globe. We believe that it affords the best asylum for our colored brethren from those inferiorities in privilege, those prejudices and antipathies against them, which, however unjust and inhuman, and however sure ultimately to disappear under the advancing power of philanthropy and Christianity, do now widely exist, and will exist, we

fear, for a long time yet to come. We believe that it offers a sure, and, so far as we can now see, the only sure, or even promising, method of suppressing, and forever ending the inhuman slave trade. The history of Liberia has proved this fully; so that they who have hitherto doubted and even denied, must now admit it. The half a million which our government now expends annually in sustaining her African squadron for the prevention of the slave trade; and the great sums which the British government expends for the same purpose; would do vastly more for the accomplishment of the object, if they were expended in building up on all the slave coast, civilized, enterprising and Christian communities, endowed with all needful institutions of education and religion. Such communities, established on all the slave coast (as they may be) must annihilate that accursed traffic in Africa; and leave those who pursue it in this land, which vaunts the inalienable right of all men to be free, alone in their infamy. Indeed, we think that it will do much toward the removal of slavery itself—more than we have been accustomed to believe or hope. The events of the few past years, and those which promise to be in a few years to come, give us courage. We would not call it the *only* remedy for slavery. We would not discourage, we would encourage, all righteous and wise measures and movements for the abolition of that wicked and inhuman institution. But we do feel authorized to hold up African colonization, as at least a *partial* remedy for slavery—an auxiliary in the good work of its removal. If a demonstration is made in Liberia, in free, enlightened and Christian communities there, which will convince colored men that the native home of their race is the place for their happiness and honor; if the government of the United States, the governments of the several states, and the governments of other Christian nations, combine their wisdom and treasures with the wisdom and treasures of individual philanthropists and Christians, and will use, and multiply that they may use, for this purpose, the channels and vehicles of a mighty commerce between the two continents—who can say that the result will not be the entire removal of slavery, sooner, not than it might otherwise be if men were what they should be, but sooner than it ever will otherwise be, men being what they are?

Such being our view of the beneficent tendency of colonization itself, we would not reject pecuniary aid given to it from whatever quarter, from advocates however unwise, or even from unjust and even inhuman motives—provided we do nothing to invite or encourage such evil motives, or the folly of such advocates. If men accompany their pecuniary aid with such remarks, as the Hon. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi, makes in a letter published (not wisely) by the Colonization Society, in the Ap-

pendix to this report, "I have ever regarded colonization and abolition as antagonistic measures, and that the success of the first would overthrow the latter;" while we should regret the remark, as evil itself and fitted to do evil to the cause, we would take his money, and with it send men to Africa. If individuals or legislatures emancipate slaves, on the condition that they shall go to the African colonies; while we should regret the unjust condition, the unrighteous limitation on their free choice, we would prefer such an emancipation to their continuance in slavery. Though we should think it impolitic, as well as unjust, for southern legislatures to insist that slaves shall be colonized, if they are emancipated; deeming it more wise to employ them as free laborers, in a climate where white men can not safely work, and that it is an impoverishing process to send so much labor out of the country; we should yet rejoice in their emancipation, preferring it, with that impolitic condition annexed, to unrighteous bondage. And even if men should aid colonization from a desire to perpetuate slavery, or from hatred to negroes, confident that their act would have no tendency to fulfill that desire, or to attain the ends of that hatred, we would accept the aid; believing that it would help a good object, and that it is better to have a good act with an evil motive, than to have both the motive and the act evil. Meanwhile, we ought to insist, and call on others to insist also, that colored men have a right—as good a right as any men—to stay in this land of their birth, if they choose; and that all men are bound to treat them, while here, or if they choose to remain here, as men and brethren, even to the full meaning of our language in the Declaration of Independence, and to the full meaning of the law of humanity and of Christ.

ART. VIII.—CAUCASUS.

Circassia; or a Tour to the Caucasus. By G. L. DITSON. New York and London. 1850.

Klemm. Cultur-geschichte der Menschheit. Vol. 4. Leipzig. 1845.
Die Gegenwart, Numbers 5 and 43. 1848-50.

MR. DITSON has the credit, we believe, of giving to the world the first American tour in the Caucasus. We can not, however, assign him much credit, beyond that of being the pioneer among his countrymen, in visiting, or at least in describing this remarkable country. He gives his book a double title, but the fact is

that he saw nothing of Circassia proper, save the outline of the coast, and the vicinity of one or two Russian forts. After coasting along this district he arrives at the mouth of the Rion or ancient Phasis, which he ascends in a boat; and from which he crosses over a pass to the waters of the Kur, upon which Tiflis is situated. In this capital of Christian and Russian Georgia he makes merry a while with the Russian officials, takes a tour, in the depth of winter, by the great military road leading through the centre of Caucasus, to the fortress and tower of Vladicaucass, where he examines two or three houses of the natives; and returning by the same route to Tiflis and the coast, considers himself to have visited Caucasus, when he never trod on a square foot of that vast country which is yet fighting for its independence. Being under Russian protection throughout, and civilly treated by the magnates of the land, he has persuaded himself that Russia is accomplishing a good work in these countries; that she will christianize the Circassians, (if she can catch them,) and civilize them to boot,—seeing she is so highly civilized herself, and seeing that her soldiers are patterns of civility and refinement. We do not know but that on the greatest happiness principle, after a long series of years, provided only Russia can subjugate these hardy mountaineers, and provided that any of them survive, the world will be the better for it. It may be better for the world, that one great robber and enslaver should put an end to the robbing and enslaving of retail dealers, to which charge, certainly, the Caucasians are somewhat obnoxious. But God forbid that the readers of the *New Englander* should judge and wish with regard to the state of the world on such a principle so exclusively, that our natural sympathies shall find no room to act. We will feel for those who are fighting for their lives and their freedom, whether they are Christians or Mohammedans, and will hope that they may breathe their mountain air in independence, as they have done since the human race existed.

Mr. Bell, who resided among the Circassians and Abasses for two years and a half in 1837, 1838, and 1839, contemplates these people, and the policy of the Russians towards them, from a very different point of view. He had attempted to open a trade with the Circassians, but his vessel, the *Vixen*, was seized and confiscated by the Russian authorities, and his commercial house could obtain no redress, either from the Russian or the English government. His second visit, of which he gives an extended account, was induced by the hope that the British government would insist on reparation for the seizure of his vessel, and thereby afford an opening for trade with Circassia. But he had also a semi-official character, something such as Mr. Dudley Mann wore in his relation to the Hungarians; yet as it would seem, without instructions, and in the capacity of an agent sent

by the Secretary of Legation at Constantinople. Mr. Bell spent his time in Circassia chiefly in efforts to induce the various districts and brotherhoods to unite and form a nation, and so to carry on the war against Russia in the most advantageous way. His success was small; for the nature of the country itself is opposed to union and concentration. And yet we can not say that he left the country, after his long residence, without accomplishing any thing; for his instructions did aid in promoting an organization, which the presence of their dreaded enemy had suggested already; and by advising the leading men to storm the Russian forts he opened the way for several brilliant attempts of that kind which were made after his departure. His journal is that of the man of intelligence and of education; and though he seems to have failed of mastering the languages of the natives, his observations on their life and manners, made in unusually favorable circumstances, are of very great value.

We propose to lay before our readers a brief account of the Caucasian nations, and of the war which has been raging among their mountains and along their streams for so many years, in which the mightiest empire now existing has experienced their indomitable spirit. But before we speak of the people it will be necessary to consider for a moment the country which they inhabit.

We shall exclude from this survey all that tract on the south side of Caucasus, where the mountain range, after running nearly parallel to the coast, leaves the Black Sea, and crosses the peninsula to the Caspian. This territory, which is chiefly drained by the Rion and the Kur, with their auxiliaries, and which includes Mingrelia, Imeritia and Georgia, is under permanent Russian sway, unless the upper vallies of some of the branches of these streams be an exception. There had here long existed a Christian kingdom, which, in 1424, was divided into three, and again was reduced, about 1760, into two. It was natural, as they lay contiguous to two more powerful Mohammedan countries, that they should seek the aid of Russia; and accordingly Russian influence was long preponderant. But it was not, as we learn from Klaproth,* until 1800, that the Emperor Paul, informed of the discords in Georgia, in order to end them incorporated that country into his empire. This measure fulfilled the wishes of the deceased King George XIII, (who had bequeathed his crown to the emperor,) and of the nobility and other inhabitants. The king of Imeritia was deposed ten years afterwards by the Russians, and this region also was absorbed in the empire. The importance of Georgia for operations against Persia, is obvious.

In taking a survey of the other Caucasian countries, we may begin with the mountain itself. This remarkable chain forms

* Klaproth's *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*. Halle, 1812.

an immense wall to the plain, which stretches from the Arctic Sea to about the forty fifth degree of latitude. It starts on the west in the ridges of moderate elevation, which form the peninsula of Taman, and ends on the east in Apscheron, a remarkable headland protruding into the Caspian Sea. Its direction is, on the whole, from the northeast to southwest; but where it leaves the Black Sea, it pursues a course more nearly approaching to an east and west line. The length of the chain, running as it does obliquely through thirteen degrees of longitude, may be somewhat more than eight hundred miles. Its breadth varies in different parts: along the Black Sea it may amount to a degree of latitude, while towards its eastern extremity it widens by branching into two parts. On the south, it unites with the highlands of Armenia, by a spur of from three thousand to five thousand feet high. The mountain consists of a central ridge, composed, it is said by the geologists, of trachyte, which lifted up, as it rose, an earlier crust of lime; and of secondary ridges parallel to the main chain both on the north and on the south. There is also, in addition to these outworks of the principal ridge, another secondary chain, which pursues the general course of the Caspian Sea, and which, together with the two branches of the main mountain already mentioned, enclose a high and uneven tract of country.

The principal ridge of Caucasus rises on an average to the height of from 8000 to 10000 feet, but many peaks far exceed the highest of these limits. Mount Elbruss, which stands a little outside of the continuous ridge, is said to be more than 17000 feet in height. Mount Kasbek near the military road attains an elevation of 15870 feet. The parallel secondary ranges vary between 3000 and 5000 feet; and the range along the Caspian is said to reach 8000 in its highest part.

Where the Caucasus pursues a course nearly parallel to the Black Sea, the waters which descend its sides take their way to the sea, by a great multitude of little streams, flowing through valleys of singular fertility and beauty. Bell spent a great part of the time of his residence in Circassia in one or another of these vallies. According to his descriptions few parts of the world can offer scenes more attractive than these glens covered with luxuriant grass or grain, or heavily timbered with beech, oak and walnut. The backbone of Caucasus is for the most part destitute of wood; but the secondary ranges are covered with dense and almost impenetrable forests, which have proved one of the principal obstacles to the progress of the Russians, and a convenient shelter for their enemies. The monarch of the Caucasian forests is the red beech; and other species of beech of smaller growth are not unfrequent. In some parts on the east of the military road fruit trees, as the apple and the pear, form impassable thickets. Evergreens are less abundant.

The waters which descend from the northern slope of this chain find their way by two large rivers to the Black and Caspian seas. The Kuban rises under Mt. Elbruss, and with its numerous branches at first pursues almost a northerly, then a westerly course, until it discharges its waters by several mouths into the Black Sea and the sea of Azov. The Terek takes its origin in a basin, adjoining Mt. Kasbek, breaks through this, and runs in a narrow valley in a northerly direction until it suddenly turns eastward towards the Caspian. Both these streams receive numerous and important branches. The valley of the Terek may be said to divide Caucasus in the middle; and has afforded since time immemorial a passage by the Dariel pass across the mountain. This road, which is the present military avenue of the Russians into Georgia, and has been made by them practicable for carriages, after reaching the height of ground falls into the valley of the Aragna, and then follows the Kur, until it reaches Tiflis. South of the Terek, in the corner between this stream the mountain and the Caspian, two less considerable rivers—the Koissu and the Samur—drain the country. Along the Caspian coast a road much used in ancient times ran by Derbend; and there are several other less frequented passes over the main ridge of Caucasus, besides that one which we have mentioned.

On the coast of the Black Sea there are many little coves at the mouths of the rivers, into which small vessels can run; but only two or three good harbors exist. These of course the Russians have occupied and fortified with the view of cutting off the trade between Turkish ports and the Circassians. But small craft, laden with salt, powder and ball, or cloths, still have tolerably free access to the coast.

From the coast near the north-western extremity of the mountain there is a short and easy path to the plains of the Kuban, and the way is defended by forts. The principal Russian settlements on the coast are at Anapa, Ghelenjik and Sukum-Kaleh. Numerous other settlements and forts in the extensive plains along the Kuban and the Terek help to keep the country under Russian control.

The inhabitants of the Caucasian countries are Circassians, Abasses, Georgian and kindred tribes, Ossetes, Lesghians, Tshetshes and tribes of Tatar and Turkish stock.

It is impossible to give the population of the Caucasian territory with accuracy: the following table may be regarded as an approximation to an estimate.*

* Klaproth in his 'Tableau de Caucase,' quoted by Bell gives another estimate varying considerably from this, by which the Abasses the Ossetes and Tatars (including other Turkish tribes,) are much more numerous, and the Circassians fewer. The estimate in the text is borrowed from a German traveller, who has written the article in the 'Gegenwart,' which we have mainly followed in the account of Caucasus and of the war.

1. The Tcherkesses or Circassians, . . .	280000	souls.
2. The Abasses or Abchases, . . .	140000	"
3. The Ossetes or Osses, . . .	60000	"
4. The Georgian mountaineers, . . .	50000	"
5. The Tchetches or Tchetchentses, . . .	110000	"
6. The Lesghis, . . .	400000	"
7. The Tatarian tribes, . . .	80000	"

Of these divisions of population the last are emigrants within a few centuries from the north and east of the Caspian sea. They belong principally to the Noghai Tatars, and may have been brought, during Jinghis Khan's expedition, into the plains on the northern and eastern side of the Caucasus, whence at a later date they penetrated further into the mountain. The other tribes are all indigenous; that is to say, there is no record of their existence, in any other quarter of the world. Ethnographically viewed, they form a common race, if we look at their physical characteristics, and social state; but if we look at their languages, they separate into several pretty distinct linguistic races. The Georgians of the mountains, along the basin of the Rion or the ancient Phasis and of several smaller rivers, speak a language like that of the Georgians or Grusians, of the country properly so called upon the waters of the Kur, and of which Tiflis is the capital. One of these mountain dialects, that of the Suanes, has been examined by Rosen quite recently; and is ascertained to belong without question to the Iberian class of languages, which embraces, amongst others, the Georgian, Lazian and Mingrelian. This class of languages Bopp has no hesitation in associating with the Indo-European group; but another comparative linguist, who has published his opinions within the last year, separates this with most of the Caucasian dialects from the flexional languages to which the Indo-European belong, and places it among the agglutinating languages by the side of those of the Tatar stock.*

Following the coast northward to the point where the mountain diverges from the Black sea, we enter the domains of another race, the Abasses or Abchases, who are, no doubt, the same with the Abasgi, whom the ancients placed in the same spot.† The south-eastern portion of this people Mr. Bell calls by the name of Azras, and represents them as speaking a distinct language. We have found this information to be confirmed by no other authority; and it is quite probable that Bell exalts a dialectical differ-

* Rosen's reports in regard to these languages are contained in the Berlin transactions for 1843 and 1845. Bopp's essay on the Georgian language appeared in the same transactions for 1846. The other writer referred to is Schleicher, 'die sprachen Europas in systematischer übersicht,' Bonn, 1850.

† The Abasses call themselves Absne, which seems to be the same name with that of the Apsilae whom the ancients placed in the southern part of the territory of this race.

ence into a distinct language. The Abasses are said to be somewhat darker in complexion than the Circassians, but in other respects like them. The southern part of this race are in nominal subjection to Russia; the northern are still fighting for their independence.

The Circassians speak a language which is grouped in a subordinate class with that of the Abasses, and is quite unlike the dialects of Georgia and Mingrelia. This race occupies the coast north of the Abasses on the west side of the range, and that extensive tract on the other side, which is included within the Kuban, the mountain and the military road. The most easterly of the tribes belonging to this race are the principal inhabitants of greater and less Kabarda, and have been long tolerably peaceable subjects of Russia. Next to them, in the valleys of tributaries to the Kuban, there are districts which are kept in subjection by the hardest through the presence of a strong military force. And in the angle made by the lower course of the same stream and by the coast there are other cantons pertaining to this same race, which have rendered themselves illustrious by the most heroic resistance to the Russians. On the whole it would seem as if towards the plains upon the east side of Caucasus resistance must be gradually waxing feebler, and the nation yielding itself to its mighty foe.

The Circassians call themselves Adighé, and the name Tsher-kess, from which our appellation of the country is derived, is said to be of Tatar origin and to denote a robber. As however the ancient geographers knew of Cercetae upon the coast just in this quarter, it is certain that the name was attached to this tribe from remote antiquity, long before the Tatars came into their vicinity.

The Tshetshes, or as the Russians call them Tshetshentses, derived that name from one of their villages which its robbing propensities early brought into notoriety. They appear to be the same people with Strabo's Gelae, a name which has perpetuated itself in that of the canton Galhai or Galgai and the village Gelen. They are known to the Georgians as the Mitsjeghi; and this seems to be their proper appellation. They occupy the tract included between the military road, the Terek and the main range of the mountain, until it divides and then the northern branch running west of the Koissu. Tatar tribes live intermingled with them, and to some extent the races have amalgamated. Respecting their language little, we may say next to nothing, is known. Klaproth's collections of words in his travels in Caucasus merely show that there is a language which certain smaller tribes,—the Ingushes, the Karabulaks, the Kistes,—unite in speaking, and which differs from all other Caucasian dialects. But its laws have not yet been investigated, and philologists as

sume, rather than have determined, that it is to be placed by the side of the languages spoken by the neighboring people, and not far off from the Tataric dialects.

The Lesghis, or (Russicé) Lesghiutses, occupy a territory principally included between the Koissu river, the southern leg of Caucasus and the Caspian; but they also are found on the southern side of the mountain, along the course of the Alasan, a branch of the Kur. Their land is known as Lesghistan and Daghestan; and they are probably identical with the *Legæ* of ancient geography, who were inhabitants of the same country. Whether the population called by the collective name of Lesghis speaks one language, or whether fragments of more than one race are to be found in Lesghistan, can not be affirmed with certainty; and as little is known of the laws of the Lesghian dialects as of those of the Tshetshes. Klaproth's specimens show very great differences between the dialects. It is remarkable, as this author discovered, that a considerable number of proper names now current among the Avars, a Lesghian tribe on the Koissu, are nearly identical with Hunnish names of the fifth century. Even the name of the mighty Attila is represented by Addilla, a very common male name in this district. Other coincidences almost equally striking, are traced by this philologer between Avar words and words in several Finnish languages.

There yet remains one tribe to be mentioned, the Osses or Ossetes, who occupy the rich vallies on both sides of the Caucasus, from the military road westward to the sources of the Rion. The discovery is extremely interesting, which was first made by Klaproth, and has been abundantly confirmed by Rosen, who spent a winter in their neighborhood, that this tribe speaks a language which is essentially of the Indo-European stock, and resembles most closely the Medo-persian. Klaproth went so far as to advance the theory that they are a Median colony. They are the same with the Asaei of the Greeks, but call themselves Iron and their land Iri, words which remind one of the Iran and Aria of eastern geography. "The linguistic riddle"—says Rosen—"of an Indo-European tribe, lying far away from the rest of that stock, and surrounded by people of an other language and origin, remains unsolved; but how many similar enigmas our history fails to solve. We find the Basques quite similarly situated in the Pyrenees, who were considered to be Gæls, until the masterly researches of the brothers Von Humboldt threw a new light upon them before the eyes of the learned."

The Caucasian nations thus offer to us an instance of tribes widely differing in languages, and yet agreeing in most of those physical features which, according to the physiologists, constitute community of race. Slight differences, however are observable between the tribes. The Abasses have darker complexions,

and the Lesghians a stouter frame than the Circassians, who are generally regarded as the most beautiful people in the world. Yet they incline to slimness.

The religion of the eastern nations usually determines their political relations, and far surpasses in strength the bond of a common race and language. Three religions have contended for the mastery in Caucasus; Mohammedanism, heathenism and Christianity. Of these, the two last are in the wane, and have dwindled down to the performance of a few ceremonies, some of which one stands in doubt whether to refer to a heathen or a Christian origin. On the other hand, with the violent hatred to Russia, has arisen in modern times a violent and fanatical zeal for Mohammedanism, which in its spread has proved the bond of union among the more eastern tribes; although it has not yet been able to unite them and the less zealous western tribes together. All the adherents of Islam in Circassia are Sonnitès or orthodox, even those who live nearest to the heretical Persians. With regard to the existence of heathen worship at this time in Caucasus, we have met with but little information. A part of the Tshetshes,—the subordinate tribes of the Ingushes and Kistes,—are said to have relapsed into heathenism from Christianity; while the rest of that race are fanatical Mahomedans. In Circassia, according to Klemm, together with a supreme divinity, there are acknowledged divinities presiding over thunder, fire, water and wind, and woods. These are honored by means of offerings and festivals, but image worship seems to be nearly if not quite extinct. Mr. Bell gives the following account of rites performed in honor of Tshiblè, the god of thunder.*

“On the evening of the 19th, in ascending the small valley of Kwaff to seek quarters for the night, I saw parties of people diverging from it for their homes. We then came to a lofty pole, which was firmly planted in the ground. On the upper end was transfixed the head of a goat, whose skin, stretched by sticks waved from a pole, like a banner in the breeze; close at hand were a sort of canopy, formed by four poles, with a flat roof of branches and leaves thickly intertwined, and a small circular enclosure of stout wicker work. The latter I found to be the sacred spot, on which the goat had received his blessed death by a thunder bolt, while his mortal remains, saving the head and skin aforementioned, were enclosed in the roof of the canopy. Immediately adjoining these trophies, a large circular space of the grass trodden and withered, showed where the males and females of the neighborhood had danced and feasted during the three preceding days, in commemoration of the honor conferred on this valley by Tshiblè, the spirit of thunder.”

The classical scholar will be reminded by this passage, of the sacredness attached by the Romans to a spot struck by lightning—the “triste bidental.”

On another occasion Bell attended a celebration where veneration for the cross and veneration for the thunder-god were singu-

* Vol. II, p. 96.

larly blended. The festival consisted in sacrificing two goats, in preparing a sacrificial meal, and in an invocation to the spirit of thunder, that he would avert his bolt as well as every other evil. At yet another religious ceremony Bell knew of no such invocation to this deity ; but together with the sacrifice of goats, a short prayer to some object of worship was uttered by several persons, who approached a cross. At a marriage feast, the greater number of those present went to an ancient cross, took off their bonnets, and kissed it. But so little hold has Christianity taken of the Circassian mind, that there seem to be no traces of it, except the supposed ruins of some ancient churches, this respect for the cross, festivals resembling and probably derived from Lent, Easter and carnival, and the feast of Merem, by which name is probably to be understood the Virgin Mary transformed into a kind of semi-heathenish personage.*

We have spoken of the western as less zealous Mohammedans than the eastern tribes. This is rather strange, considering the greater intercourse of the former with Constantinople, where female relatives of many Circassian families have graced the harems of the opulent. It is perhaps owing to the fact that at an early period, while the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of Trebizond flourished, Christianity had a certain nominal existence in this region, so that it might take centuries before the new religion of Constantinople had more than neutralized the old. However this may be, multitudes along the coast neglect the Mohammedan prayers, and seem to have no religious observances at all. Yet the predominant influence is Mohammedan, among the chiefs, more especially ; Turkish law, based on the Koran, has been introduced ; and Mr. Bell found that a number of schools adjoining the mosques have been established, for the instruction of boys and even girls in religion and learning, through the medium of the Turkish language.

If we pass from the religious to the political institutions of the Caucasians, we shall find what the face of the country and the analogy of nations at the same degree of civilization would lead us to expect, that little or no unity exists even within the territories of those who speak the same language. They are split up into many small divisions, according as the rivers render communication easy, or the mountains obstruct it ; and when they confederate together the tie is apt to be loose and temporary. There is also a great variety of forms of government in the Caucasian countries. Thus the Lesghis on the Caspian are governed by princes or khans, in as many as eight divisions, while the in-

* Klemm suggests that Merem or Meriam may be the Virgin Mary, stepping into the place of an ancient Caucasian goddess similar to Isis or to the mother of the gods among the Greeks ; just as at Puy, in France, an ancient statue of Isis was turned into one of the virgin.

habitants of the interior districts have preserved their freedom and equality. In Circassia the population of the Kabardas is subject to native princes, under Russian supremacy; the rest of Circassia is divided into a great number of cantons, where, in former times, princes seem to have had a certain control, which at present has very much passed away. But whatever be the form of government, these tribes have always been remarkable for an indomitable love of freedom.

In Circassia, which is better known than any of the Caucasian countries, there are four ranks of inhabitants, the prince, noble, free proprietor and serf. The serfs do not appear to form the most numerous class, although Bell came across one rich man who had seventy, and another who had three hundred of them. They are captives, or the descendants of captives; and since the war with Russia, soldiers of that nation, and especially Polish deserters are frequently to be met with in this condition of life. The serfs may be transferred by sale or otherwise, and indeed form one of the commonest commodities in payment of fines, in making presents, or in purchasing a wife. Bell however asserts that serfs, (as he calls them) or more correctly speaking, slaves, can not be sold without their own consent, and that, if their master ill use them, they have the privilege of leaving him and choosing another. This is similar to a prerogative which the same class possessed in the Athenian republic. As for the rest, the master is lord over his slave for life and death; but the same traveller expresses his surprise at the great kindness and consideration with which they are treated; the young Circassian showing something of the same respect to an elderly slave as he would to an elderly freeman. With the prevalence of Mohammedanism, slavery, at least of adherents to that religion, must cease.

The free proprietors form, as might be expected, the most numerous class. They are often richer than the nobles; and in these times of war, when personal bravery must carry the day over birth, they sometimes command the nobles in forays and skirmishes, and may be said to be gaining or regaining a position of equality with them. The introduction of gunpowder into common use has had the same effect as in Europe four centuries ago, to render costly defensive armour, such as coats of mail, unnecessary, and thus to bring the expensively armed knightly soldier more to a level with the rest of the people.

There are said by Bell and others, to be two kinds of nobles in Circassia, the ordinary nobility, and the higher, who are broken down princes, superseded in their authority by others belonging to the Circassians of the Crimea, who reëmigrated to the land of their fathers in the early part of the eighteenth century. These higher nobles are often the poorer of the two; and as such distinctions rest at last upon the amount of possessions, they are

gradually growing out of date in free Circassia. Nor have the princes there much power or importance. But it is far otherwise in the Kabardas, where the princes, having learned that the Russians are nearly all serfs, have contrived to reduce some of the free proprietors to that condition, by claiming to be the lords of the soil. They have strengthened themselves by drawing over the nobles to their interest, and hold assemblies in which these, without the body of the people, partake. The Russians are nothing loth to see this assimilation to their own institutions going on, as it is easier to manage the people through a few caressed chieftains than to deal with the communities.

The most remarkable element of the Circassian polity is the brotherhoods, which, though they do not exist in the Kabardas, where princely sway is controlling, yet as they are fully developed among the Ossetes and Lesghis, may be regarded as a very ancient institution once universal in Caucasus. They seem to be personal rather than territorial relations. They consist sometimes of one rank merely, sometimes of all the ranks united together; and they take their name from some leading family, or from the valley or stream where the members principally dwell. The number of members varies greatly from a score,—who may be the survivors of war or pestilence,—to many hundreds. Sometimes, when greatly diminished, they dissolve, and attach themselves to more flourishing fraternities. On the other hand, it rarely happens that a large brotherhood divides into two, or that individuals leave them and join new ones. The members of the fraternities, if not blood relations, consider the tie to be equivalent to that of blood; and hence marriage within the association is deemed incestuous. A majority of voices selects the elders,* out of whose number is appointed a chief judge. His duty it is, if disputes arise within the brotherhood, to call together the elders in order to compose the matter, and if this prove impossible, to convene the whole body. In this latter case the elders appoint a species of jury, from six to ten in number, to whom the management of the affair is entrusted, and who choose a presiding officer from among themselves. On greater occasions a larger assembly is called together, made up of all the brotherhoods of a district, or a tribe;† and the common dangers of later years have gathered several tribes together, as we learn from Bell, who was present more than once at such conventions. The most important business brought before these meetings, as this traveller informs us, besides the state of the country, was the trial of thieves and of persons accused of trading with the Russians.

The members of the fraternities sustain towards each other the relation of a society for mutual assistance and responsibility.

* Bell says that age decides, not election.

† Or province.

Thus when a member commits a theft for the first time, and is poor, the others pay his fine, which is for the most part reckoned at the value of so many oxen. A man stole an axe while Bell was in the country, and the case was tried in the valley where he was residing. As it was the second offence, a fine of twenty-four oxen was imposed; but upon representation of his poverty the number was reduced to fifteen. Where a crime is thus repeated, the fraternities withdraw their protection, and inflict punishment upon the offender. There is throughout Circassia a price for life or *weregild*, which varies for rank and sex, as it did among the Teutonic tribes of the fourth and fifth centuries. These fines also are paid by the fraternities, but it is usual, according to Bell, after the commission of several homicides by the same individual, to punish him with death or slavery. The fines go to the whole fraternity of the slain person; his own immediate family receiving only a somewhat larger sum than the other members. A very amiable part of these institutions is, that an obligation is felt to aid members who are in reduced circumstances, as well as the widows and families of deceased ones.

The fines for homicide, which we have mentioned, were intended no doubt to put an end to blood revenge; but that practice, so common and so natural for nations standing on a level with the Circassians in civilization, has not ceased. The obligation is perpetuated from father to son through generations, and sometimes involves fraternities and districts in feud with one another.

Our limits will not allow us to speak of the state of Caucasian civilization in general, nor of the capacity of this race of men for improvement. Let it suffice to say that their athletic, beautifully formed bodies and fine countenances are no bad index to their qualities of soul. If the Circassians may serve as an example of the rest, they are free, brave and generous to an extreme; polite and respectful in their manners; alive to beauty and the power of song; and inclined to the same free but chaste intercourse of the sexes which exists among the natives of the west. They can not be classed with the Orientals in their traits of character, any more than in their costumes and modes of life. In religious susceptibilities we should judge them to be inferior to many other races. Their life seems to find its centre in free personal activity, uncontrolled by religious obligation or faith. They resemble more the early Germans perhaps, than any people now existing on the face of the earth. Their great social faults have arisen from the boiling over of personal independence, which leads to invasions of the property of others, kidnapping, blood-feuds and the impossibility of establishing a settled united society. The kidnapping, for which they have been somewhat

infamous in past times, has in a good degree ceased, thanks to a common feeling and a sense of nationality inspired by Russian invasion.

We remarked in the early part of this article that the Russians long ago entered into relations with Georgia and Imeritia: the same thing is true also of other portions of Caucasia. As early as the year 1555, under the Czar Iwan Wassiliewitsch, according to Russian accounts to be found in Klaproth's Caucasian travels, several Circassian princes subjected themselves with their land and people in perpetuity to the Russian scepter. Soon after, weary of wars with their neighbors, these princes or some of them, removed to the land which is now called the greater and less Kabarda. They gave hostages for their good conduct to the Russian government, one of whom, the daughter of a prince, became the second wife of the emperor already named, and her brother was made a privy councillor. In 1568 the Russians attempted to found a town upon the Terek, which led to bloody resistance. Not long afterwards the Persians, being desirous of Russian assistance against Turkey, offered to give up to them Derbend and another place near the Caspian, if they should recapture these towns from the Turks. Between the beginning of the sixteenth century and that of the eighteenth,—to cut a long story short,—the Russians had managed, by making themselves necessary to the petty Khans of the southern Lesghis and Tatars in Daghestan, or the country south of the Koissu and northeast of Caucasus, to get a secure footing there along the coast of the Caspian: the rulers of a large part of that territory acknowledged their supremacy, and yet their sway was a mere name in the interior. In the land of the Tshetshes they had attempted without success to make a settlement at the embouchure of the Sunsha into the Terek; and a similar attempt had proved abortive at the mouth of the Koissu upon the Caspian. It was not until 1818 that in the first mentioned country the important post of Grosnaya was founded.

It was in this country of the Tshetshes that the modern movements in Caucasus against the Russians began, excited by the intrigues of Turkey, which by kindling up the somewhat lukewarm religious zeal of the eastern Caucasians,—the western had none at all, or were not even Mohammedans,—hoped to put obstacles in the way of its dreaded neighbor. Russia had already got possession of the Crimea, had swallowed up the last principality of the golden Horde, had extended her line to the Kuban and across it along the plains: only the hill country was free, and its inhabitants alone united hatred of Russia, love of liberty and Mohammedan sympathies.

A religious teacher of the Tshetshes, Mohammed Mansur by name, not a mere Priest or Mollah but a Murshid or teacher also,

had already begun in the last quarter of the last century to rouse his nation to fanatical zeal against Russia. Encouraged by Turkey he preached death to the Russians through the land, headed plundering parties who returned to the mountains laden with booty, and constituted himself a sheikh of sheikhs, and even an Imam. Mansur's earnest wish was to bring the western neighbors of the Tshetshes, the Circassians, into concert with them; but though these were filled with jealousy and dislike of Russia, owing to her subjugation of the before tributary Kabards in the middle of the last century, they have proved too proud to consent to such a union. A Circassian, it is said, looks down upon a Tshetsh or a Lesghi, so that an ordinary nobleman of the former would feel himself degraded by an alliance with a prince's daughter of the latter. This together with insusceptibility to the fanatical eloquence of Sheikh Mansur, through indifference or dislike to his religion, kept them from making common cause with him, and the same feelings have continued since, although the sway of Islam and hatred of Russia have considerably increased in Circassia. Mansur's active career was closed in 1791, when he joined the Turks at Anapa, on the Circassian coast, and was taken prisoner by the Russians, in the storming of the fortress.

The European wars, which broke out soon after this, left Russia no leisure to attend to the tribes around Caucasus, which refused to acknowledge her sway; and the occupation of Georgia may have required all her disposable force. On their part the tribes in many instances paid tribute; and were allowed to pursue their own policy in regard to internal affairs undisturbed. About 1820 arose another fanatical religious teacher, a Tshetsh apparently by birth, called Kasi Mohammed, and afterwards Kasi Mollah. About the time when he commenced his career as a preacher and Murshid, a frightful act, performed however by another fanatical priest, illustrated the frenzy of these men. A band of Tshetshes had taken a Russian fort, and put the garrison to the sword. The Russians, after recapturing the fort, attempted to persuade the tribe to surrender the authors of the mischief. A deputation was sent by them to two generals in the fort; but only the leader, this same priest, was allowed to enter. The irritating language of the generals transported him into such a fury, that he slew them and several others with his dagger, before he could be cut down himself. This savage deed led Jermoloff, the very able governor of Georgia, to make an expedition into the land of the Tshetshes, and his severities kept them in awe for some time.

Kasi Mollah, being opposed by other priests among the Lesghis, who were jealous of his influence, found it necessary at first to establish himself by decision and even by bloody measures. He

then turned his arms against rulers of Lesghian districts who refused to take his part, or were in alliance with the Russians; and perpetrated horrible atrocities upon Tarku, the capital of the most important prince in Daghestan. But Russian armies pursued him every where and wrested his conquests from him; until finally he was shut up in a walled village called Himri, which he had made his residence, where, on its being stormed, he was found among the slain in 1832.

Meanwhile a Lesghi, named Hamsad Beg, who became at Kasi's death the leader and Murshid of the party opposed to the Russians, had already begun his career, and had coöperated with Kasi. There is a little republic of Lesghis, called the Dshars, on the south declivity of Caucasus, near the Alasair, a branch of the Kur; the inhabitants of which had pursued the honorable employment of stealing Georgian maidens and other persons, whom they sold for slaves to the Turks, at Achalzik upon the Kur. This town in fact, and Anapa on the Circassia coast were the principal slave markets in Caucasia where Turkish voluptuousness obtained its supplies. Both places fell under Russian sway in 1829. The robbing Lesghis were punished by Paskewitsch then governor of Georgia. On his departure to engage in the Persian war, they became refractory; and General Rosen in a very faithless manner, during a negotiation, seized the persons of Hamsad Beg and of his brother. The emperor disapproved of this measure, and the chiefs were sent back laden with presents. On regaining the mountains they returned the presents with scorn, joined Kasi Mollah and became embittered foes of Russia.

This new leader appears to have fallen short of his predecessor in fanaticism and the power of eloquence which accompanies it; but to have surpassed him in military capacity. His course however was but a brief one. Sensible of the sway which princely families allied to Russia exercised over the minds of the people, he attempted to exterminate the family of the Khans of Avar, and had partially succeeded, when he was murdered in a mosque by conspirators, whom his faithless cruelties had stimulated to vengeance.

Hamsad's power devolved upon Shamil, the very extraordinary man, who has for fourteen years baffled Russia's best generals, and displayed abilities equal, if not superior, to those of a Sertorius, a George Castriot, or an Abd el Kader. In war Shamil seems to unite great cunning and coolness in plan with the proper degree of bravery. But he is not a mere military leader; his sway over minds is very great; and he is more indebted for his success to his power of uniting the tribes, than to any other source. He seems less to be a fanatic himself than to use the fanaticism of the people, as his instrument in carrying out his

plans. He has learned something of the art of warfare either from observation of Russian practice, or from Poles who have been captured or have voluntarily joined him. His patience is remarkable. He will allow the Russians to go on their way ravaging and conquering unresisted, until, when they have penetrated far into a hostile district, and their supplies are likely to be deficient, he suddenly appears at some defensible point, disputes their passage at every step, and, if compelled by their artillery to yield, leaves a fearful impress of himself upon the thinned ranks of their regiments.

To follow Shamil in his career would exceed our limits, and there is no accessible map, which we know of, that can afford to the reader much assistance in tracing out his campaigns. We will only mention one or two particulars of his adventures; premising first that the scene of conflict has been, more than any where else, in Lesghistan along the river Koissu, and in the land of the T'shetshes to the west of that stream, where Shamil, who pertains by birth to that tribe, had his residence amid an almost impervious wilderness of woods.

From 1834 until 1840, Shamil's measures were those of a guerilla partisan, usually retreating before superior forces, but occasionally making a stand and fighting with desperation. On one occasion, he defended a village against Gen. Faesi and an army of 12,000, fighting and retreating from house to house; and after this kept up active operations until late in the autumn of 1838, when both parties retired claiming the victory. In a subsequent campaign he shut himself up in a very strong rock-fortress, called Achulko, which he had further protected by the defenses of art. The Russians used all their resources to take it, and finally succeeded when nearly all the garrison had fallen. On entering they found Shamil neither among the prisoners nor the slain. The story of his escape, whether to be relied upon or not, is sufficiently illustrative of his fertility in resources. Word was brought, two days before the complete reduction of the fortress, that he was going to let himself down the perpendicular side of the hill by a rope, and so effect his escape. Trusty men, stationed near the spot, on hearing a noise about midnight, perceived that several Lesghians were effecting their descent in the way mentioned, one of whom was clad in white like Shamil. They issue from the station where they lie concealed, capture the would-be runaways, and convey them to the camp. Great was their chagrin on finding that the prisoner in white was only a counterfeit Shamil, whilst the real one, after the capture had been made and all was still, let himself down in safety, swam the Koissu and disappeared. This adventure and a previous one gave him a mysterious sanctity in the eyes of the people. It was said that Mohammed had delivered him, in order to drive

out the infidels. Meanwhile the Russians, in their vexation at losing their prey, turned their arms against unoffending villages, which had made their submission, and roused a spirit of deep vengeance, which greatly aided his subsequent plans.

At this time, Shamil seems to have adopted the measures which he has since pursued,—those of fastening the people more firmly to him by the bands of religion, and of uniting them in a wider confederation against the Russians. He adopted the policy of Mohammed, shut himself up for days together in a cave, and apparently took no nutriment. Issuing then from his retirement he preached Islam, and the dangers impending over it from the unbelieving Russians. His most devoted adherents named themselves his scholars, and the titles *Murshid* and *Mürid*, (master and scholar,) became honorable appellations, implying political connection in the great work of liberating the country. It has been said that his doctrine has some affinity to Persian Sufism, but this appears to be incorrect, and he has originated no new doctrine. The consequences of his policy, since 1840, have been that he has formed into a league against the Russians, a considerable part of *Lesghistan* and nearly all the *Tshetshes*. From his residence amid the forests of this latter country, he extends his influence over the confederates by means of the *Mürids*, and in every district has appointed the most important persons to be chiefs. The organization which he has introduced, is said not only to bring out and combine the strength of the country, but also to have caused a wonderful degree of order to prevail. In short, he plays the part not merely of a military leader, and religious teacher, but as well of a legislator, aiming to unite and mould into a homogeneous form the separate little bodies which he has drawn together.

The Russians, for some time after the capture of the fortress *Achulko*, supposed that all fighting was over. But in 1840, the *Tshetshes* convinced them of the contrary by new invasions of Russian territory; and all endeavors to check these, by *razzias* into their cantons, and by the construction of a line of forts, were nearly abortive. In 1841, there was a good deal of hard fighting in *Lesghistan*, without any decisive blow being struck; and Shamil had the good fortune to seize the persons of the whole princely family of *Kasikumuck*, who had been allies of the Russians. In 1842, the Emperor, being displeased that a number of boasted victories and the building of twenty fortresses, together with the capture of *Achulko*, had brought the war apparently no nearer to a close, sent the minister of war, Count *Tshernitsheff*, into the Caucasian countries, that he might inspect the conduct of the generals and the nature of the operations from a nearer point. While he was in *Lesghistan*, Gen. *Grabbe*, the hero of *Achulko*, devised a plan to distinguish himself be-

fore the eyes of the minister by penetrating to Shamil's residence, Dargo, in a district of the Tshetshes called Itshkeria. In order to do this, forests that had never heard the sound of the axe, and thick in parts with undergrowth, had to be felled; and the nature of the surface offered great obstacles, so that the soldiers were required to transport the artillery over the more difficult places. Shamil, offering no resistance upon the march, contented himself, after they halted for the night, with disturbing their rest. This was his plan the first and second days. Meanwhile, experienced officers in vain advised Grabbe to retreat. On the the third day, Shamil made more serious assaults, but the movement was still onwards into the forest. At noon of this day, he suddenly threw himself with his whole force upon the Russians. The command was given to retreat; but in vain, for the Caucasians kept up the fight until it was dark, plunging, sabre in hand, into the Russian encampment. The night was past in unrest by the worn out and thirsty Russians. The next morning the contest was renewed with the same fury: the Russian centre was attacked, and all the artillery captured, although in part wrested back again. In five days, the army came to a place of safety; two thousand had fallen; many died of their wounds afterwards, and of sixty officers only twenty-four returned. The minister of war was at the fortress to which the retreat was directed, and needed no official despatches to inform him of the sad plight of the army. During the same year, Shamil fought another bloody battle, and compelled the Russians to retire from a district which they did not afterwards attempt to occupy.

The next year the Russians seemed weary of the war, and acted chiefly on the defensive, while Shamil and the subordinate commanders won many important fortresses from the enemy, and received accessions of considerable districts, which before had been lukewarm or under Russian control. In 1844, the Russian policy changed; an army twice as large as that hitherto employed was ordered to the Caucasus, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, who, in five detachments, were to sweep over the hostile country, and were supposed able to suppress a foe destitute of artillery, and capable of bringing not more than thirty thousand men into the field. But although some partial successes were obtained in this campaign, no great results followed the operation of so large a force, and the war seemed as far as ever from an end.

In 1845, Woronzoff came into command of the army of Caucasus,—the same whom Mr. Ditson saw at Tiflis, when viceroy there, and to whom he dedicates his book. This general perceived that the war depended on the person of Shamil, and hoped, by making an expedition to his residence, Dargo, that he would be induced to shut himself within the walls, where he might be

besieged at leisure. But although Woronzoff succeeded in reaching this place, which Grabbe, as we have seen, signally failed in attempting, the achievement was useless: the place was found empty; while on the march thither and on the return, the army endured extreme hardships, had its supplies nearly cut off, and lost, in hard fighting, a great number of men.

The next year, the Russians attempted, without much success, to burn the thick forests which had brought them more than once into the greatest embarrassment. But their success was small. On the other hand Shamil ventured on the most daring act of the whole war. With an army of ten thousand, or as is also reported, of twenty thousand, he passed the Russian fortified line, crossed the Terek, and ravaged the Circasso-Russian provinces of Kabarda, from which he returned laden with booty to his own woods. In the year 1847, finally,—for we have no precise information of subsequent events,—it was the aim of Prince Woronzoff less to make new conquests than to open communications, and to reöpen such as had been already closed by the Caucasians. The campaign was principally consumed in attempting to capture two strong places situated near one another on the branches of the Koissu, which Shamil had fortified. The siege of the one, Gergebil, after two attempts to storm it, in which the Russians suffered a great loss of men, was abandoned as hopeless. The other, Ssalty, after long cannonading, was deserted by its garrison, who retired in safety. This has been celebrated as a great achievement; but it appears to have had no effect upon the main stake between the parties.

What the end of all this is to be who can tell? On the one hand as we have said, Shamil has introduced order and concert into the movements of his partisans; he has acquired control over a large territory, and new districts are every year joining their fortunes with his; he is identified with their religion and has now the august title of an Imam. While he lives, the mountaineers will probably continue to fight under his banner; but should treachery or the chances of war take him off, it is scarcely probable that another so gifted man can be found to fill his place. On the other hand by opening roads, by lines of forts, by sowing discord among the naturally isolated cantons, by immense expenditure of lives year after year, Russia may bring the eastern Caucasians into a state of weariness and despair, which shall force them to bow beneath the yoke.

We will now, before closing this article, spend a few words upon the entirely separate war, which has been waged since 1829 by the western Caucasians, or the Circassians and Abasses, against the same enemy.

By the treaty of Adrianople in 1829 Turkey ceded to Russia all the littoral of the Black Sea; which is very much as if Mex-

ico should cede to the United States Cuba or Porto Rico. The Circassians had always been independent. At the most some of them acknowledged the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual chief, in the same way that Roman Catholic nations have acknowledged the pope, without allowing him to meddle in their political affairs. One or two forts, used for purposes of trade, existed along the coast; of which Anapa was, as Bell shows, the only one in Circassia; and it was here alone that Turkey had a modified proprietorship by sufferance, without the proper right of sovereignty. It is on this transferred right of Turkey, that Russia founds her original claim to any part of Circassia, except the Kabardas, and the enforcement of this claim by war gives a just title, as she alledges, to all the conquests that may be made along the coast or elsewhere.

But the inhabitants began to resist the claim at once, as they had resisted previous attempts of the same power to plant itself within their country. Dread of Russian measures produced a confederation of twelve,—apparently all,—the cantons of independent Circassia. They appointed as the officers of this confederation a chief judge, and an ambassador who had resided for seven years in Constantinople at the time of Bell's visit. Their jealousy of the Russians was fomented, it is probable, by the Turks, who saw themselves sure to be deprived of a valuable trade if they should be subdued, and who wished to prevent the further progress of a dreaded enemy upon the coast of the Black Sea. A part of the trade on the Circassian side, was, as is well known, in slaves, particularly females, intended for the harems of Constantinople, who are commonly represented to have quitted their country with great willingness, in the hope that they would bring their charms to a good market, and win the favor of some wealthy Turk, perhaps of a Pacha or the Sultan. But this can hardly be true of all, particularly of those who were plundered from their homes in the feuds of hostile districts, or by robbing parties. In attempting to suppress this trade the Russians are not influenced by the inhumanity of the thing, but by a wish to cut off the connection with Turkey, which Circassian females in that country and the trade in them would keep up. Their attempts however, hitherto have not been successful, nor has the blockade of the coast during the war been so enforced, but that many Turkish vessels without very great danger have plied their trade in various articles demanded for the Circassian country.

The Circassians have engaged in the war with Russia at a great disadvantage. A power which can appear with its fleet at any point of the coast, erect a fort under cover of the guns of the fleet, and thus obtain safe lodgment among a people almost destitute of artillery; which likewise controls the mouths of all the

valleys in northern Circassia, on the east side of the mountains; which is secure possessor of the plains upon the Kuban, and of a considerable tract to the south of it, has need only, it would seem, to accumulate armies upon the frontiers without striking a blow and to keep up a perpetual blockade, in order to cut off supplies and to bring the people to submission. Then the face of the country itself renders concert on the part of the Circassians unusually difficult; and the presence in sufficient season of a large force at a point where invasion is attempted is almost impossible. Hitherto there has been little organization in their resistance. In actual conflict their cavalry has proved superior to the Russian; but they can not stand before infantry disciplined and led by an experienced commander. Their strength seems to consist in annoying the enemy by hanging around forts and camps; cutting off stragglers; attacking foraging parties, and similar manoeuvres which lie within the means of an inferior foe. Their bravery is wonderful. Bell was often struck by their fool hardy daring in going within reach of gun-shot, when a short detour might have put them beyond all danger. They rush into conflict, sabre in hand, against many times their number; and seem as if they could never learn the murderous properties of cannon. We are not able to trace their progress, nor does the war here present those grand features by which it is distinguished in eastern Caucasus. We can only say that nearly the same provinces, which Bell left in a state of war with Russia in 1839, have maintained their independence ever since.

Thus have the hardy natives of Caucasus, by their heroic resistance to aggression and injustice, for the first time since the world began come forth from their obscurity, and drawn the eyes of all mankind upon them. Before neither Persian nor Greek, Byzantine, Tatar nor Turk, disturbed these children of nature in the possession of the sweet gift of freedom. That was reserved for a nation calling itself Christian. Christianity, as they must consider it, coming in such a shape, can only be hated. It would not be strange if they should be among the last of nations to receive its light. Political oppression, as so often happens, will prove a mordant to fix fast the dye of Islam upon them.

ART. IX.—REFORMS IN COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on changes in the system of Collegiate education. Read March 28, 1850. Providence: George H. Whitney. 1850. 8vo. pp. 76.

Project to establish the Cleveland University, with a brief exposition of the principles on which it is to be conducted, and the very superior and thorough education which it is designed to give. Signed in behalf of the Trustees. By ASA MAHAN, President.

An Historical Discourse pronounced before the graduates of Yale College, August 14, 1850; one hundred and fifty years after the founding of that Institution, with an Appendix. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. New Haven, 1850. 8vo. pp. 128.

Address and Discourse at the Inauguration of the Rev. Aaron L. Chapin, M. A., as President of Beloit College, July 24, 1850. Milwaukie. 1850. 8vo. pp. 52.

THE publications of which we have given the titles, relate to the subject of collegiate education. The manner in which the subject is discussed, is not, however, the same in all of them, nor do they lead the reader to precisely the same conclusions. The Report first in order, reviews at some length, the history of the colleges of this country, investigates the measure of success with which they have accomplished the objects for which they exist, and their relation to the wants and demands of the community at the present time. The conclusion at which it arrives is, that these institutions require important modifications, in order to realize the highest usefulness, and to meet all the demands which may justly be made upon them. It recommends to the Corporation of Brown University the particular modifications which should be adopted in that institution. These changes have since been made, and the institution, in its altered form, has commenced its first academical year, under "the star of its new destiny."

The project or advertisement of the Cleveland University informs the public, that an institution under that name, will soon be opened upon the same principles as are set forth in "the Report" just noticed. It tells us that at the head of each department of knowledge "an able Professor will be placed, whose duty it shall be, to perfect the students, &c." In the next sentence it adds, that "in all these courses, popular lectures are to be delivered, of which not only the students, but multitudes of the community may profitably avail themselves." "The object of this system of instruction will not be to carry the students through

a multitude of studies, without his thoroughly mastering any one of them, but to perfect him in those he does study." It proposes to dispense with the necessity of erecting buildings for the residence of students, "in accordance with the plan of all the German, and many other of the most celebrated European Universities." In connection with the above, it informs the public, that the land, to buy which it asks some 40,000 dollars, may be so managed that after reserving a sufficient quantity for the uses of the University, and "for manual labor purposes," "the remainder may be sold in city lots so as to realize a sum as high as from \$120,000 to \$150,000, for the endowment of Professorships."

The discourse of Pres. Woolsey was delivered the 14th of August last, one hundred and fifty years since the founding of Yale College, to an audience of nearly a thousand of her living graduates. It is principally historical, giving a rapid review of the history of the College, and is accompanied with a valuable appendix. The author, after reviewing the course of one of the oldest colleges in the country, thus sums up the results of this retrospect :

"And will not this historical sketch be admitted to have shown great change and progress in our College affairs? Of proofs of change indeed the whole history of the College has been full. Whether we compare the usages of the olden time with those of the present, or the discipline, or the studies, or the means by which improvement can be effected, or the standard of scholarship, or the number of officers employed in educating, or the numbers educated, everywhere we see change marked and sweeping; so that he, who should join together in his mind the first period of the College at Saybrook, or even its first age at New Haven, with the actual state at this day, without knowing the transitions, might reasonably doubt its identity. These changes, moreover, must be regarded as progress, not as a backward course. For not only have they been introduced in order to come nearer to the best standard of education; but they have justified themselves by the confidence of discerning persons, and by increased numbers and efficiency." * * *

"It is sometimes said by persons who look with a jealous eye on colleges, particularly on their social and political influences, that they are immovable institutions, conservative of knowledge elsewhere useless and forgotten, opposed to new science, to the practically useful and the popularly intelligible. But the sketch which I have laid before you, fellow graduates, suffices, if any thing were needed, to show how unjust and one-sided are these allegations. True it is that colleges are not apt to think that

'Of old things all are over old,
'Of good things none are good enough,'

nor to overturn instead of repairing. A confession of past failure and ill-success, such as that implied in revolutionary measures of destruction and renovation, is not apt to be made by them, or to express their convictions. But then the changes, great as they may seem if measured by the contrasts of centuries, are no violent nor sudden ones: they are such changes as time with his gentle irresistibility works in whatever is not made but grows; in states and churches, and all things which live not by infusion and propping up but by inward energy. If the past may be our rule of judging we shall have such changes still. They will come, as they have come, through enlightened men

in colleges and enlightened graduates without their walls. But far be from us those changes which instead of ingrooving themselves in forms becoming obsolete* tear and snap in twain; those which break up the flow of College history; which sever the connection with past science and with the world of the past; which render the venerable forms of grey antiquity less venerable to the scholar; which make a gap in the long procession of science upon which ages have looked as spectators, and inspire the student with the conceit that he is not at all a transmitter and a torchbearer, but rather one of a new race the creators and sole possessors of knowledge.—pp. 72-74.

The discourse of Pres. Chapin, compared with that of Pres. Woolsey, is interesting from the striking contrast of the circumstances under which it was delivered. The first and youthful President of one of the youngest colleges at the West, modestly, yet ably defends the old system, from the recent objections which have been urged against it, and clearly exposes the fallacies upon which these objections are based.

Theories of education are in many respects, like theories of medicine. The newest is likely to attract attention, and to find abundance of imitators. As theories of medicine are tested by time, so are theories of education. The result of their actual working, when fairly tried, is the most satisfying and decisive test of the claims of both. This is a cogent reason for leaving the question between the new and the old, without discussion, to the decision of experiment, and the arbitrament of time. There is a reason more cogent, however, which compels us to discuss the claims of both, when discussion will be of any use, and to anticipate by satisfactory reasoning, so far as we can, what will be the result in fact. False theories in medicine are very costly to human life. The experiment of fact is only determined by the sacrifice of multitudes of living men. Unsound theories of education are equally costly to the noblest part of man. They result in the imperfect or the injurious training of the living soul.

We propose to enter into no defense of the old system. We are content to leave it to the decision which time has passed upon it, and to the confidence which the experience of past generations naturally awakens in the minds of the generation now living. Nor do we wish to attack the new system. We respect the reputed author of this "Report" as well as the gentlemen who have with him subscribed to it their names. So far as the weight of their experience, or the authority of their opinions is concerned, we are content to leave these to their natural influence. So far, however, as this is an argument, designed to establish certain conclusions, and founded upon alleged facts and reasonings, so far is it open to strictures and questionings, and these strictures are invited by the somewhat confident and positive manner in which the argument is conducted.

* "Let the change which comes be free
To ingroove itself with that which flies."—Tennyson.

The conclusion which the report aims to prove, is that the system of education hitherto pursued in Brown University, has failed to attract a sufficient number of students to support the college, and has also failed to give the education which is justly required by the present state of the community. If the argument were directed to this conclusion only, we should feel that the affair is entirely private, and that with it neither we nor our readers have any particular concern. But in order to establish this conclusion, it was deemed necessary to prove that the colleges in New England generally, are in the same condition, and labor under similar defects. The argument is directed to this general conclusion and has this general bearing.

The question which we propose to discuss is this, do the facts and reasonings that are adduced actually justify this conclusion?

The arguments are arranged somewhat informally, under the following heads. "The system of University Education in Great Britain. The progress and present state of University Education in this country. The present condition of this University. The measures which the committee recommend for the purpose of enlarging the usefulness of the Institution. The subject of collegiate degrees."

Upon the first point it is said, that the founders of the New England colleges, being graduates of the English universities, took these institutions, or rather a single college in a university, for their model. After a very general, but so far as it goes a correct account of one of these colleges, it is added. "We however varied in many respects from the original idea, and it must be admitted that our changes were generally for the worse." And what are these changes "for the worse?" "We required residence in a college edifice, and thus assumed the whole superintendence of students; but our buildings were constructed with no reference to this object. Our officers were at first like theirs, a president and tutors, but the president did not live in college, nor, when professors were subsequently appointed, was provision made for their residence." After stating also that we gave our colleges the power of conferring degrees, which in England was restricted to the university, the Report proceeds:

"The result of our departures from the original idea has been in every respect unfortunate. In the first place, we assume the responsibility of a superintendence which we have rendered ourselves incapable of fulfilling; and we have lost the humanizing effect produced by the daily association of students with older and well bred gentlemen, so obvious in an English college; and, in the second place, we have expended almost all the funds appropriated to education in the construction of unsightly buildings, we had almost said barracks, for which, perhaps, the highest merit that can be claimed is, that they are not positively and universally a nuisance."—*Report*, p. 10.

The only changes "for the worse" that are here specified, are two; the fact that the students, though required to live in a pub-

lic building, do not reside in a quadrangle, of which the outer windows are grated, and that the president and professors do not reside with them. In respect to the last point, we remark that the masters of the English colleges, when married, do not reside in the building in such a way as to give to the undergraduates the "humanizing effect" of intercourse with their families; that professors were hardly known in the New England colleges till one hundred and sixty years after Harvard college was founded, about the time of their alleged decay; and that the tutors have, in all cases, resided with the students, occupying chambers in the public buildings, and in most cases, eating with them at the commons table. In respect to the first, that of erecting buildings which do not secure *any* superintendence over the students, we can only say that these buildings do not indeed secure the superintendence of a prison, but we deny, altogether, that the fact that they were not built in the form of a quadrangle, and furnished with grated windows, renders them utterly unfit as an aid to the reasonable supervision which may be and is exercised, when students reside together. That these buildings are "unsightly" we allow, and so far, "the change" was "for the worse." "That the highest merit that can be claimed is, that they are not positively and universally a nuisance" we deny, affirming that they save the parents enormous bills for rent, which would be a "nuisance" indeed, if these buildings did not exist,—that they afford a means of supervision which is most important,—that they tend to create a common feeling, an *esprit du corps* which, rightly directed, is most desirable, and that were it not for the parsimony of the public, the rooms in these buildings would be almost universally preferred by students themselves. We would ask also, whether it is true, that in consequence of this alleged defect of superintendence, the manners and morals of our students are inferior to those of the students of Oxford or Cambridge, of equal age, and similar domestic training. The points of residence in a public building, and in contact with the instructors are the only ones which are adduced to make out the very sweeping statement, that our changes have been "for the worse." As to the course of study, it is not contended that this was changed for the worse, indeed, it is affirmed that "we adopted the unchangeable period of four years, and confined the course of education almost exclusively to Greek, Latin, and Mathematics; adding, perhaps, a little more theology and natural philosophy." * * * "The studies pursued were Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Locke on the Understanding, while some attention was generally given to Theology and the Hebrew language." We ask here how much Greek was studied in these colleges before the Revolution, and even down to 1800? How much Natural Philosophy before 1740, one hundred years

after Harvard college was founded? How long was Harvard college founded before "Locke on the Understanding" was written? Was not logic, both in theory and practice, one of the principal studies in these colleges down to a period later than the American Revolution?

We do not wish to be hypercritical, but it strikes us as somewhat singular, that the course of study, if unchanged, should be introduced at all under the head of changes whether for the better or for the worse, and that it should be so broadly intimated that this course of study in 1640 or in 1700 even, consisted only of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and "Locke on the Understanding," and that this was copied from the English universities. The author of this report evidently had his mind fixed on two leading ideas, first, that the colleges were in a given condition just before the American Revolution, and secondly, that these colleges were modelled, course of study and all, after the English universities, and did not advert to the fact that from 1640 to 1775, the world had made great advances, that Natural Philosophy had been called into being, "Locke on the Understanding" had started the long succession of imitators and opposers, and that these changes had exerted a far greater influence upon the course of study in the American colleges, than upon that of the English universities.

It seems also in place here to ask, if these changes in respect to buildings, were "for the worse," which we by no means admit, were no changes made for the better? Was not that a great change for the better, with which the New England colleges first started into being, and according to which, the students were subjected to daily examination or recitation by their public tutors, a practice which has not been fully established to this hour in the English and Scotch universities? And is it not true that this feature was adopted from the English schools, as Eton and Westminster?

We have puzzled ourselves somewhat to answer the question why these remarks on the system of university education in Great Britain were introduced at all, and what bearing they have upon the argument. At one time we thought that we had discovered the answer to this inquiry, in the passing remark which was designed to carry not a little weight with a portion of the public for whom the Report was written, that "the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were, as it is well known, established mainly, if not exclusively, for the benefit of the clergy. They were ecclesiastical and monastic institutions. The course of study which they prescribed was designed for the education of priests," &c. This opinion was strengthened by the remark in the same strain, that the colleges in New England gave great attention to theology and Hebrew, "inasmuch as a large

portion of the students were designed for the ministry." We reasoned thus, the argument which it is designed to found on the relation of our colleges to the universities must be, that as both these classes of institutions were constructed for the special training of the clergy, they are of course unfitted for the wants of the community at large. But when we were told on the very next page that these colleges, founded on the model of monastic institutions, when in their highest perfection and glory, "nurtured the men who, as jurists, and statesmen, and diplomatists, in the intellectual struggle that preceded the Revolution, shrunk not from doing battle with the ablest men of the mother country, and won for themselves, in the contest, the splendid eulogy of Lord Chatham, the noblest of them all; the same men who, when the Revolution was accomplished, framed for us, their successors, the Constitution of the United States, perhaps the most important document that the eighteenth century produced," we verily thought, that if these monastic and clerical seminaries could train men for services of such various and splendid renown, they might, as schools of training even now, with the four years' course of Latin, Greek, &c., be the best for general education that can well be devised. But this conclusion would spoil the argument, and would leave unexplained the reference to the universities of Great Britain.

We pass from this, however, to the second topic or head of argument; "The progress and present state of university education in this country." The colleges, as long as they kept to the model of the English universities, with all their "changes for the worse," we are told, "were eminently successful." The reasons alleged for this success are, that "the course of study was limited, and time was allowed for deliberate investigation of each science. The mind of the students was suffered to invigorate itself by reflection and reading, and hence, with far less perfect means than we now possess, it seems to have attained a more manly development." The course of study was indeed limited. The Latin authors regularly recited in Yale College before 1800, were Virgil, Horace, Cicero's Select Orations, and Cicero de Oratore, little more than is now required for admission to the institution; the only Greek regularly recited was the Testament, not so much as is now required to enter. A small class, studied for the Berkeley scholarship, additional Greek and Latin. The mathematics were taught from inferior compends. What were the sciences, for the deliberate investigation of which time was allowed, does not appear, unless logic were such an one, which the present generation has been taught to ignore, and therefore to despise. More time was indeed allowed to the student, than at present, to use or abuse. Some of this was used by the industrious, to "invigorate themselves by reflection," but it will hardly

be argued from this fact, that we ought to give the students greater leisure, in order to return to the golden age of academical perfection.

The truth is, these statements will be regarded by the graduates of those days with perfect wonder. If it is indeed true, as it may be, that their minds attained to a more manly development than those of more recent times, it will not be ascribed by a single individual of them, to the fewness of the studies which they pursued, nor to the greater time which they gave to them, but to the greater earnestness of the life which they lived, and the greater simplicity of their views of what constituted preparation for actual life, and wherein consisted actual success in life. The severity of manners which then prevailed, the respect which was paid to age and station, and which put back the period of entrance upon independent manhood till nearly the age of forty, made all the previous experience of life a kind of subjection and pupillage. The actual influence of men of wisdom and age in reproofing temerity, in detecting sophistry, and in smiting down arrogance,—as well as the absence of the means of passing off superficial for real knowledge, that are now furnished in reviews, popular lectures, and quack systems of education,—all these influences combined, prolonged the period of education long after the days of graduation, and made the essays of years at the bar, in the pulpit, and in the senate house, to be a continued education, leading to a manly development indeed.

We are glad to see the principle recognized for once in this report, though it would seem almost inadvertently, that the true end of education is the manly development of the mind, and is not the communication of a given amount of knowledge, which may be requisite for the art or science by which a man earns his bread. We are pleased also to notice the concession, that a system of training which is said to have been designed for the education of professional men and of the clergy particularly, produced men adequate to any exigency, and to the most novel and trying circumstances to which men are ever called.

But the argument proceeds. "With the present century a new era dawned upon the world." 'The resources of a great country were to be developed by the mind of the people aroused to new energy. To develop these resources, science was needed to direct labor, and for the science required, the people looked to the colleges. But this science was not to be found in the system of instruction already prevailing in the colleges. Virgil, and Horace, and Homer, and Demosthenes, could not train men to survey land, to construct roads, to build and navigate ships, to cultivate the soil, to establish manufactories.' This, we are told, "was an important crisis in the history of collegiate education in this country. To remain in its present condition was impossible. Every one conceded that a knowledge of those sciences on which

success depends in the various departments of active life, must be communicated to students in our higher seminaries of learning." If by the higher seminaries of learning, be intended the colleges already existing, very few have conceded that these colleges could or ought to attempt to give the knowledge of these sciences, to such an extent, as is here implied. Very few have thought that the colleges ought to be so modified as to profess to give such knowledge. But the colleges, we are told, found themselves in a dilemma, in consequence of these demands. They ought to have said, we can not do this work in four years. We will, therefore, either extend the time of study, or will make it optional with the student to select the studies best suited to his profession, and give him thorough instruction, as far as he goes. But they did neither of these things, but crowded all these new sciences into the space of time already fully occupied, "by curtailing every other that may have been previously taught, thus increasing the number, and teaching every one less perfectly." "The time of study was not extended, but science after science was added to the course, as fast as the pressure from without seemed to require it."

This is the representation. We do not deny that there is a semblance of truth in it, just enough to enable us to identify the caricature. If it is true, that the colleges have introduced more studies than they could thoroughly teach, it has been by admitting in part the very false assumption that pervades this report from beginning to end, that the college is bound to qualify a man fully to discharge the duties of any profession, which he may choose to follow; that it is a school of special, as well as of general training. But the consideration of facts will show that it is true to but a very limited extent. The fact is not even adverted to in the report, that during the interval described, the preparatory studies have been more than doubled in amount, so that some of the students who now enter college know more of Greek, and nearly as much of Latin as the best scholars who graduated fifty years ago, and that as fast as time has been lost by crowding in the sciences at one end of the course, time has been gained, by crowding out studies at the other. Nor is this all. It is the testimony of all who are competent to judge, that in one college at least, and we speak of one because we can speak with confidence, nearly all the studies which are now pursued, are prosecuted with greater thoroughness, enthusiasm, and success, than at any previous period, that during the last twenty years there have been striking advances in these respects, and that the examinations for entrance and during the entire course, are prosecuted with a rigor and are encountered with a thorough preparation which were never before equalled. We speak here only in comparison with what has been, not at all in respect to what is desirable, or may be attained.

The consequences of this new order of things, are then depicted. First, it is argued that it is quite impossible "that the work that is marked out in the course of studies in any of our colleges can be performed in four years." In support of this it is alleged that "the course of study in the English universities" "is extremely limited," and yet those who are candidates for honors are obliged to study industriously, and frequently intensely," while we impose "three or four times the amount of labor" upon our students. The course of reading for a degree in an English university is indeed limited, so limited that to impose ten times the amount upon one of our students, would not be excessive, but the amount of study requisite to qualify the competitors for honors to appear with respectability on the arena, is far greater than that which is exacted from our students. The two amounts are very different; to substitute the one for the other, and to leave the impression that we impose three or four times the greater,* is an inadvertence, which, if it were intentional, would be a sophism of the grossest character.

But this method of study is affirmed to be unfortunate on the mind of the student. "The student never carrying forward his knowledge to its results, but being ever fagging at elements, loses all enthusiasm in the pursuit of science. He studies not from the love of study, but to accomplish a task. He learns to cram for a recitation, or for an examination; and when the last is over, his work is done, and he is willing to forget all that he has studied. It gave him no pleasure, it has yielded him no fruit, and he gladly dismisses it all from his thoughts forever."

Is this representation correct? So far as we have had opportunity to observe, the complaint with the students through the greater portion of the college course, is, not that they have too many studies, but that they are perpetually drilled in the same round of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. We do not deny that the actual operation of the college system on the mind of many students accords with the description. It is not, however, the fault of the system, but it results from the imperfection of youth. It would not be cured by a change in the system, or by the introduction of one that is new. It must be outgrown by the en-

* It may be said, that the examination for honors is confined to but few books, while our colleges require a great number. We reply, a philologist may spend years upon years in mastering a single book, and the mathematician may do the same, in applying to new problems the principles of algebra and of fluxions. The question is, do we impose more studies than can be thoroughly learned? This is confidently repeated in this report, and asserted in the most positive manner. To these positions and confident assertions, we oppose the undeniable fact, that in the German gymnasia, from which the German students graduate at about 19 or 20 years of age, a greater number of studies is pursued than in the American colleges. The objection will not be made, we presume, that these studies are not thoroughly taught.

larged experience and the wiser head of the mature man. The students of our colleges are youth. They have the chafing impatience under present duty, and the eager enthusiasm to grapple with future and unknown tasks, which are incident to youth. They vote all present rules, and languages, and sciences, and examinations, and instructors, an offence and a scandal, and glory in that blessed future, when they shall roam in the flowery fields of knowledge, and every task shall be a pleasure, and every science shall be learned as easily as a song. The temper of youth is the same, whether in the school of Eton or Westminster, the gymnasium of Germany, the college of France, or the colleges of America, except perhaps in the university that is at Providence and the one that is to be at Cleveland. By-and-by they outgrow this view of tasks, and examinations, and instructors. When they enter the university of Germany, or the professional school of America, and the powers matured by painful drilling, begin to rejoice in the exercise of the strength which they have acquired, and the student begins to feel that his liveli-hood and success have to do with the knowledge he gains, then study seems to be a different matter. Then do we hear not so often, complaints of the system under which they were trained, as regrets that they did not fag harder at the elements, and did not master more thoroughly their text-books, and drudge more faithfully for the recitation of that, which, if its acquisitions had not remained, would have left something far better, the capacity to use the intellect with ease, and vigor, and success.

The appeal is also made to the fruits of this training. 'All of our colleges teach Greek and Latin, but where are our classical scholars? All teach mathematics, but where are our mathematicians?' It would be sufficient to answer on the principles of 'supply and demand' which are assumed in this report, that the demand for scholars in this country is very limited, and we ought not to expect a very ample supply. The fact is, that there are *scholars* in this country, both classical and mathematical. If it be said in the spirit of the quotation from Mr. Ticknor, that our colleges have not made them such, we answer that these colleges have never professed to complete such a training. Their course of study and the time at which they take the student, both render it impossible. The American college occupies the ground mid-way between the gymnasium and the university on the continent. It is gross injustice to complain that it does not do the whole work of the latter. Besides there is another and more serious difficulty. It is the *early* training, the discipline of the early youth, that makes the scholar in the sense in which the appellation is used by Mr. Ticknor. The college can not do the work of the nursery and the preparatory school. If it occupies the ground of the two last years of the gymnasium, or the collegiate

schools of England, and the work of the earlier years has not been thoroughly done, the deficiency can not be supplied. Sir Robert Peel composed Latin verses with fluency at the age of thirteen. Boys are trained in Germany to compose Latin well at an earlier age. The few accomplished classical scholars that have been trained in this country, have been from their boyhood, drilled in Latin and Greek. These young men have graduated at our colleges, but they did not find that the instruction there received was not scholarlike, but are forward to confess the benefit of the discipline which they encountered. 'But they were forced to perfect their training abroad.' What if they were? We can not but regret that the necessity existed, but this fact does not prove, that the colleges do not do all which may reasonably be expected of them; least of all, does it prove, that it would help the matter or tend to create scholars, if the colleges should assume the functions of academy, gymnasium, and university, united.

'But the colleges have not supplied the demand for civil engineers, which has been very great.' So also the demand has been great for military engineers, for educated machinists, and naval constructors. Does that prove that the colleges as such, ought to train all sorts of engineers, machinists and ship builders? It would be in point to show that the mathematics, so far as they are pursued in them are not thoroughly taught, and still more in point to prove that the special attainments in the practical sciences which are made at West Point, are not purchased at a great expense to the general culture of the student.

Another point, on which great stress is laid in the conduct of this argument, is the alleged fact, that the colleges finding themselves likely to be deserted by the community have resorted to the expedient of cheapening their tuition by raising permanent funds, in order to increase the number of students; that notwithstanding these efforts, the number of students has been diminishing in proportion to the population; and that this proves, they do not furnish the education which the community requires.

It is very positively asserted more than once, that these colleges till very recently have been self-supporting institutions. This statement is very extraordinary, and it can not have been written, with a vivid recollection of the minute and frequent proofs of the contrary which are furnished in the history of Harvard and of Yale. All the public buildings of these colleges have been erected by means of private and public benefactions. Permanent endowments for the support of the officers have been provided in part, from the earliest time. Yale College received an annual appropriation of a hundred pounds from the state, for more than fifty years. The salaries of some officers have been paid from the state treasuries, large donations from individuals

and the government have repeatedly been given, either to pay off the debts of these colleges, or to provide for particular necessities or to go into a general fund. The effect of all these donations and we may add their avowed object was to cheapen tuition for the public good, that more persons might be enabled to receive a liberal education. It is true, that the method of realizing this object by raising funds to be specially appropriated to the use of the indigent and meritorious, was a thought of more recent times, but the effect of these funds, is so far from cheapening tuition in general, that it rather sustains the ordinary price to those who can afford to pay it. But we are told that these funds were raised, because the means of the colleges were diminishing. The means of colleges are always diminishing, i. e., its capital stock being derived from the benefactions of the public, must be now and then replenished, as new buildings, new books and new apparatus are required, and as the advance of science demands a new outlay. But that this expedient was devised because the number of students was falling off, and the treasuries of the colleges were becoming empty, seems to us to be idle affirmation. This class of funds were primarily the fruit of religious zeal. They were first raised to defray the expenses of students for the ministry. Afterwards they were enlarged to meet the wants of all those that are meritorious and indigent, that the public good might be promoted thereby.

But the authors of this report would have us believe, that it was because inducements to enter the learned professions were becoming far less, and those to enter the active professions far greater. Nay they would persuade the public, that it was to *reduce* the price of tuition, in order to draw students to a particular college, when there were not students enough for all, that these funds were primarily contributed. We can not think that facts will warrant a single one of these representations, and we are at loss to understand, how they should have been made or endorsed by the signers of this report.

But the report proceeds. 'The colleges finding their customers leaving the shops, might have provided themselves with wares to attract a large number, or they might have altered the system of education to suit the demands of the community, but this they did not choose to do, but rather forced the community by appeals to their generosity, to pay the expense of the commodity which they did not need.' Whatever competition or feeling of rivalry may have existed among the colleges of New England we believe to be owing to the fact that more of these colleges were founded than were really required. Local attachments, religious or denominational preferences, have occasioned this multiplication of their number, with its disastrous and depressing influences upon the cause of sound learning. These local and

religious preferences united to a strong desire to do the public a service are sufficient to account altogether for the readiness with which these funds were raised, without the fancy of a supposed alarm, at the diminution of the number of those who desired an education.*

"But in this" fancied "dilemma, two courses were again open before the colleges. The first was to adapt the article produced, to the wants of the community. Inasmuch as a less number desired to enter the learned professions, and those who were entering them, did not, in many cases, prefer this mode of preparation, the sources from which students were supplied to the colleges seemed to be drying up. But here were large and intelligent classes of citizens who needed education, though not such education as the colleges afforded. These institutions might then have been at once modified, and their advantages extended, not to *one class*, merely, but to *every class* which needed a scientific and liberal education. In this manner, they might probably have been enabled to support themselves. The other course was to appeal to the charity of the public, and thus provide funds by which the present system might be sustained. The second course was adopted." But was not the first course also attempted? No one who is familiar with the experiments which were made in this direction a few years since in two or three of the leading colleges of New England, will hesitate for an answer. But what was actually done, and with the actual result, has been so well described by Pres. Wayland himself in a previous work that we can not do better than to quote his own language.

"It has been said that the course of study in our colleges was formed in a remote age, and that it is adapted only to a state of society very different from our own. Specially has it been urged that the study of the *classics* is at best but useless, that it has no relation to our present duties and every day engagements, and that the time devoted to it had much better be employed upon the study of the Modern Languages. Besides, it has been said that our collegiate course should extend its benefits to merchants, manufacturers, and

* We can not refrain in passing, from remarking upon the following statements. "It is a remarkable fact, especially among such a people as that of New England, that colleges are the only corporations intrusted with funds, either by public or private liberality, which are not required to make an annual exhibit of their property and the mode in which it is appropriated. The receipts and disbursements, even of a mite society, are always made public, but of the colleges in New England, there is but one, [i. e., Harvard,] which publishes its Treasurer's annual report." The authors of the report were not aware that the Treasurer's report of the funds in Yale College is required to be made public every year to the Legislature of Connecticut, who can print it or not as they choose and that it is also printed for the use of the Corporation and can be had by applying to the Treasurer. This mistake may be trivial but it seems to us that the most scrupulous accuracy is desirable in collecting data for inferences as important as those of this document, and especially in using them to the real if not the intended disparagement of institutions in which the public generally confide.

every class of citizens. These persons desire the honors of a degree as much as others. They do not however wish to waste their time in the study of the classics, and therefore the studies required of the candidate for a degree should be accommodated so as to meet their reasonable wishes. It was predicted that as soon as this change should be made, our colleges would be crowded with those who were anxious to avail themselves of these advantages and to obtain the honor of a degree.

"In obedience with these suggestions a change was made some years since in the studies of some of our colleges. Both a classical and scientific course were established, the first requiring the study of the Learned and the other substituting in their room the Modern languages. Teachers were engaged, classes were divided, each student had his option, and all who wished were invited to become candidates for a degree upon these modified conditions. But what was the result? No one came to accept of what was thus freely offered. The system dragged for a few years, and then perished from mere inanition.

"Very much the same course has been pursued in regard to the higher mathematics. The same objections were made to this branch of a liberal education, and it has been proposed to substitute in their place the study of history or of natural science. To a considerable degree this experiment has been combined with the other, and with very much the same result. The colleges so far as I know, which have obeyed the suggestions of the public, have failed to find themselves sustained by the public. The means which it was supposed would increase the number of students in fact diminished it, and thus things gradually after every variety of trial have generally tended to their original constitution. *So much easier is it to discover faults than to amend them; to point out evils than to remove them. And thus have we been taught that the public does not always know what it wants, and that it is not always wise to take it at its word.*"—*Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States.* By Francis Wayland. 1842. pp. 12, 13.

To the justice of these last remarks we fully subscribe, and it will require more argument than is afforded or suggested in this report, to prove that the material and fatal defects that marred these efforts of the colleges to please the community was that this "popular and practical course," as it was called, was extended through four years and was rewarded with the usual academical degree.

But to return to the argument: after stating the dilemma in which the colleges found themselves, and the mistaken course which was adopted to escape from it, the question is then asked what success attended these efforts, in the three following particulars. "Has the present mode of supporting the existing collegiate system, increased the number of educated men in New England? Has the standard of professional ability been raised within the last thirty years? Have our efforts in this direction increased the number of the ministers of the Gospel?"

In respect to the first question, we remark, that the most important inquiry is not whether the *number* of educated men has increased, but whether the quality of the education received has been improved, and this though answered in part under the second of the questions proposed, is not wholly determined by a correct answer even to this last. Many of our educated men do not now enter the professions. Of those who do not enter the professions, a considerable portion are our very best trained scholars.

But in order to answer the first question, whether the *number* of our educated men has increased, the report gives us the statistics of the number of students in the New England colleges, at intervals of four years each, from 1830 to 1850. 'During this period our population has greatly increased, a general interest in education has increased also, and large endowments have been bestowed upon the colleges, and we ought to expect that the number of our students should bear at least as great proportion to the number of inhabitants, in 1850 as in 1830. But in point of fact we find that in 1830, one in 13,650 was pursuing a collegiate education, while in 1849 there was only one in 14,080.'

On this calculation we have only to remark that those persons who judge of such matters by figures alone, might perhaps reflect, that other causes come into consideration, which greatly affect the number of students in our colleges at a given period, as the given commercial prosperity of the community, a great degree of which has a tendency to withdraw students, a less degree to increase them, and a still less degree to diminish them again. During this interval also, a large foreign population has come into New England, each thousand of whom if they can do nothing else for the argument of the report, or the cause of education, can at least figure in its columns of statistics, and thus argue strenuously against the college system. During the same time, the relative proportion of students who come from out of New England to its colleges may have been increased or it may have been diminished. The prosperity of the Baptist college and Theological seminary at Hamilton might very naturally figure against the result at Brown University and at Newton. Or if the question is to be decided by statistics, the commonest maxims applied to inductions of this sort, should at least be observed. One of these is that a longer interval of time than twenty years should be selected. Another is that notice should be taken of the fact, whether or not, during the period taken there was a steady tendency in the direction of the final result.

Neither of these rules has been observed in this case. The interval of time is not long enough to be made the basis of any inference of this kind. Nothing is more easily proved, than that for the last century and a half, the number of students in the colleges of New England, has borne no steady proportion to the number of inhabitants. At one time the colleges have been full for several years in succession. At another, the classes are smaller. Let an advocate, who wished to establish any conclusion whatever in regard to the state of education, or of confidence in the colleges, during the last century, take periods of twenty years, of each of which the beginning should show a few larger classes and the termination several classes that are smaller, or the

reverse, and he might make figures prove whatever he should choose.

The second of these rules has been violated very grossly. From 1830 to 1844, three-fourths of the time, there was a steady increase, from an aggregate of 1560 students to one of 2063, an increase of nearly thirty-three per cent., which was more rapid than that of the population, while it is only from the accidental diminution in the remaining five years that these sweeping conclusions have been induced, which are set forth as the failure of a plan to resuscitate the colleges, which plan itself is nothing but a figment of the inquirer's brain.

We pass to the second question, concerning the consequences of this unfortunate condition of colleges and of collegiate education. "Has the standard of professional ability been raised within the last thirty years?" For an answer, the report gives a random guess, then an assertion that is wholly irrelevant if it were true, and winds up with a conclusion in which nothing is concluded. The random guess is expressed as follows. "It is however, we think, a very general opinion that the average of professional talent is declining." The assertion, which if true, has no bearing on the argument, is that the "productive professions" attract young men away from the learned professions, and enable them to rise to the highest stations in society, which "would indicate that the professions certainly had not advanced as rapidly as society around, *so that relatively they had retrograded.*" Whether the professions have relatively retrograded in the public estimation is one question, "whether the standard of professional ability has been raised is quite another." The conclusion in which nothing is concluded is this. "But without pressing the argument further, it will probably be conceded, and this is sufficient for our purpose, that no noticeable effect upon the intellectual character of the professions has been produced by the efforts which we have made to reduce the price of tuition in our colleges." We believe that the standard of professional ability has on the whole been raised within the last twenty years. The period is too short, to authorize us to expect a very noticeable improvement, but we believe in some of the professions it is distinctly visible. It is true the circumstances of society have been such, that quackery and charlatanism have been successful, and sometimes conspicuously so, particularly in the medical and the clerical professions, but we are not aware that the reduced price of tuition in the colleges, or the influences which have emanated from the colleges have had anything to do with this result. Rather do we believe, that it is because the colleges and the training imparted at the colleges have had so little influence in guiding and correcting the popular judgment and taste, that this charlatanism has been so successful.

The last question is, "have our efforts in this direction increased the number of the ministers of the Gospel." Recourse is had to the statistics upon this point. It is found that there were nearly as many theological students in the seminaries of New England from 1830-34 as from 1845-49, and it is concluded that the tendency of this system of giving away an education is not to increase the number of clergymen.

We trust the clerical signers of this report will not think that we claim any *originality* for the suggestion, that it has been thought by very respectable authorities, that certain influences, usually denominated moral and religious, have somewhat to do with determining the choice of the clerical profession, and with the increase of the numbers in that profession. The writer recollects the fact that in a college class consisting of eighty-one members, at the beginning of the senior year, not more than five had any thought of studying for the ministry, whereas three years after their graduation, it was known that more than thirty had commenced theological studies.

We yield all deference to the calculations of political economists, and we believe that the principle of "supply and demand" holds good with reference to all matters to which it may properly be applied. But we do not believe that, given much or little money, the result will be more or fewer clergymen, any more than we believe in the rule, that given the old or the reformed colleges, the consequences will be seen in the diminution or the increase of the same class.

In view of the alleged failure in these three particulars, under the alleged—which in our view is entirely a fictitious—cause, that the funds were contributed, in order that tuition might be reduced and students might be increased, the report thus expresses the conclusion which it thinks justified by these premises.

"We are, therefore, forced to adopt the other supposition, that our colleges are not filled because we do not furnish the education desired by the people. We have constructed them upon the idea, that they are to be schools of preparation for the *professions*. Our customers, therefore, come from the smallest class of society; and the importance of the education which we furnish is not so universally acknowledged as formerly, even by this class. We have produced an article for which the demand is diminishing. We sell it at less than cost, and the deficiency is made up by charity. We give it away, and still the demand diminishes. Is it not time to inquire whether we can not furnish an article for which the demand will be, at least, somewhat more remunerative?—*Report*, p. 34.

In farther support of this view, a long extract is given from the report of the commissioners appointed in 1830 by the Crown, to examine the universities of Scotland. This report expresses decidedly and pointedly an unfavorable opinion of the influence of the bursaries in those universities. The commissioners say that these bursaries are too numerous, and bear so great a

proportion to the number of the really indigent, that they attract students to the university who have no fitness for the professions, by the simple hope of maintenance, and that the effect of so large a number of inferior scholars is to lower the standard of scholarship down to the capacities of inferior men.

All this may be true. When the funds in our colleges are large enough literally to pension and maintain students, as do the Scotch bursaries, and more numerous than there are worthy applicants, the extract will be appropriate. We would suggest that it be reserved for such an occasion.

We come now to the third head of inquiry, the consideration of the manner in which Brown University has been affected by the changes which have been taking place in collegiate education in New England.

We shall offer no extended remarks or criticism upon this part of the argument. If the Corporation of Brown University think that the college is suffering greatly from a diminution of students or for a want of funds, and think moreover that the only way to obtain more students and to earn more money, is to change the system it is no concern of ours. If they think, in mercantile phrase, that in order to do a larger business it is wise to do another kind of business, we shall not interfere. If they think that because there are too many colleges in New England, they will devote their buildings, and funds, &c., to an education that is not strictly collegiate, they must do as they think best. They may become an academy, a real school, a gymnasium and university, all in one, or they may add a department for instruction in any art or trade whatsoever, for this is a free country.

It is only when to justify themselves, they attack and depreciate the whole collegiate system, and respectfully yet really hold up all the colleges to popular prejudice and contempt, that we shall hold them accountable to show the reasons why, and shall take the liberty to criticise the reasons which they offer.

There is one point in this argument, however, which we can not comprehend. It is said that it would require an additional fund of \$50,000 to enable the college to go on successfully and pay its expenses well. It is proposed to raise \$125,000 to enable it to do a remunerative business, and become a "self-supporting institution." But with \$50,000, on the old plan, it would pay its annual dues, only it would do it on the basis of \$50,000 as capital. We can not see how the addition of \$75,000 more to this capital is fitted to render it self-supporting, unless this is to be converted into scrip, to be repaid with interest after the new or self-supporting system shall have been in operation long enough to earn surplus profits. That however is not suggested. The scrip would constitute indeed a new kind of fancy stocks.

The next head of argument is "the measures which the committee recommend for the purpose of enlarging the usefulness of the institution."

These measures are briefly as follows: The fixed term of four years, or any other term, is to be abandoned, and every student is allowed to pursue as many or as few courses of study as he may choose, subject to certain limitations. Every course of study, when once begun, is to be continued without interruption till it is completed. No student is to be admitted to a degree unless he shall sustain his examination, in all the studies required for the degree, but no student shall be under any obligation to proceed to a degree.

The advantages which it is expected will result from these alterations are the following: It will add to the number of students, because, 1. The course of instruction will, it is hoped, present a better preparation for the learned professions than that pursued at present. This class of pupils will not be diminished. 2. Those who wish to pursue a more generous course of professional education, can remain at college five or six years. 3. Many, who wish to enter the professions, are unwilling or unable to spend four years at college. This class would form an important addition to our numbers, and we should thus, in some degree, improve the education of a large portion of all the professions. 4. Most of the studies pursued in college, if well taught, would be attractive to young men preparing for any of the active departments of life. 5. Other students may be expected in these courses of study from those devoted to agriculture, chemistry, or science applied to the arts.

These expected consequences are all presented, it will be seen, in the form of reasons why the number of students will be increased under the new arrangement. This fact, of itself, disinclines us to discuss the merits of the new system. But, inasmuch as the old system is distinctly and positively depreciated in the comparison, we hope it will not be deemed out of place to offer our own views upon the one as compared with the other.

We object to the new system, because it throws away the advantages which are peculiar to the college system and to a collegiate education. What is a college? A college, as its name imports, is a collection of students, who, from beginning to end, pursue together an appointed course of study. What are the peculiar advantages which result from an education at college? These do not result from the fact, that the student receives better instruction in one or all of the branches of science in which he might perfect himself, or that in one or all he makes greater attainments than he might under other circumstances. Under a private tutor, he might attain to very great eminence in every one of these studies, with the aid of his particular inspection and

constant drilling, he might, in the same time, become a more finished scholar in every branch of study. Nay, at an academy, or a high school he might go over the same ground, and apparently with greater thoroughness than many students do at college. Or, he might, in a large city, attach himself to different classes in different branches of study and selecting the best professor in each branch might derive very considerable advantages from the stimulus furnished by his associates. In this way his progress might be very rapid, and his attainments very great. But he will still lack the peculiar advantages of being educated in a community of youth, who start from the same point, are carried over the same ground and part at the same goal. The college system receives its inmates for the period of life when the habits, intellectual and moral, are formed. They are received when passing out of boyhood, they are discharged just as they begin to be men. They are not too old to receive new impressions with freshness, to enter upon new enterprises with excited ardor, and to submit themselves to unpleasant tasks with a dogged energy, and they are not so young as to forget the impressions which they receive, and to outgrow the habits which they acquire. During this most important and hopeful period of life, they are met by the same corps of instructors, each in his turn,—a corps numerous enough in a well-manned college, to prevent them from being formed after any one-sided and imperfect model, and to secure every desirable form of intellectual culture and excitement. Under the same course of study, from day to day, and from year to year, they watch the development of each other's minds, with observation sharpened by the keenest emulation to detect each other's failings, to take note of any striking improvement, and with feelings wakeful enough to be most deeply excited and instructed by all these various impressions. They meet each other, after each day, in chapel, at the place of recitation, on the play-ground, at one another's lodgings, and in various voluntary societies, for the noble strifes of excited intellects. Never afterwards in life, are they brought in so close and so long continued a contact with so many minds, under circumstances of so great interest. There is but one period of life when such excitement and such impressions are possible. Hence has it been in this country most extensively true that the discipline of college life is always remembered, that a wasted college life is always deplored, that college acquaintanceships are never forgotten, and that the college who does her duty to her sons, is regarded as the *alma mater* of their noblest life.

The course of study is, we believe on the whole, wisely selected, and best adapted to train men who shall be capable of thinking while they act, and of acting as they think. These are in the highest and most rational use of the word, practical

men, and the studies which train them, are practical studies. We know that in this report it is often asserted and more frequently implied, that our colleges were originally designed and are exclusively fitted to prepare men for the professions, which design it is more than once very confidently intimated, they do not realize so well as other institutions—so that if we are to believe this report, they are not very good, even for this object, and by consequence are very well fitted for no purpose whatever. The supposition in our view is wrong, that they were designed or are exclusively fitted for this object. They are fitted to train men for all the duties and offices of life, not in the special art or profession which is to occupy the chief attention of the life, but in that general culture which an education in a profession presupposes, and which a man without a profession *preëminently* requires, in order to be a truly practical man. For these reasons the course is not special in any department. It does not consist exclusively of Latin and Greek, for its aim is not primarily to train philologists, but to give to the mind familiarity with language, and thought as expressed by language, and in the way which long experience has proved to be the best practical training for this peculiar and most important instrument and accomplishment. Hence though the ancient languages may be disused and partially forgotten, their effects remain. It is not confined to the mathematics, for an exclusive education in the mathematics is a one-sided and narrow education, while in their place the mathematics give a singular strength and discrimination to the mind, and above all, teach the habit of severe and consecutive application. Nor does it consist principally of the physical sciences. These sciences, grand and glorious as they are, can not be understood as sciences, by any mind that has not learned to reflect, and to apply itself severely to other subjects. If made familiar to a mind as yet immature, though they may in a sense be mastered, they are not comprehended as sciences, their grandest laws are reduced to facts for the memory, but are never principles for the reason. So far as they consist of facts, they can be learned from private study, by one who has a tact for them, and if the mind has been already trained, far better in the study or the laboratory, than when passively imbibed from the lips of a lecturer. To these are added logic and rhetoric, and the laws of the mind, and the principles of morals and politics, as furnishing the rules of thought and expression, with their application to sciences with which every thinking man is conversant, and on which every educated man must practically have principles, and know how to express and apply them.

These studies are imposed upon all the students, in tasks which are to be completed at stated intervals, and to the acquisition and recitation of which, the entire energies of the college community

are devoted. We believe that few persons, even of those educated at college, have reflected on the peculiar advantages which result from a system of tasks enforced by the strong and severe pressure of college machinery. The mind is awakened to an energy of which it had not dreamed. It learns to concentrate its powers upon a given duty, and to accomplish that duty in a given time. Obstacles that would seem mountains under a voluntary system, are as mole-hills under a system that is enforced. Indolent and listless habits are shamed or driven ought of sight. Self-indulgent excuses vanish before the stern necessity of duty, as she holds up the certain penalty of loss of reputation, or open mortification. Such a course may be censured by indulgent fathers and fond mothers, as cruel and stern, but it imparts a manly vigor, a sturdy self-reliance, and a ready self-command, which can not be secured by any voluntary system. Whether a man is to be qualified for the business of a profession, or what is called the business of life, he leaves this arena, strong in powers and habits, of which the stock and strength will never be too abundant.

The system proposed in this report, fails to secure these advantages, and so far as it fails to secure them it is open to the most serious objections, and labors under fatal defects. It does not educate its pupils in a community in that peculiar and important sense which we have described. Its classes do indeed form communities, but these are liable to be changed and broken, while, if certain of their members do go on for a course of years in the pursuit of a single study or of more, it is not with that peculiar interest in each other which characterizes a *college* community. Into these classes new and incongruous elements are liable to be introduced at any time, with evil consequences. The students in the *regular* course, who give their attention to the various subjects which make up a liberal culture, are vexed and chagrined by the dazzling exhibition, which a few stars in philology make, (if indeed under the new system our poor country is at last to be blest with a classical scholar,) who give their sole attention to the classics. Or, on the other hand, while the regular students in rhetoric are pursuing that study with the advantages which they may be supposed to enjoy from the superior training of years in the other classes of so distinguished a university, they are forced to receive as competitors, a band of new recruits, fresh from the plough, who have satisfactorily passed their examination in "Green's English Grammar." The students in logic or intellectual philosophy, encounter a youth fresh from the head of a country school, who has figured as the champion of a village debating society, but who is guiltless of other culture and knowledge.

The plan is liable to the very serious defects which must attend every system of optional studies. An elective system of studies might be a great desideratum, if the election could be wisely made, or if it could be entrusted to the hands of those competent to choose in view of the capacities or destination of the boy. But who is to decide according to this system, the courses which the student is to follow? The parent. And what are his means of deciding in regard to the advantages of Latin or Greek, of which he is ignorant entirely, in respect to the favorable influences of which on the training of any one, he will be very skeptical, especially if he has read this report to the Corporation of Brown University. But suppose he decides wrong, and the boy finds it out, as he will be very likely to do, when the Greek becomes hard, and the mathematics tedious. He must go on, says the new system, but how long? Surely the Faculty will not be so cruel if the pupil proposes to stay five or six years, pursuing various courses of study, to drag such a reluctant youth through Xenophon and Greek composition and 'Thucydides and Sophocles and Aeschylus, with the analysis of Greek verse, with the expectation that "he shall gain such habits of close grammatical analysis, and acquire such knowledge of the formation and structure of the language as shall enable him to pursue the Greek language with pleasure and profit when he shall have left the walls of college."*

The principle of elective studies once recognized—especially in the hands of those who hold the views of the objects of education which are avowed in this report, will lead to change and inconstancy, which will cheat many a boy of the very discipline which he needs all the more because he does not like it, and the want of which will make him an intellectual bankrupt through life. The fact is, that a course of study must be imposed, *by* those who are competent to make the option and *upon* those who are not competent to decide for themselves. Otherwise but few will choose aright. After a course of imposed study has been finished, and the student has learned to know himself, and also to know that disagreeable study may be for his greatest advantage, he may be trusted to select either a course strictly professional or special courses in the physical or moral sciences;—in mathematics or philology. But it is rather too much to hope from young men or from many of their parents, that they will decide for themselves on precisely the studies which are best fit-

* An examination of the catalogue of Brown University, for the first term of the first year, under the new system, furnishes the best comment on the above. Of the undergraduate students, of four years standing, there is not a single scholar in Latin or Greek. Of those of three years standing, forty-two or rather thirty-five in all there are thirteen scholars in Latin, and *not a solitary pupil in Greek.*

ted for general culture, and pursue them just as long as will but secure this end, and that then they will fall into those departments, to which they need to give special attention.

This leads us to remark, that all the real advantages which this system proposes to attain, may be secured in a far better way. We admit that there are not a few in the community, who wish to pursue a course of special study, particularly in the sciences of applied chemistry and in engineering, &c., who can not, or who will not, pursue a collegiate course. It is important that provision should be made for such students, and this can be done more successfully in connection with colleges already existing than elsewhere. These are the centres of science already established. They present libraries, apparatus, professors, and all the numerous appliances which may be found at a well provided college. It is proper and desirable that as an appendage to its regular course of study, philosophical schools of this sort should be opened, to which admission may be had, by all who desire to study, with no special requirements for admission except those necessary to enable them to pursue their studies with advantage. Students of this class can readily obtain access to the lectures and libraries of the college proper. They can even receive special instruction in classes by themselves, from the professors of each department. All this is reasonable, and it meets effectually every demand that is felt in the community. Such an institution is already in being at Cambridge, another at New Haven. Both these were already in successful operation before this report was written. The signers of this report had probably heard of the Lawrence Scientific School, possibly also of the Philosophical Department at Yale College and yet not the slightest allusion is made to either, whereas both were designed to meet the want which the report describes as so pressing and so entirely unprovided for. At Yale College another object was contemplated, viz., to induce graduates, to pursue special studies in philology, history and natural and intellectual science. We are happy to state, that this part of the project has been in some degree successful, though the number of students who have been desirous to avail themselves of special instruction, has not been so great as to show that the zeal of young men to study the classics, &c., to a very great extent, is sufficiently aroused to warrant the hope that large institutions like the philosophical departments of German universities, can be opened with success. The time for such institutions in this country has not yet come, and the colleges that for the sake of the name and appearance of such institutions, shall admit all students with all degrees of preparation from Green's English Grammar upward, to swell the numbers of those who attend upon the prelections of the professors, may possibly end in degrading the college into an academy.

If then every advantage which is contemplated in this report can be received in connection with the college system, and the abandonment of this system must be attended with very serious evils, we can see no reason why the plan proposed should be adopted.

It may be objected indeed that the colleges which have provided this supplementary course do not propose to make scholars so accomplished and perfect, as is promised in the new course at Brown University. Perhaps these colleges think it better to perform than to promise.

The last subject in the report is that of collegiate degrees. The report argues that the system of B. A. &c., has no common significance throughout the literary world. It affirms that at Oxford and Cambridge they indicate a limited amount of study—which is different in each university—that in the Scottish universities they are given after residence and attendance upon lectures, but with little or no examination. In this country, “it may be taken for granted that unless a young man be remarkably dull or incorrigibly negligent, if he enters college and pursues the prescribed course, he will be admitted to the degree of A. B.” “Did the sign accurately correspond to the thing signified, it would be a well earned, and therefore a proper distinction. But it is universally affirmed that this is not the case. It is said, that out of the number of our graduates in this country, many can not translate their diploma; others are ignorant of the elementary principles of mechanics, nay, that many of them can not write the English language correctly.” From all this it is argued, “if academical degrees actually signify nothing,” that it is right to give the degrees of B. A., not only to those who have pursued the course of study commonly pursued in colleges, but for an amount of knowledge equivalent to the Latin and Greek, which are omitted; and it is proposed to admit no one who does not pass a *bona fide* examination. We remark upon this course of argument, that though the amount of knowledge which is possessed by the poorest of those who receive a degree is small enough, yet it is hardly so small as is here represented. It differs however in different colleges. We have heard that there are colleges in the country, that receive students at all stages of the course with a very slight examination, colleges in which elementary studies are pursued in the Junior class, and which gather into their classes an agglomeration of all sorts of material which they turn out upon the world as *Baccalaurei*. Graduates from such colleges might make any representations of their own knowledge and of that of their associates and with truth. We know of a college in which the examination for admission is somewhat trying, and from which many every year are rejected, and in which two-fifths at least of every class which enters fail

to graduate. It is easy to promise to make examinations thorough, and to give no testimonials except upon actual attainments, after a severe trial. Every college faculty promises this. Every board of legal, medical, and theological examiners promises this, when they are not tied to forms, and are not tempted to be satisfied with a simple residence, and yet in point of fact examinations are too often superficial. The Faculty of Brown University are honorable men, but we do not like to have them promise too stoutly, that all their future graduates shall know all and as well as a graduate ought. "Let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off."

We shall not argue the questions of propriety and right which are naturally suggested by the proposition to alter the terms, or the studies according to which the usual collegiate degrees are given. We choose rather to present the views of one of the soundest scholars as well as one of the purest men who has ever honored New England. In the year 1829, the Faculty of the University of Vermont, of whom Dr. James Marsh was the President, submitted to the public "an exposition of the system of instruction and discipline pursued in the University of Vermont." The system was in some of its features like that proposed in the report before us. It provides that students should be admitted to any classes of the college, for any length of time as they should choose. On the subject of degrees however it expresses the following views.

"Were our estimate of the value of ancient learning less than it is, and did we believe that a fair substitute for it in a liberal education could be found, our opinion of the propriety of insisting on an acquaintance with it as a prerequisite for a degree would not be altered. It is unnecessary to inquire into the origin of academic degrees or what they originally signified. That they have a pretty determinate meaning *now*, is well known. Saying nothing of the requisitions for a degree in the European universities, which every scholar knows to be different from those in our country, it is here presumed universally, that the person who receives the degree of Bachelor or Master of Arts has pursued to a considerable extent, a course of study comprising important portions in the principal parts of the general circle of arts and sciences. Among these the study of the ancient languages has been considered as occupying a very important place. This being understood wherever the degree is known, with what propriety can a widely *different* meaning be given to it, except by common consent among those institutions (or at least a majority of them) who have the right of conferring this degree? If one college may without any violation of the implied rights of the republic of letters, at its individual pleasure, lay aside a knowledge of Greek and Latin as requisite for a degree, surely another might with equal propriety cease to require a knowledge of the pure mathematics beyond the elements of common arithmetic—another dispense with every thing belonging to the science of the mind, each substituting what it pleased to call an equivalent of something else." * * *

"The whole bearing of the procedure in question, if countenanced, will be we think, to render a degree of no *value* because it will be a sign of nothing specific. What its possessor has been studying, or what he might know

must be left to conjecture or ascertained by examination." Must not the result of the whole be an unfavorable opinion abroad of the standard of scholarship in our colleges, and an actual lowering of it at home, the injurious effects of which on colleges and the community must be great indeed. If the colleges agree to throw aside *all degrees*, very well. In that case every man proceeding from a college must be examined by those who would be informed of his scholarship. If degrees are to be given as sureties of scholarship of a determinate kind, it is all-important that they mean alike." * * * "We think these are important considerations, having a much wider scope than an increase of students in a few colleges or even in all of them, and that they can not have been weighed as they should be, by those who have been engaged in such innovations."—*System of Instruction in the University of Vermont*, pp. 8, 9.

Thus far have we followed the argument in this report somewhat minutely for ourselves, and perhaps tediously for our readers. Its conclusions may be true, but we do not think they are proved by this argument.

We might stop here, and leave the discussion. A few thoughts, however, suggest themselves in respect to the principles and the spirit of this report, which we can not forbear to express.

We think it unfortunate, if not unfair, that no distinct recognition is made of the principal causes of the defects of our colleges. We are as sensitively alive to these defects, and as desirous to correct them, as the authors of this report can be. We do not desire to conceal or deny them. But is it not true, that the colleges are not so much in fault as are the opinions and feelings of the community? Why is it that the colleges do not give a more complete and finished education? Is it not because the great majority of students enter, with inadequate preparation? And to what is this owing, if not to an eager and excessive haste, to push through college into professional or active life? Let the colleges do their utmost to raise the standard, let the united efforts of the rapidly increasing class of thorough teachers be strongly and steadily directed against this haste, and they both contend against an adverse and powerful current. Let the colleges seek to detain their choicest graduates within the circle of "quiet and cloistered studies" to mature and ripen the fruits which have been hastily gathered, and how few can they detain even for a year—how few of those who have wealth, youth, a literary and scientific taste all united. And why is this except that they are carried forward by the same pressure, to a profession, to a position in life, or to miscellaneous leisure and general cultivation. Even within college walls, the practical uses of each day's acquisitions must be made apparent, or they are made with reluctance; the instructions must be rhetorical, or they are counted dull; and the student instead of cultivating his own garden, with patient trust in the wisdom of those who have gone before him, too often imitates the child who ever and anon pulls up his plants to see if they are likely to take root and grow. For all this

there is a cause, an adequate and a most efficient cause. That cause is in the mistaken judgment of the community. We are a young country. Mature and symmetrical scholarship, scientific precision and logical acumen, are not our most pressing wants. We have no learned class of gentlemen and scholars strong enough in their social position to give law on such a subject, or shedding about them so conspicuously the grace and lustre of a finished culture as to invite multitudes to the source from which they in golden urns drew light. The government, as in England and especially upon the continent, does not reward high attainments at the university with valuable appointments and a permanent livelihood. All these influences, in the form of "demand" for scholarship do not exist. Why should a larger "supply" be expected and why should the colleges be called to account so severely, for the imperfect success they attain in the ungrateful task of supplying the community with what they do not "wish" but sadly "want?"* Why did not the authors of this report expend a little of their surplus dexterity in argument, and a small portion of the ingenuity, of which so much has been required for their purpose, in the simple and straight-forward duty of telling a plain story to the community concerning the injury which their mistaken views inflict on the colleges, and through them, upon the country?

Take one of the principal points of argument, the evil which is claimed to have resulted from the attempt to study so many of the practical sciences. This report might, in commenting on this point, have shown how absurd is the expectation that all these sciences should be taught in our colleges, and how ill-advised was the pressure which was obeyed, perhaps by giving too great a portion of time to mere facts, and experiments, and illustrations. But, instead of doing this, its whole bearing and effect are to justify and increase this unwarrantable feeling on the part of the community. It impels and excites the expectation that the graduates of colleges should become adepts in the sciences and their application to the arts, before they leave the walls of college, and it justifies the demand that the colleges should make them so. How much more wise, and just, and true, would it have been to tell them that the business of the college is to train men in the ability to learn these sciences, and then if they are to be specially prosecuted, the work is easily and quickly done.

We desire to say one good thing of this report, however. We thank its author for calling attention to the fact, that the number of the physical sciences which are taught is large, and that their share of time is disproportionate and excessive. We think it is

* "Not what we wish but what we want."—*Old Psalm.*

true. The remedy we propose, is not that any of them should cease to be taught, but that they should be taught in a manner more severe and scientific. We would have the laws and principles of physics, in all their branches, set forth with great thoroughness, from manuals as brief and condensed as possible, with a sufficient number of oral lectures to give the whole life, and point, and interest; but those facts and applications which may just as well be read as heard, we would leave to the student to collect for himself. Principles, definitions, and laws, are the glory and beauty of the wonderful sciences of nature, and the more severely the student is tasked to study nature in the light of her laws, the more truly will he master these sciences, even if his present store of facts be few. He should never be allowed to feel, by any of the exercises of college life, that his mind may relax its tension, or be released from the stern necessity of close application.

We are surprised also at the tone of the allusions to the professional classes, and the views expressed of the education which is best fitted to qualify men for the professions. Especially are we surprised, in view of the fact that this argument is addressed *by* so many professional men, to those who do not belong to the professions. It is never in good taste for men of one class to make insinuations to the disadvantage of their own associates, and it strikes us that this offense is especially aggravated when the class addressed are so unfortunate as to have enough of ill-founded prejudices already. We are surprised in this view at the assertion, so often repeated, that the colleges were primarily disposed to train men for the professions, and that so wide an opening is left for the inference, that of course they can be suited to train men for no other pursuit whatever. We contend, and there is nothing in this report which has at all shaken our belief, that the only reason why a college education is suited for professional men, is because it is necessary that one be well trained as a man before he is trained for his profession. The general discipline, which is a pre-requisite to a special apprenticeship to the law, or medicine, or theology, is not so important, because the studies which it exacts have a close relation to what are called the learned professions, as because it tasks the mind by efforts that are best adapted to give it acuteness and energy, and because, also, it elevates it by those liberal studies which give refinement and grace. This is the best education for every man, who has time and money to bestow upon a culture so desirable, before he studies his profession, whether his profession is to be that of a merchant, a mechanic, a scholar, or a gentleman.

We can not divine what the report intends by lending its sanction to the opinion which it represents as very prevalent, that the colleges do not furnish the best education even for the professions.

If it intends that inasmuch as this opinion is held it is well to profit by its existence, even though it be a mistaken and prejudiced opinion, we could easily understand the use of such an argument for such a purpose. To suppose, however, that the gentlemen whose names are given to the public, intended to employ the arts of third-rate politicians, especially in appeals to one of the basest of prejudices, those of the uneducated or the half-educated against the liberally educated, is a supposition that we can not admit, even though we are at a loss to account for a remark so reckless and unproved.

We do not believe this opinion to be well grounded, by whomsoever it may be held, nor do we believe it is held by any person who is capable of forming an opinion on such a subject. We do not believe that there is a professional man in the country who was not educated at college, who does not deeply regret that he was deprived of this advantage. We know that there are many who have made earnest efforts, all their lives long, to supply the defects which they are conscious are owing to this deprivation. Nay, more, we believe it to be the candid opinion of the most intelligent merchants and manufacturers, that other things being equal, the man who has been well trained at college, if he will submit to the additional training which is required for any practical department of life, will outstrip the rival, who has not enjoyed such advantages, in quickness, self-reliance, and success. We say other things being equal, for that many students, educated at college, are awkward and unsuccessful in practical life, is true, and it is also true, that without such an education they might have been still more unfortunate.

We may also be allowed to express our surprise, that such a style of remarks, or rather insinuations, are indulged, in respect to the study of the classics, we quote a single example: "If by placing Latin and Greek upon their own merits, they are unable to retain their present place in the education of civilized and Christianized man, then let them give place to something better. They have, by right, no preëminence over other studies, and it is absurd to claim it for them." To a certain class of minds this remark would be very acceptable, we do not doubt, but they are not the class of minds to whose prejudices we should be over-proud to minister. We had supposed that it was a question settled long ago, for such men as the signers of this report, that the principal advantages derived from the Latin and Greek classics, are not the actual knowledge that is gathered from Latin and Greek books, nor the ready suggestion of etymologies, nor the facility at apt quotations. To such minds, we had supposed that the disuse of reading Latin and Greek by too many of the graduates of our colleges, though in itself greatly to be regretted, was not the most decisive of arguments. But it seems we are mista-

ken. We can not but record our surprise, however, that no mention is made of that subtle discipline of the intellect, which is necessarily involved in the acquisition of any language, and most of all, in the study of languages, so clear, and philosophical, and well articulated as are the Latin and Greek. To our minds, this advantage is sufficiently obvious and important to deserve to be ranked among the *practical* results of classical study.

The English universities are spoken of in a manner not at all agreeable to our feelings or our sense of justice. The English universities have faults enough to serve as themes for sober argument, and for grave objections. We are at a loss to understand the taste which directed the selection of the passage of coarse caricature, which is selected from the Edinburgh Review, "to relieve the tedium of a dry discussion, as well as to illustrate the tendency of a system of education, raised by great endowments above the control of enlightened public opinion." The humor is not of the highest order, but we can easily imagine that it will be relished very keenly, by a class of people whose opinions are not the most "enlightened" in respect to all "endowed" universities. All institutions have their Mortimer Plantagenets and their Theophilus Mudges. We should not be greatly astonished, if some of the masters of arts who shall have mastered the six years' course of Latin and Greek *cum annexis*, at Brown University, and even have taken lessons in theoretical and practical "didactics," should be quite unable to govern a country school. Nay, it would not be a prodigy, an absolute *lusus naturæ*, if a "Bachelor in Philosophy," who had studied nothing but the sciences in their practical applications to the arts, when put to building a bridge, or draining a swamp, should prove himself utterly incapable of applying any science to any art whatsoever.

We have said that the English universities have their faults, and are open to well-grounded complaints. The discussion of some of their faults, in a candid and correct spirit, would have been altogether in place. It would also have been in place to declare, if not to argue, their many and incontestable excellencies. It would seem that a scholar, with a scholar's sympathies, and a scholar's generosity, would delight to acknowledge the many obligations under which the whole English stock are laid to these seats of accomplished culture, these fountains from which so much that is noble in the character of the English gentleman, has been derived.

To rely upon the testimony of a single partisan article, in the Edinburgh Review, as a principal witness against the English universities, is sufficiently *naïf*—to introduce such a specimen of humor, is, to say the least, not in the best taste.

It seems to us also, that a very false view of the object of education underlies the whole of this report, and is continually as-

sumed to give force and point to every one of its arguments. We have rarely seen a more obvious and persistent misuse of the word practical, as applied to the subject of education, than that which is furnished in this document. Were this explicitly asserted, in distinction from the opposite view, we should not be so offended. Its power to do injury results preëminently from the fact that it is not defended but assumed, that it is not clearly put in contact with the nobler and more correct signification of the word, but quietly used in its place. The correct statement of the question would, of itself, decide it. The attempt to defend the narrow view of these gentlemen would lead them to abandon their own cause. A practical education, in the sense generally assumed in the report, is that which has an immediate and direct relation to practice. If a man is to be an engineer, he ought to study the science of engineering, and because he is to practice the art. Forasmuch as the mathematics must be studied, in order to learn the science of engineering, the study of the mathematics is for him a practical study, because it is an indirect but necessary means to his end. For the same reason, the Latin and Greek are practical studies to the professional man, because he now and then has occasion to read musty Latin and Greek ; but it is of no practical use to any one else who does not read Latin and Greek authors, and of no use to even the professional man who disuses the reading of these languages. There is another and better use of the term. That education is truly practical, which trains a man to intellectual power of thought and experience, and which gives a man facility in applying this power to new acquisitions and new applications of old and new knowledge. Whatever conduces in the highest measure to this end, is a necessary portion of a practical education, whether it is remembered or forgotten, whether it is directly used in the actual service of life, or whether it is used only as the power and skill are used to which it has formed the man. Never was there a man who insisted more sternly than Arnold, that education should be practical ; never a man who measured all its value by this standard more rigidly than he ; and yet, if one of the boys in his sixth form had ventured such an interpretation of the word as is here employed, we should have feared lest his cane would have been suddenly called into requisition. Or if one of his former pupils had written word to him from Oxford that he could not pursue the study of Aristotle because it was not practical, he would have mourned over him as a perverse and degenerate son.

The reforms proposed in this report, have been hailed by many well-meaning men, as promising to introduce a higher style of scholarship into our country. Soon after its publication, the public were assailed with echoes of its doctrines, and certain of our

educated men seemed to be excited by the discoveries that the college system of fixed classes, and long lists of studies, could not be expected to teach anything thoroughly. Now we shall have scholars, was a very general cry, for have we not introduced the true German system of lectures, attended by those students only who feel an interest in the subjects taught,—the system by which the scholar selects only a few subjects, and gives to them his sole and undivided attention,—the system under which the professor is dependent for his living on his fees?

It was forgotten that the German student enters the voluntary system of the university at nearly the age, and more nearly at the standing, of the graduates of our colleges. Previous to this, he must have gone through a course of more studies than do our college students, a course which is enforced upon all by rigorous discipline and concluded by a severe examination. It was forgotten, too, that the great majority of the students in the German universities are students in the three professional departments of law, medicine, and theology, while those in the fourth or philosophical school, are principally those who are qualifying themselves for some part of instruction, as professors, teachers, or authors.

The reception of this report, and the ready acquiescence in its doctrines among some intelligent men, is another indication of the fashion we have in this country, of beginning at the wrong end, of laboring at the superstructure before we secure the foundation. Our scholars hear of the prodigies of German erudition, and are smitten with an ardent and worthy desire not to be outdone, and so instead of asking how they begin in Germany, they only inquire how they finish; instead of imitating them in the school and the college, they copy after the university, and vote the school and the college to be antiquated and imperfect, quite inadequate to satisfy the aspirations and to meet the wants of the new style of American scholarship. Nay, they admit into this new establishment, one express object of which is to elevate the attainments, and to give room for the large desires, and noble ambition which are now enkindled—they admit into it a herd of pupils of every grade of attainment, to attend upon the instructions of a lecturer who proposes to carry them to the extremest limits of human science. It would not be a new thing under the sun, if, when the history of this experiment shall be written, it shall be found worthy to be entitled, "A project to render education superficial, under the name of making it more thorough."

P. S. Since the preceding pages were sent to the printer, we have received a copy of Prof. Tappan's *Essay on University Education*.* We are sorry not to have had it before us at an earlier

* *University Education*. By Henry P. Tappan, D. D. New York: George P. Putnam, 1851, 18mo, pp. 120.

date. Mr. Tappan takes a scholarly and correct view of the object of education, and expresses an opinion of the new project presented in this report similar to our own, though perhaps it is more cautiously uttered. We are surprised, however, that he receives upon trust, and without scrutiny, so many of the statements of the report in respect to the education given in the colleges, and in respect to their claims to the continued confidence of the public. We can hardly be expected to criticise the views of Prof. Tappan in respect to the practicability of establishing a university in the city of New York. We give our best wishes to the success of an undertaking so desirable, and would speed the efforts of all, who think the chances of success will warrant the contribution of funds to the enterprise. Our own opinion is, that such institutions like a language can not be made, but must grow.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A copious and critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the larger Latin-Lexicon of Dr. William Freund: with additions and corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc. By E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1851.

THIS work is substantially a translation of the celebrated Latin Lexicon of Freund, and we congratulate our readers that it is now presented to them in a convenient form, and divested of the difficulties which many find in the German language. The very great value of the original work is not questioned, and although the attention of the public has been repeatedly called to its merits in this, as well as other journals, we will say a word respecting its plan before we proceed to remark on the edition before us.

The plan of Dr. Freund differs from that of earlier lexicographers in completeness and philosophical arrangement. He begins with the idea that Latin lexicography "is its own end," that it is not always to be looked upon as subservient to some other object; that it is not designed to furnish a *clavis* for the beginner, nor indeed for the proficient, but that "it is in itself an independent science," which proposes as its object "to give the history of every single word of the Latin language."

Now the complete history of a word comprises several particulars. 1. There is the "*grammatical* element," which requires the lexicographer to give not only what is necessary for the proper grammatical classification of the word, but also all those irregular forms of the word which the rules of grammar would fail to supply. 2. There is the "*etymological* element," which calls for the root from which each word springs, which is not itself radical. 3. The "*exegetical* element," which consists in the full exhibition of the meaning of a word. 4. The "*synonymous* element" which "holds up and compares and distinguishes" those words which to a superficial examination appear identical or similar in signification. 5. The "*chronological* element" which exhibits the changes which time has made in the form and meaning of words. 6. The "*rhetorical* element" which informs us to what kind of composition a word, a form or a meaning belongs, whether to poetry or prose, whether to lofty, to low, or to technical language. And finally, 7, the "*statistical* element" which states with greater or less exactness, how frequently and how rarely individual

words occur in classic authors. All these elements, with the limitations and explanations which he has given at some length in his preface, Dr. Freund has combined in the monographs which make up his voluminous work. But the plan, though ramified, is not intricate. There is system and progress in each article, and each is treated with satisfactory completeness, unless we qualify the last remark by saying that we could wish that he had been a little more bold in the department of etymology. But the most important element of lexicography is exegesis, and in this our author has labored with great ingenuity, and, as we think, with great profit. We will quote on this subject a passage from his preface, not only because it sets forth his principles, but because it brings to notice a distinguishing and valuable characteristic of the work.

"First of all, it has been laid down as a settled principle that, among several significations of a word, that which is obtained by its etymology may be assumed as the original one. Simple and obvious as this maxim is, it has nevertheless been followed with little strictness in Latin lexicons hitherto. And this is owing to two causes. In the first place, they have usually had the pedagogical object in view of facilitating the study of the classics; and they, therefore, gave precedence to the most current significations, which are rarely the earliest. In the second place, because, for the most part, they had to do only with the usages of speech in the most read and best known classics, they have paid almost no attention to the oldest fragments of the Latin tongue; to the *Leges Regiæ*, the fragments of the Twelve Tables, the remains of Ennius, Pacuvius, Cato, and so on down to those of Attius and Sisenna; and extremely little to the Latinity of Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, and Varro: and for this reason just those passages lay out of their sight in which most of the words still preserved their primitive sense. The more to be regretted this fault was, the more earnestly has the author striven to furnish a cure for it. He, therefore, made it his first aim to introduce into the circle of lexical materials all the critically certain remains of old Latinity from the *Leges Regiæ*, the fragments of the Twelve Tables, and the broken inscriptions on the Columna rostrata, down to Lucretius and Varro, and to assign to these, as the oldest, the first place in the lexicon. In this way three advantages are gained. In the first place, the history of words has thus its earliest period removed backward; then many words disclose their primitive meaning by this process; and thirdly, many peculiarities of the later style are here recognized in their nascent state, so that what formerly was regarded as innovation on the part of Virgil or Ovid now appears to be only borrowed from Ennius, Naevius, or Lucretius." * * *

"The second principle laid down, and one about the correctness of which there exists no doubt, is that, in the order of meanings, the proper meaning, as the original one, must precede the tropical as being derived. But besides this, it has been deemed necessary to bring sub-divisions into the notion of the tropical, which in its wide extent seemed not fitted to draw a line between significations with sufficient clearness."—p. 13.

In the other elements, especially in the chronological and statistical, much information is communicated in little space by means of a system of signs and abbreviations. But our limits do not permit to enlarge.

The field to which he confines himself is, the "Latin as the national language of the Romans." He thus excludes, and we think properly, all mediæval Latin from his work. Words borrowed from the Greek or other foreign languages are treated like Latin words if they appear to have been so treated in use by the Romans themselves.

This work, covering about 4500 pages in the original, the American editor proposed to translate and publish in one convenient volume, which might serve as a manual for the student's daily use. Of course it was necessary to condense the material. To do this without diminishing materially the value of the work, was the most delicate part of the editor's task. The prin-

ciples which he has followed in accomplishing this we subjoin in his own words. They are: "First, to retain all the definitions and philological remarks in Freund's larger lexicon, and also all his references to the original Latin authors, the grammarians, editors, and commentators; and secondly, to rely chiefly, for the compression of the work within the prescribed limits, upon retrenching such parts of citations as could be dispensed with without interfering with the particular purpose for which the citations were made, and omitting altogether such as seemed either redundant or of very minor importance. But in every such case of omission or retrenchment the full reference to the original Latin author has been scrupulously retained." We have carefully compared the two works to see with what success these principles have been applied. Of course nothing but a long continued use of the volume will prove its correctness in every particular, but we may say that the examination which we have given it, has gratified us beyond all that we had anticipated from the judicious, clear-sighted scholarship of Dr. Andrews. It should be remarked also that in his condensations he has not violated, but only carried somewhat further, a practice of Dr. Freund himself. For a large number of the passages cited only by reference to the author with book and chapter, appear in precisely the same way in the original work. We could easily show by setting side by side corresponding passages from the German and American editions, that much space has been gained without the sacrifice of any thing essential to the completeness of the lexicon. In many cases it is a mere question of taste, whether or not to insert a whole passage from a classic author, while lexicography requires but two or three words. In Dr. Andrews's edition taste has in this particular yielded to utility. Yet but a small part of the original matter is omitted. By the help of a smaller but distinct type and a much larger page, one volume of sixteen hundred and fifty pages is made to contain the substance of the original.

Objections would naturally suggest themselves to the plan that was adopted for translating the German words into English. The editor is not the translator. But this division of labor has in itself some decided advantages; for a competent Latinist could more easily criticise the English of another hand, than his own. His thoughts would not be warped from a comparison of the Latin word with the English definition by the intervening German expression. The meaning of the German expression is wanted of course. But to check off mistakes in giving this meaning, (and it is possible to suppose that in so large a work the most able translator might occasionally make a slip,) we could devise no better method than that a mature scholar should compare carefully the translators' work with the Latin. We believe that the gentlemen who have been associated with Dr. Andrews, have done their work well. For ourselves we should have preferred to have no multiplication of definitions beyond those given by Freund, but the book may nevertheless be better adapted thereby for a majority of those who are to use it. We close with a remark respecting a single word, *übertragen*. Is not its meaning a little obscured in some cases by being translated *transferred*, where the word *metaphorically* would be more easily understood by the student?

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York; author of "Biblical Researches in Palestine," etc. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1850.

DR. ROBINSON published a translation of the first edition of Wahl's *Clavis Philologica Novi Testamenti* in 1825; eleven years afterwards, in 1836, his own *Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*; and now, after a still longer interval, a very much enlarged edition of that work. And we presume to say that this most recent lexicon is as great an improvement upon the sec-

ond, as was that upon the first; for the progress of philological science has been very great within this period, and Dr. Robinson has of course gone along with it. Besides, this is substantially a new work, that is, in the sense in which any dictionary can be a new work. A large part has been re-written, and the other portions have been thoroughly revised, receiving many additions, corrections and curtailments.

As our object is not to write a criticism, but merely to give an account of the lexicon to those who may not have had access to it, we quote from the preface with a few unimportant omissions, a statement of the main points to which attention has been directed.

"1. The etymology of each word is given, so far as it appertains to the Greek and Hebrew, and occasionally the Latin. A general comparison of the affinities between the Greek and other languages, belongs only to a general Lexicon of the language.

"2. The full *historical* view of a word, is here out of place; since we strictly have to do only with those significations and constructions which are found in the New Testament itself. But the *logical* method is still applicable in its full force. This consists in assigning first to each word its primary signification, whether found in the New Testament or not; and then deducing from it, in logical (not historical) order, all the significations which occur in the New Testament; but not others, except so far as they may be necessary to illustrate the former. In this connection, the attempt has every where been made, to discriminate between the intrinsic significations of a word, and those senses in which it may be employed through the force of adjuncts. By referring the latter to their appropriate heads, the multiplicity of meanings given by earlier lexicographers has been greatly diminished. Particular attention has also been given, to bring out prominently to view the force of the prepositions in composition.

"3. The various constructions of verbs and adjectives with their cases and with other adjuncts, is in general fully given. Unusual or difficult constructions are noted and explained, by reference both to grammatical rules and to the usage of other writers.

"4. The different forms and inflection of words are exhibited, so far as seemed proper in a Lexicon. Any variety or irregularity of form is, in particular, fully explained.

"5. So far as the limits of a Lexicon permit, attention has been given to the interpretation of difficult passages; in order that the work may, in some measure, supply the place of a more extended Commentary. And, if I may be permitted here to give to the student a recommendation founded on the experience of many years, I would counsel him, first to study the New Testament for himself, with only the help of his Grammar or Lexicon, giving close attention to the context and the logical connection. In this way, whatever he acquires will be his own, and will remain with him; and he will then know what further aid to seek in Commentaries. The true end of a Commentary is not to supersede the student's own investigations; but to aid him to fill out and complete them.

"6. Each article, so far as practicable, contains a reference to every passage of the New Testament in which the word is found. In this way, in more than nine-tenths of the words, the Lexicon is a complete Concordance of the New Testament.

"7. The most sedulous care has been bestowed to verify all the references, especially those to the New Testament."—pp. 8-9.

We may add to this that the author seems to have elaborated the meaning and bearing of the particles with much care, at least if we may judge from several articles which we have read.

We have used this Lexicon considerably in reading various parts of the New Testament, and we have also carefully examined a good many individ-

ual words, and we have been more than satisfied—we have been delighted. Though accustomed for many years to the use of Wahl, we must give up our favorite Lexicon and acknowledge the supremacy of this. It is unquestionably the *best* Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament—perhaps *the best* in any language.

We wish to add the testimony of our experience to the testimony of Dr. Robinson as to the place which dictionaries and grammars should hold as compared with commentaries. Always should the Greek Testament be read with the help of the former, before the latter are consulted. The faithful observance of this rule, would in the end make the difference in many, if not most cases, between the learned, candid, liberal and well furnished minister of the Word, and the mere theological system-monger, who is obliged to depend upon others for the confidence with which he asserts his opinions, and who grows dogmatic for the very reason that he only personates some really great man, who had a right perhaps to be dogmatic. It would make him to some considerable extent a good Greek scholar. It would accustom him to *study* the Testament in a way which no mere reading of the English version with however good commentaries could equal; for the student must of course investigate the logical connection of the parts of the sentence, then of the several sentences of the paragraph, and finally of the paragraphs themselves, in order to reach the thoughts of the inspired writer. The clergyman, who should often read the New Testament in this way, would possess a system of Christian doctrines, which, though not variant from the main doctrines in the creeds of the church, would be more in the *spirit* of the Gospel. Besides, it would furnish ever varying matter for his religious services. If he will study in this way the paragraph from which he takes his text, or the chapter on which he is to lecture, or which he is to read in the social meeting, he will constantly find his mind directed to new and interesting trains of thought—he will continually meet with new subjects for sermons, and new topics for less formal addresses. It is often complained of preachers that they go round and round in the same track of thought. This complaint can seldom be made with justice of the real student of the Greek Testament. This method of giving freshness and variety to the sermons of the clergy, seems to us far more commendable than the practice which some appear to have adopted, of enlarging the field of sacred oratory beyond its proper bounds.

We believe that the study of the Greek Testament by all the clergy of our land, with the help of the Lexicons and Grammars which we now possess, would produce a revolution in the pulpit, of the most beneficial kind. It has been proposed to place a copy of the Bible in the possession of every family in the land; the next best thing would be to place a Greek Testament, a Greek and English Lexicon and a Grammar in the hands of every clergyman in the land.

But why should the use of these means of studying the word of God be confined to clergymen? It seems to us it ought to be considered as much a part of a *classical* education to read the New Testament, as any Greek or Roman author; as much a characteristic of an accomplished scholar to read the doctrines of Christ as of Plato—the writings of Paul as of Aristotle. We doubt not many educated men have been deterred from keeping up their knowledge of the Greek Testament, from the want of just such aid as this Lexicon will give them. We should be glad to see it in the possession of every graduate. Indeed, no parent could give his son in college a more useful book than this Lexicon—no money is so judiciously expended in an education, as that which is spent in the purchase of good dictionaries and grammars.

If to the Lexicons of Andrews and Robinson, we add the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell and Scott, we shall have mentioned the three most valuable Lexicons of their kind in the English language. Together they constitute perhaps the most important aids to classical and sacred learning which have

been furnished by the present generation of scholars. The thanks of all the teachers and students of the country are due to the enterprising house which has published them.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for 1851. Boston.

It is unfortunate for the reputation of a watch if its purchaser, upon first taking it from his pocket to learn the time, finds it has stopped. Our own introduction to the American Almanac for the current year was similarly unpropitious. We had, indeed, in previous years, occasionally found it tripping, even in the department where the high professional character of the responsible editor, was strong presumptive evidence of freedom from material error. Yet we have always highly esteemed this annual, especially for its rich fund of important statistics; and we opened the volume for 1851 with no unfriendly bias. Even the new embellishment on the cover, so closely resembling at first sight the old fashioned astrological diagram on the common almanacs, of a dilapidated human effigy, stuck full of arrows all round, pointing inward from a menagerie-looking circle of signs, almost precisely like the one before us, even this did not so offend our taste as to prevent our welcoming the work with a hearty good will. We wanted it for use, and our first act was to look into it for information.

After glancing through the accurate and very valuable general table of latitudes and longitudes of places in the United States, our attention was arrested by another table, entitled "Additional Latitudes and Longitudes, determined chiefly by officers of the U. S. Topographical Engineers." It professes to give the position of divers places on the western portion of the North American continent, reckoning the longitudes from *Greenwich*, dealing in seconds of arc, and wearing an aspect of most rigid accuracy. Happening to be interested in the geography of that now famous portion of the world, we looked into the table for the latest and most accurate determinations respecting certain points with which we were familiar. And first, the renowned port of San Francisco. Alas, the Almanac places it, not at the entrance of the beautiful bay on which we saw it standing only a few months ago, but a hundred and fifty miles from shore, amid the waves of the Pacific. Looking next for the old capital of California, Monterey, we found that had shared the same fate. On further examination, it appeared that Acapulco, San Blas, St. Joseph, Harbor de los Remedios—all the places, in fact, on the Pacific coast named in the table, except San Diego, were in like manner shoved some two and a third degrees to the westward of their true positions as reckoned from *Greenwich*. Equally out of place are divers localities in the interior of the continent and on the Gulf of Mexico—for example, the city of Mexico itself, Perote, Jalapa, Puebla de los Angeles, Tampico, Vera Cruz, and the volcanic mountain Popocatepetl. How these egregious blunders probably occurred is indeed easily explained. The careless compiler, though he states explicitly at the head of the table that the longitudes are from *Greenwich*, doubtless copied those in question from the French *Connaissance des Temps*, without noticing that the longitudes in that work are from Paris, and not from *Greenwich*. Fortunately, the American Almanac is not used by navigators, and such blunders will doubtless occasion no loss of property or life.

But the errors we have named are not all that occur on this single page. Looking for the position of Bent's Fort, which we supposed to be high up the Arkansas river, in the interior of the continent, we found the Almanac had dumped it down in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, in longitude 52° west. Capt. Sutter's well known "fort," which he named *Nueva Helvetia*, (but which has since been supplanted by the growing city *Sacramento*), is, according to the Almanac, not where we have so often seen it, at the mouth of the American Fork, but entirely without the established boundaries of the State of California, on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, among unex-

plored and almost inaccessible mountains and deserts, being in longitude "nearly 120° ."

But the propensity to misplace geographical points is not confined to this unlucky table. On page 323 we find it stated, that the "monument with inscriptions," marking the "initial point" of the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, was erected in "lat. $32^{\circ} 31' 59''$.58, and long. $119^{\circ} 35' 0''$.15 west from Greenwich"—a place where it is certain that Col. Weller, with the astronomical corps under his direction, could never have built it, unless they could rear it from the unfathomable depths of the Pacific, one hundred and fifty miles from shore. How this position came to be reckoned from Paris also, is beyond our ken.

The computations of the solar eclipse of July 28th, furnished for the Almanac by Lieut. Davis, superintendent of the proposed American Nautical Almanac, are extensive and minute, but even these are so disfigured by typographical errors, that one will hesitate to place confidence in the numerical statements, unless he has the means of verifying them. We have not attempted to examine these computations critically, but even in the figures copied directly from the English Nautical Almanac, we find $10^{\circ} 28' W.$ printed for $106^{\circ} 28' W.$, the point where the eclipse first strikes the earth. The heading of the left hand column of the table on page 43, is *minutes and seconds*, instead of *hours and minutes*. Numerous typographical errors occur also in the formulæ and computations that follow; which, if easily detected by the practiced computer, will nevertheless, confuse the less skillful, and create a suspicion of more important errors not discoverable at a cursory glance.

Now such errors as those here pointed out are unpardonable in a work that professes the accuracy and enjoys the reputation of the American Almanac—especially in that division of the volume which is published under the sanction of so distinguished a name as that of the well known mathematical professor at Harvard. Very likely the blunders noted may have been the work of some other hand; if so, they ought not to have appeared in the part of the work professedly under his special supervision.

We may be allowed to remark in passing, that the astronomical portion of the Almanac almost entirely fails of answering the end for which it appears to have been intended. It is too meager for the astronomer, and too full for the mere general reader. The United States Almanac, published in Philadelphia, for 1843-4-5, was very much superior to it in scientific utility, and if published now, would, we think, be universally preferred by the astronomer and scientific traveller to the one in question. No man who has important astronomical or geodetical problems to solve will be without the British Nautical Almanac, or some similar work, and no one possessed of that work will want the meager extracts from it which the American Almanac gives. When the American Nautical Almanac shall have made its appearance, all occasion for the astronomical portion of the work under notice will entirely cease, if indeed it ever existed. The extensive list of occultations computed at the Nautical Almanac office, and published by the Smithsonian Institute, already affords a good foretaste of what American astronomers may expect from the projected work, when the necessary arrangements for its publication shall have been completed.

The great value of the American Almanac, and that on which its deservedly high reputation is based, consists in its statistics. The preparation of this part of the work involves great labor, and so far as we can discover, from a cursory examination, that labor has been as faithfully and accurately accomplished as could reasonably be expected in a work involving such a multiplicity of facts and figures. The successive volumes of this Almanac present an invaluable digest of the statistics of the country, and are worthy of a place in every well stocked library of books of reference. The volume for the present year is full and interesting in this department, and may be studied with advantage by all who would understand the growth, resources, and pres-

ent condition of the United States. Its condensed chronological record of passing events, and brief obituary notices of distinguished men, form by no means the least interesting and valuable portion of the volume, and they are presented in a shape convenient for preservation and future reference. We wish the work success, and hope the future volumes will be less disfigured by blemishes than the one before us.

The Method of the Divine Government, physical and moral. By Rev. JAMES M'COSH. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 515.

THIS is an able work, and one which we can recommend to the attention of all thinking men. It discusses most of the points which are appropriate to its very comprehensive theme, with energy and thoroughness. It is written in an eloquent, though too verbose a style. The author has read very extensively the works in natural theology and metaphysics, not only of the religious schools, but even of atheistic and irreligious writers. He has brought down his reading to the latest times, and has boldly grappled with the giant of the so-called positive philosophy, Auguste Comte. If a man wishes to know what has been taught on these subjects, especially in recent writers, he will be likely to be gratified by perusing this treatise. If he wishes to have his own thoughts quickened, and new and various subjects suggested for earnest and exciting reflection, he can not fail to be interested in this volume. We believe it will be generally acceptable to a large circle of readers. While we say all this of this book, we are bound to add, that the author is not so distinguished, by the highest philosophical ability or acuteness as he is by the power readily to appreciate the general bearings of theological and metaphysical discussions, and by very extensive and well directed reading.

The Women of Israel. By GRACE AGUILAR. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1851. 12mo. pp. 270, 336.

THERE is a strange interest attached to this book. The author is a Jewess, one of the most gifted of the daughters of Abraham, who writes with the most intense enthusiasm, both national and religious, of the distinguished women of her nation. She follows the chronological order and gives an elaborate and finished picture of the circumstances of the life and history of each. Her principal object seems to be, to inspire the females of the Jewish faith, with a religious and patriotic interest in the distinguished daughters of their own race, from whom some of them may be descended. In connection with the life of each of her heroines, she enforces some practical duty connected with the present condition of the Jewish nation, and excite them to earnest attachment to their faith by warm-hearted appeals. We almost imagine as we read these enforcements and appeals, that we are listening to the instructions of some "mother in Israel," in the times of the Maccabees. But alas! there is this striking difference. They saw a Messiah who was to come, even though revealed by the dim light of prophecy. She sees not the one who is come—even though the fact that he is come, is attested by the record of Jesus, and by the blazing splendors of Christendom. In the midst of these splendors she lives and writes, and one of the most affecting proofs of the divinity of this Messiah, is the vain and ineffectual reasonings by which she endeavors to show that Judaism is not inferior in its adaptation to the wants of our nature to the better hope introduced by the Gospel. But she strives in vain, for it still remains true, that "we have not a High Priest, which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." This book is a most profitable one to read. We learn from it to enter more fully into the spirit of the Old Testament, and to value more highly the new.

Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Pre-Millennial? By the Rev. DAVID BROWN, A.M., St. James' Free Church, Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851.

THIS is an able and timely work. It is written in opposition to the theory, in its many varieties, known by the names Millenarianism, Second Adventism, and Millerism, and entitled by the author of this work, the pre-millennial theory—which has been advocated with great zeal by many able and excellent men in Great Britain, especially in the evangelical part of the Church of England, and by a few in this country, Dr. Duffield, Bishop Henshaw, Dr. Tyng, and others, and in one form by Mr. Miller. Some of the advocates of this theory, hold, that Christ will soon come, not to carry on in person and in power the work of converting and saving men—his kingdom of grace—but to close the dispensation of grace altogether, and to introduce an eternal state of retribution. But the greater number hold the theory as essentially defined by Mr. Brown; “That the fleshly and sublunary state is not to terminate with the second coming of Christ, but to be then set up in a new form; when, with his glorified saints, the Redeemer will reign in person on the throne of David at Jerusalem for a thousand years, over a world of men yet in the flesh, eating and drinking, planting and building, marrying and giving in marriage, under this mysterious sway.”

This theory, in all its diversities, has been regarded with much anxiety and regret by the great body of intelligent Christians, for many reasons, but especially because it tends, as they believe, to paralyze the missionary enterprise and indeed, all evangelizing efforts as now carried on; teaching that they are utterly inadequate as instrumentalities for the conversion of the world, and that little will be accomplished for that end till Christ comes to this world in person.

This theory Mr. Brown undertakes to overthrow, and to establish the common theory of the Christian church—that Christ's second coming will be for the purpose of closing the dispensation of grace by the final judgment; and that this coming will not be till after the triumph of Christianity in the earth by the present economy—the ministration of the Spirit, the truth, and the church, directed and controlled by Christ on his mediatorial throne.

The book, which is an octavo volume of 489 pages, consists of two parts. In the first part, entitled the Second Advent, the author confutes the pre-millennial theory, by showing from the Scriptures the purposes of the Redeemer's second advent; and consequently that it will not occur till these purposes are accomplished. He proves, that when Christ comes, the church which he hath purchased with his own blood will be absolutely and numerically complete—admitting of no subsequent accessions: that the Bible makes the hopes and the fears of all men to turn upon the second coming of Christ, as an event future to every human being, and makes no provision for the bringing in of any after it: that baptism, and with it the gathering and training of disciples for glory, and the whole mediatorial power and presence of Christ for saving purposes, are ordained to continue till “the end of the world”—the admitted period of Christ's second coming—and not beyond it; and that in the Lord's Supper, the Redeemer's death is to be showed forth only “till he come:” that the kingdom of Christ is the kingdom of grace in the hands of the Mediator—a kingdom already in existence—virtually ever since the fall, and formally since his ascension to the right hand of power; and that it will continue unchanged, both in character and form, till the final judgment, when in its state of glory it becomes “the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ”—“the everlasting kingdom of Christ and of God:” that at Christ's second coming, his whole church—“all that the Father hath given him shall be made alive at once, the dead being raised and the living changed; and that, at the same time, all the wicked shall stand up in a resurrection state—the whole human race appearing together before the great white throne: that

when Christ comes, the whole human race will be tried together for eternity at his judgment seat: and, finally, that at Christ's second coming, the heavens and the earth that are now, being dissolved, shall disappear, and be succeeded by" new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, without the least mixture of sin—good, unalloyed by aught of evil.

In the second part of the volume, which he entitles the Millennium, the author teaches and proves from the Scriptures, that there will be, before Christ's coming, a long period—a thousand years, he thinks, though he acknowledges that the reasons for this opinion are slender, and has no controversy with those who think that this period is indefinite as well as long—when the Gospel will have general prevalence and power among men, and grace will be victorious in the whole earth.

It should be added, that the discussion both of the first and second departments of the subject is so conducted, as fully to notice and answer the arguments which have been advanced to sustain the opposing theory.

English Grammar. The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a History of its Origin and Development. Designed for use in Colleges and Schools. By WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1850. pp. 675.

THIS work surveys a wide field. It is divided into eight Parts, as follows: The Origin and History of the English Language; The Phonology of the English Language; The Orthographical Forms in the English Language; Etymological Forms; Logical Forms; Syntactical Forms; Rhetorical Forms; and Poetical Forms. Besides, the first chapter of the first part, among other things, treats of the origin and unity of language, the classification of languages, the birth-place of language, together with a more particular account of the branches of the Indo-European family of languages. We ought also to explain, perhaps, that under the heads of Logical Forms, and Rhetorical Forms, the author treats of logic and rhetoric, though of course somewhat summarily.

It will be obvious from this statement, that the work goes over a good deal of ground, and that it embraces many things not usually included in English grammar. The materials have been collected from a great variety of sources, and have been put together so as to form a consistent and well arranged work. We think the variety of subjects which are treated of, will render it a valuable book of reference, without impairing, perhaps, its utility as a text-book to be recited. Every student ought to have a work of this kind by him, to refer to, and for this purpose we know of none we could recommend in preference.

It should be added that a portion of the work, a little more than one-fifth of the whole, was prepared by Prof. Gibbs of Yale College. The reputation of this gentleman, as a philosophical grammarian and philologist, is a sufficient guarantee of the value of any thing he may see fit to publish in this department.

Christianity Revived in the East, or A Narrative of the work of God among the Armenians of Turkey. By H. G. O. DWIGHT, Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. New York: Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau street, and 36 Park Row. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

IN this volume Mr. Dwight has set forth in order the history of the religious movement now in progress among the Armenians. Commencing with a brief account of the Armenian church in which he affirms its close resemblance, in forms and doctrines, to the Church of Rome, he proceeds to trace the influences which, for thirty years past, have been silently working in it a process of reformation. These influences differ not materially from those which are

employed at other stations of the American Board. No man perhaps is more competent than Mr. Dwight to execute the task which he has performed. His narrative is methodical, clear and candid. Even the account given in it, of the agency of Bishop Southgate in aggravating if not originating the severest of the persecutions suffered by the Armenian converts—an account which no American can read without mingled shame and indignation—betrays no want of Christian courtesy.

The author's style, though by no means facile and fluent, is yet perspicuous. Any style however would be redeemed by the very great interest of the facts which he has related. We hope his work will be read, and be useful in promoting the missionary spirit in our churches.

India and the Hindoos, Being a popular view of the Geography, History, Government, Manners, Customs, Literature and Religion of that Ancient People; with an account of Christian Missions among them. By F. DE W. WARD, late Missionary at Madras, and Member of the "American Oriental Society." New York: Baker & Scribner. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

WE have found this volume upon India very entertaining and instructive. Indeed, it is a volume not easily laid down by one who has opened it, till the whole is read. We have found its perusal an unexpected treat. Mr. Ward's style is lively and agreeable; indeed his subject-matter, interesting from its novelty, is doubly so from the facility of style with which it is presented. Occasionally, indeed, the author is betrayed into a sentence which must be deemed impracticable to grammarians. He likewise employs occasionally a word not simply in a manner that is novel, but absolutely inadmissible. We find also one or two anachronisms, but with these exceptions there is much to commend and little to condemn in the plan and execution of this work.

Mr. Ward was for a period of ten years a Missionary of the American Board at Madras. At the expiration of that time, he was compelled, by the prostration of his health, to return to this country. But his sojourn in India was marked, as it appears, by great personal industry in acquainting himself with the country and its inhabitants. He traveled considerably in different parts of the peninsula, carefully gathering in every practicable manner, and penciling at the time the information which has been here wrought into one of the most readable and valuable books yet furnished by our missionaries.

In the opening of the work he has devoted a chapter to the geography of the country; another to its natural productions, its zoology and botany; and in a third has glanced at its history. These chapters contain much information, which is attractively exhibited. The reader is then introduced to the Hindoos themselves, and after a general survey of their different classes, and a glance at the British government over them, he is furnished with an insight into their personal and domestic life. Then follows an exhibition of their popular customs, avocations, modes of traveling, amusements, literature and science, their progress in the arts, their religious ceremonies and doctrines, the condition of their women, the system of Hindoo caste, and the various missions by which Christendom, for thirty years past, has been endeavoring to propagate the Gospel in India. In the arrangement of topics we do not think the author altogether happy; his topics might have followed each other in a manner more natural and pleasing. But when all abatement has been duly made, there is left a novelty in the subject-matter of the book, and a sprightliness and charm about its narrations which make it decidedly fascinating. And we advise all persons who resort to novels for lack of other profitable books to interest them, to take up this volume on India and admit that truth as it is more salutary, so is it no less *interesting* than fiction.

Two Years in Upper India. By JOHN C. LOWRIE, one of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851. pp. 276.

MR. LOWRIE with his wife, and the Rev. William Reed, with his wife, were the first Missionaries who were sent by the Presbyterian Church in its distinctive capacity to India. But Mrs. Lowrie died soon after their arrival at Calcutta. Mr. and Mrs. Reed were compelled by the ill-health of Mr. Reed, to return to this country, before the establishment of the mission. Mr. Lowrie, however, went forward with the enterprise. He ascended the Ganges to Lodiana, where he opened a school and laid the foundation of a mission which has been uncommonly blessed. From Lodiana, he made a journey at the invitation of Rangit Singh to Lahor, the principal city in the Panjab, or the country between the Sutlej and the Indus. He also spent one summer in the Hill country, situated between the snowy Himalaya mountains and the Plains of India. But Mr. Lowrie's health failing him, he was obliged to relinquish his missionary labors and return home; but not before he had the satisfaction of welcoming other laborers into the field which he had so judiciously laid out. This volume contains an account of his residence in India—of his voyage up the Ganges, his tour to Lahor, his visit to the Hill country—and two or three chapters of a general kind on India and the Hindoos, and a chapter on the present flourishing state of the mission. The book contains much information in a small space, and there is a prevailing good sense and judgment through the whole of it.

Jamaica in 1850; or, the Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony. By JOHN BIGELOW. New York and London: George P. Putnam. 1851. pp. 214.

THERE are few questions more interesting at the present time than the questions connected with the civilization of the inferior races of men. Whether they are destined under the providence of God to become extinct by the necessary progress of the superior races, as has already happened more than once in the history of the world; or whether, by the divine influences of Christianity, they are to be elevated and brought to stand on the same level with the most civilized nations; or whether, by intermarriage, they shall become other, though at the same time, the same distinct races—these are specimens of the questions to which we refer. Some of these questions are, perhaps, in the process of solution at the Sandwich Islands, at Liberia, and in the West Indies.

With respect to West India emancipation, this book is by far the best of those that have been written on that subject, which have come within our observation. It contains the results of much careful and judicious observation, and the opinions founded upon these observations are well considered and rational. It is the most calm, and the most philosophical discussion we have seen on the subjects involved in emancipation.

We are glad to see that this book is published in London. As a piece of composition, it will equal anything that comes from the English press, and we think English philanthropists may be benefitted by looking at this subject from the American point of view.

Responses from The Sacred Oracles; or, The Past in the Present. By RICHARD W. DICKINSON, D.D., author of "Religious Teaching by Example; or Scenes from Sacred History," etc. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

FROM an examination of several chapters in this work, we cordially commend it as an earnest, elaborate, able, and useful treatise. It presents a series

of biographical pictures, taken from the Scriptures, as of Asa and Amaziah, Herod and Cornelius, and from the view taken of the originals of these pictures by inspiration, deduces lessons of virtue and religion for the living. It contemplates—to borrow the author's own figure—the Bible as a great mirror, in whose truthful sketches of character we may behold our own images, and in whose divine messages to the individuals of whom it speaks, may be found divine responses to ourselves. The book exhibits careful research as well as distinguished ability. It is elaborately written, and, we think, well fitted to enlarge the reader's knowledge of the Scriptures, and make him a better man. It is published in handsome style, leaving, so far as regards paper and print, nothing to be desired.

The Soldier of the Cross ; A practical exposition of Ephesians vi, 10-18. By the Rev. JOHN LEBURN, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 12mo, pp. 339. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THIS volume is an attempted exposition of that passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which the apostle sets forth Christian duty under the figure of a warfare. The passage is one capable of being illustrated, by a proper hand, with great interest and profit. In regard to the present attempt, we can only say that while the contents of this volume would be very acceptable and edifying, if delivered, as we suppose they were, as a pastor's weekly lectures, they would have been worth more as a book if they had been compressed into half their present size. In these days, when so many books are presented to the attention of the public, no author can expect to be read extensively who does not study conciseness.

Religious Progress ; Discourses on the Development of the Christian Character. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THIS book is founded upon the following passage of Scripture. "And beside this, giving all diligence add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity." These several Christian virtues are dwelt upon in as many consecutive lectures, and their connection with each other explained. The views expressed are elevated and scholar-like. A truly Christian spirit pervades the whole work. It contains also a good deal of eloquent writing. It gives us much pleasure to commend such a book to the attention of our readers.

The Illustrated Domestic Bible. By the Rev. INGRAHAM COBBIN, M.A. New York: Samuel Hueston, 139 Nassau street. Nos. 1-14. New Haven: J. B. Peck, Sunday School, Tract and Bible Depository.

WE have hitherto unintentionally neglected to notice this new and excellent edition of the Bible. The plan includes the following particulars: Notes; Reflections; Improved Readings; the Metrical form of the Poetical passages and Books; Pictorial Illustrations of Eastern Manners and Customs; The Chronological Order of the subjects; New Headings to the Chapters; and Questions to assist in family reading.

It is obvious that these are very great helps to the profitable study of the Scriptures by the English reader. As far as we have examined, they have been well done.

The editor concludes his preface as follows: "The editor has now lived to enter his seventieth year; his labors must be approaching their end, but to

the last moments of his life, his most pleasing recollections will be, that with feeble health he has been able to devote so large a portion of the closing hours of time to the word of God."

Christian Consolations. Sermons designed to furnish comfort and strength to the afflicted. By A. P. PEABODY, pastor of the South Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Second edition. Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 1851. 12mo., pp. 367.

THESE sermons are from the pen of a writer in the Unitarian denomination, whose productions we always read with pleasure and profit. Pure in style, earnest in thought and feeling, faithful and fervent in the enforcement of the doctrines which he believes, and approaching very nearly to what we believe to be the true Gospel, he has our best wishes for himself and his works.

Addresses and Proceedings at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Middlebury College, held at Middlebury, Vermont, August 20, 21, and 22, 1850. Middlebury: Justus Cobb. 1850. pp. 179.

THE semi-centennial celebration at Middlebury, last August, was an occasion of great interest to the college. The alumni assembled in great numbers, and were animated with the right spirit. We have an account in the pamphlet before us, of all the exercises and doings. In the address of Dr. Hough upon the deceased alumni—and which is written certainly with commendable impartiality—we find names of which any college might be proud; Sylvester Larned, Carlos Wilcox, Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons, Rollin C. Mallory, Silas Wright; and among those still living, some of whom were present on the occasion, there are not a few with respect to whom the "*serus in cælum redeas*" readily suggests itself to the mind.

A General View of the Fine Arts, Critical and Historical. With an introduction by D. HUNTINGTON, N. A., A. M. New York: Published by G. P. Putnam, Broadway. 1851. pp. 472.

IN the short introduction of Mr. Huntington, the reader is informed that the author of this work is a lady, "who, while employed upon it, was practically engaged with the palette and colors." The writer treats of painting, sculpture, architecture and music. The treatise, however, is not an essay on these several arts, but an historical account of them, by means of biographical notices of the most distinguished artists. For example, we have first an account of the most celebrated painters among the ancients, and then among the moderns, these latter being arranged under the several schools of painting. The work is, of course, mainly a compilation, but the materials have been well selected, and it is well written.

History of Propellers and Steam Navigation. With Biographical Sketches of the Early Inventors. By ROBERT MACFARLANE, editor of the "*Scientific American*." New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo, pp. 144.

THE author of this neat volume, well printed and amply illustrated, has undertaken, as his preface states, to give a history of steam navigation, and, while exhibiting the various contrivances and inventions for the purpose of propelling vessels, to guard those of inventive disposition against a waste of time and ingenuity, by showing them how many contrivances and expedients have already been proved to be worthless. This undertaking is very commendable; and the book before us, while defective in literary style, and by no means a full and complete treatise upon the subject to which it relates, is yet a valuable contribution to the history of steam and the inventive power of

mankind. It is worthy of a place in almost any general library, and to the mechanic and to those interested in mechanical pursuits, must be a work of great interest. The chapter relating the experiments of the Commissioner of Patents—Mr. Ewbank—is particularly worthy of consideration.

Elements of Natural Philosophy. By W. H. C. BARTLETT, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the United States Military Academy at West Point. Section I. **MECHANICS.** 8vo, pp. 632. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

THIS is the first of three volumes which are to appear successively, and to embrace the subjects of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, in a form adapted to the use of university students. The present volume is devoted to Mechanics, but under the head of *Mechanics of Fluids*, embraces also what is usually given in works on natural philosophy under the heads of hydrostatics and pneumatics.

The work is, to a great extent, a compilation from French and German writers, but evinces good judgment and taste in the selection of materials, precision in its definitions, a thorough knowledge of the subjects of which it treats, and a perspicuous, though somewhat prolix style of composition. The want of time, we apprehend, will seriously interfere with its use in our colleges, where so many different departments severally press their claims upon the attention of the students; but for institutions like the Military Academy at West Point, where great preponderance is given to mathematical studies, and as a foundation for the profession of civil engineering, we are of opinion that this work will be found to be one of high and peculiar merit.

The Horticulturist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste. Edited by A. J. DOWNING, Newburgh, author of "Landscape Gardening," "Designs for Cottage Residences," "Fruits and Fruit Trees of America," "Country Houses," etc. Albany: Luther Tucker, 407 Broadway. New Haven: F. Trowbridge.

WE have frequently commended the writings of Mr. Downing to the attention of the readers of the New Englander. We believe, however, we have never noticed the *Horticulturist*, a monthly journal started by Mr. Downing and just commencing the seventh year of its existence. And now we need only say that in the departments of horticulture, pomology, landscape gardening, rural architecture, rural economy, and the like, it stands unrivalled. We think its circulation through all the intelligent families of the land, would be a public benefit.

The Cultivator, a Monthly Journal for the Farmer, Gardener, and Orchardist. Illustrated with designs for farm buildings, portraits of domestic animals, figures of fruits, implements, &c. Albany: Luther Tucker, 407 Broadway, New Haven: F. Trowbridge.

THIS is considered the best agricultural journal in the country, and is sold at the very low price of one dollar a year. Its contributors are among the most practical and the most scientific writers we have on these subjects.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WE have found it difficult to notice works which are published in successive numbers. We shall hereafter merely report the progress of such publications, after we have once informed our readers of the character of the work. There are also some books which, either from being well known, or for other reasons,

do not require an extended notice; these we shall merely place under the present head.

Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics and Traditions of the War for Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. With six hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing & Bartlett, chiefly from original sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1850. Nos. 8-10, pp. 512.

Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture. Detailing the labors of the farmer in all their variety, and adapting them to the seasons of the year, as they successively occur. By HENRY STEVENS, F. R. S. E. Author of the "Book of the Farm," etc. Assisted by JOHN P. NORTON, M. A., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New Haven. New York: Leonard Scott & Co., 79 Fulton street, and 54 Gold street. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Nos. 10-14. Vol. I, pp. 673. American Appendix, pp. 40. Vol. II. pp. 176.

Dictionary of Mechanics, Engine-Work, and Engineering. OLIVER BYRNE, editor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. New Haven: T. H. Pease, 83 Chapel street. Nos. 15-23. Vol. I. pp. 960. Vol. II. pp. 144.

Daily Bible Illustrations; being Original Readings, for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the family circle. By JOHN KITTO, D. D., F. S. A., editor of "The Pictorial Bible," "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," etc., etc., SAMUEL, SAUL and DAVID.

The Psalms Translated and Explained. By J. A. ALEXANDER, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Vol. III. New York: Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease, 83 Chapel street. This volume completes this valuable work.

Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER. Eighth edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 235 Broadway. 1851.

Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. John Summerfield, A. M. By John Holland. With an Introductory Letter by James Montgomery. Abridged with additional Letters and Reminiscences. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

The original memoir of Summerfield is well known. This is an abridgment of that work, but with the addition of about thirty original letters and fifty pages of reminiscences.

Lectures Adapted to the Capacity of Children. By Rev. ALEXANDER FLETCHER, of Finsbury Chapel, London. Selected from the London edition and revised. In two volumes. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

The author of these sermons preached for sixteen years to the children of the Sunday schools in London, his audiences being sometimes four thousand. It will, we doubt not, prove to be a very valuable work.

Christian Melodies. A Selection of Hymns and Tunes designed for Social and Private Worship, in the Lecture-room and the Family. Edited by GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D., and I. E. SWEETSER. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 51 John street. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1851.

History and Geography of the Middle Ages for Colleges and Schools. (Chiefly from the French.) By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE. Part I. History. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. pp. 454.

This book deserves, and we trust will receive, a trial, amidst the general complaints of the deficiency in good manuals for instruction in history. It seems well adapted to the purpose, and was constructed by those who have had experience in teaching.

Mezzofanti's System of Learning Languages Applied to the Study of French. Second French Reader. Illustrated with historical, geographical, philosophical and philological notices. By I. ROEMER, Professor of the French language and literature in the New York Free Academy. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 478.

We do not find many traces of Mezzofanti's system in this volume—or the system of any one else—but we have a large number of extracts from recent and living French writers, giving us the language as actually used by the best writers of the present time.

Poems by Grace Greenwood. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1851.

The lady who bears this *nom de plume*, pleases the public so well with her prose, that they certainly will be glad to see a volume of her poetry. She does not give them her real name, but she condescends to give them a sight of her portrait, which will attract some buyers to the book.

Christ Knocking at the Door of Sinners' Hearts; or, a solemn entreaty to receive the Savior and his Gospel, in this day of Mercy. By Rev. JOHN FLAVEL. 1689. Revised edition. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York. 12mo. pp. 400.

Repentance, Explained to the Understanding of the Young. By Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D. D., pp. 80, 18mo., with frontispiece.

Faith, Explained to the Understanding of the Young. By Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D. D., pp. 92, 18mo., with frontispiece.

These two volumes present the doctrines of Repentance and Faith in their practical bearing, with a simplicity of thought and style adapted to the young. The subjects are chiefly exhibited in the form of narrative, especially in the history of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Daniel, David, Peter, and the Prodigal son.

Life Inexplicable, Except as a Probation. A discourse delivered in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rhinebeck, New York, July 15, 1849, at the funeral of Mrs. Catherine Garretson. By STEPHEN OLIN, D. D. New York: Lane & Scott. 1851.

Mrs. Garretson was esteemed a remarkable example of Christian excellence while she lived. She shed the lustre of eminent piety upon a large circle of persons of wealth and influence, upon the banks of the Hudson, and died in the triumph of faith at the age of ninety-six. This sermon is an interesting memorial of her worth.

The Life of John Randolph, of Roanoke. By HUGH A. GARLAND. Two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut street. 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease, 83 Chapel street.

These are intensely interesting volumes. We shall speak of them hereafter.

The Country Year-Book; or, The Field, The Forest, and The Fireside. By WILLIAM HOWITT, author of the "Book of the Seasons," "Rural Life in England," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1850.

The general character of the writings of this author is so well understood as to preclude the necessity of any special remarks upon the present work.

Popular Education: For the use of Parents and Teachers, and for Young Persons of both Sexes. Prepared and published in accordance with a resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan. By IRA MAYHEW, A. M. Late Superintendent of public instruction. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

This work is made up of lectures delivered before the legislature of Michigan. It contains many interesting facts and useful suggestions. We hope it may have an extensive circulation.

THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. XXXIV.

MAY, 1851.

ART. I.—THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
OF ANCIENT GREECE.

A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Antient Greece. By WILLIAM MURE of Caldwell. London: Longman & Co. 1850. 3 vols. 8vo.

IN looking at the three substantial octavos of which this work consists, and thinking then how scanty are the extant relics of the literature which it describes, the general reader may be pardoned if he feels that there is a want of proportion between text and commentary. The poems of Homer and of Hesiod, with a few thousand lines of epic and lyric fragments—such is all that remains to us from the ante-Pisistratic literature of Greece. Of the imposing edifice we find two noble halls still in tolerable preservation; a few entire columns more or less defaced: and a multitude of dispersed and mutilated fragments. And some will feel, that, however magnificent may have been the original structure, it is scarcely worth while to bestow so much of time and pains upon its broken ruins. The wreck, however, is not so complete and hopeless, as might, at first view, be imagined. Many works, which have been lost, are more or less known to us in their general character and contents. In many instances, where only the title, the subject of a piece, has been handed down to us, the analogy of surviving pieces enables us to divine the treatment of the author. We must own indeed that much is left in the dark: many puzzling questions present themselves, which we are not able, and in all human probability, never shall be able to answer. Yet on the whole it is not too much to affirm, that we are in condition to obtain, as regards all the main

points, a tolerable conception of this ancient and ill-preserved literature. The scope and compass of its subjects, the modes in which they were handled, the forms and styles that distinguished it, the ideas that informed it, the spirit that animated it—are, or may be, known to the critical scholar. He has the means of knowledge in his hands: it is his own fault, if he does not use them rightly.

We do not mean to represent the literary historian of this period as proposing to himself an easy task. His materials lie scattered up and down through the whole range of ancient literature. Many are to be sought in the arid pages of grammarians and scholiasts, on which no man would think of entering, unless prompted by the self-sacrificing spirit of scientific adventure. Much patient diligence is necessary to collect them: and much judicious combination to elicit from them, when collected, the results which they are capable of yielding. Nor is it to be wondered at, if the inquirer, after arriving at his conclusions by this tedious process, should estimate their value by the trouble they have cost him, and reproduce in his report the slow prolixity of his investigation.

The literature discussed in this work is one which eminently deserves a full and thorough study. Though exclusively poetical, and indeed confined to three departments of poetry, the epic, didactic, and lyrical, it was yet wonderful for its variety and richness. The epic style of Homer is everywhere distinguished for its dramatic character, and in many parts is little more than a continuous dialogue. The didactic poetry embraced many subjects of religion, morals, social order and the economy of life, which at a later period were regarded as falling more properly within the province of prose composition. As to the lyric poetry of the early time, there is no end to its varieties, of matter and of form. It is elegiac, autobiographical, satirical, sentimental, political, and everything else, according to the mood of the writer and the circumstances that environ him. But apart from its intrinsic interest, this primitive literature has claims on our regard, as being the starting point and the basis of all Grecian culture. If we wish to understand any phenomenon, we must study it in its beginnings. And this is the more necessary in the literature of Greece, as it was to a great extent self-developed: not, like a house, built up with materials gathered from different quarters, but shooting up, like a tree, by steady natural growth, on its own soil and from its own roots. Thus it happens, that even works, which we mourn as lost, are not completely lost to us: they have disappeared from the world, yet they have not perished altogether: though dead, they did not wholly die: they survive in their results. Something of Archilochus and Sappho yet remains to us in Pindar and Sophocles, in Plato and Aristotle, even in Herodotus and Thucydides and Demosthenes. The earlier author still addresses us through the eloquent lips of his successors:

he acts upon us still through that general Grecian culture, to which he has contributed a substantive portion of elements and influences, and which, in its integral form, is destined to exert an indestructible influence on the thinking of the world. To study his works, whether in the fragments that remain to us, or in the scattered notices of ancient writers, or in the learned restorations of modern scholars, is no more than an act of natural piety on our part: it is tracing our own intellectual genealogy—going back to the authentic ancestors of our own minds.

The obscurity, which hangs over the subjects of this work, makes it difficult to treat them with succinctness. History here must often give place to discussion. Instead of concise, perspicuous statements of undoubted truth, we are forced to content ourselves with uncertain estimations of conflicting probabilities. Discussions of this nature, if not drawn out with fullness, are liable to become unintelligible and repulsive to all but the scientific reader. And whatever may be the subject of a work, time is always an essential element of its effect. That which is held up to view for an instant, to be as instantly withdrawn, can take but little hold upon the reader's interest, and will make no permanent impression on his memory. It is only where an author can assume a previous familiarity with his subject, or expect that his work will be read with careful study, that he can safely go to the extreme of brevity. The *History of Greek Literature*, written by K. O. Müller, and published by the Useful Knowledge Society, may be mentioned as an illustration of this remark. Though a most original and valuable work, its conciseness must preclude it from gaining general popularity. Unfortunately too it was never completed. The untimely, though not inappropriate death of its lamented author, in Greece, and in the cause of Greek archaeology, interrupted this with many other plans, which promised fair for the advancement of classical learning.

The work now before us, is evidently not addressed exclusively to an audience of scholars. In presenting the results of his long continued and widely extended researches, the author has endeavored to set them forth in a popular form, such as may command the interest and attention of the general reader. If in this attempt he has sometimes failed between two scarcely compatible objects—if he should seem too learned for the general reader, and too popular for the scholar—it is a difficulty inherent in the nature of the undertaking. He has perhaps surmounted it as well as could have been expected. He has not the brilliant declamation with which Bulwer has illustrated the literature of Athens: nor has he that freshness of thought and honest strength of expression which give a singular charm to the literary chapters of Grote. His style is carefully elaborated, but lacks force and point. The thought does not always fill the words that invest it, and moves tardily and cumbrously

under the burthen of its draperies. The reader may grow weary with the slow progression and the measured uniformity of his author; and in his impatience may stigmatize him as tedious and long winded. But the most impatient reader will not deny that he is clear, sensible, ingenious, and in general fair-minded. At times, we seem to detect something that looks like special pleading—a disposition to press into his service *all* that can be said in favor of his proposition. Yet on the whole he impresses us strongly as an honest, diligent and successful seeker after truth. His work is the thoughtful production of a thoroughly accomplished scholar, a standard authority on the subject which it treats.

The author appears perhaps to least advantage in the higher department of literary criticism; which, however, does not occupy any very large space in his work. Thus, his comparative estimate of ancient and modern literature is exceedingly superficial and unsatisfactory. He confines himself to two points, the greater variety of modern, the greater originality and formal beauty of ancient literature. So far he is in the main right enough; but he has left out of view many most characteristic and important points of difference. He says nothing as to the diverse treatment of external nature: nothing as to the greater complexity of form, which distinguishes the literature of modern times: and nothing as to its greater depth of spiritual life and feeling. In point of taste, he prefers Racine to Shakspeare, as being more chaste; that is, as he explains it, conforming more perfectly to the ideal laws of art. He maintains, indeed, that in modern times, originality and artistic perfection have appeared as incompatible qualities, the one diminishing with the progress of the other. It must not be supposed, however, that he condemns indiscriminately every departure from the ancient models. He draws a just distinction between the principles and the rules of composition—principles of universal truth and application—rules for particular cases which vary with the different data and conditions of each different case. And in this sense he affirms, what in this sense no one would think of denying, that the classic and the romantic are both alike subject to the same principles of beauty. The difficulty would be to determine in each instance whether a given form were to be referred to the class of special rules, or brought under the category of general principles. Mure insists, that the genuine principles of dramatic art, as recognized by the Grecians, and valid for all time, exclude the mixture of the serious and burlesque: and we may presume, though he does not expressly say it, that this is one of the particulars in which Shakspeare showed his deficiency as an artist. But he has not attempted to prove, that the contrast of these elements must always be offensive, and can never subserve the purposes of art. And this he hardly seems to hold: for the same principle must extend, we should suppose, to

epic composition : yet he dwells at considerable length and with apparent approbation on the *comic* element of the Homeric poems. It is not easy to apprehend distinctly the views and principles of criticism developed in the chapter to which we refer, as they present themselves vaguely amid profuse words and indefinite generalities.

In the literature of Greece, no less than in its history, the beginnings are mythical. Our author, therefore, very properly commences by setting forth his views, as to the nature, formation and credibility of mythic narrative. In doing this, he takes ground against the extreme skepticism of Grote. This very able writer has given in his first volume the legendary tales of early Greece, in their primitive marvelous form, without endeavoring to interpret them historically, or to construct from them a connected and authentic narrative. Such an attempt he holds to be illusory and futile. He does not deny, that the legends may contain an element of fact : he believes that they often do so ; but regards it as impossible to determine from the legend itself, in the absence of other evidence, whether it contains any such element or not. Still more then must it be impossible to distinguish that element, even if admitted as existing, from the fictions, with which it is mixed and blended. The legend supplies no test by which we can analyze it, so as to separate the true from the false, to drive off the poetical admixtures and retain in our crucible a residuum of genuine history. He, therefore, gives the myths only as a curious and important part of the popular mind ; as illustrating the social, political and religious principles of the nation ; and as exercising a very sensible influence on their national development and progress. The myth may be criticised by the light of any authentic documents, belonging to a contemporary or nearly contemporary date : and may then be made to yield historical results, possessing a greater or less degree of probability. But where no such documents are known to exist—and this he holds to be the case for the whole period before the first Olympiad in B.C. 776—he confesses himself unable to distinguish in the myth its basis of reality, or even to assert with confidence, that it rests on any basis of the kind. Thus in regard to the war of Troy, he tells the old Homeric story, as he finds it, with its gods, heroes, and Helen, its manifold miracles and marvels : but when the question comes as to the real war, apart from these incredible adjuncts, he declares that we have no good evidence that there was any, and it is therefore absurd to say anything as known and sure concerning it. So too, in the legendary fictions of the middle ages, he shows that it would be impossible to make a history of Charlemagne or King Arthur from the poems and romances of chivalry, in which they figure ; and that, if these were our only authorities, we might reasonably doubt whether any such

persons had ever existed. The mythical on this view is separated by a broad and definite distinction from the historical. The latter designation is confined to that which rests, immediately or ultimately, on documentary evidence, belonging to the time of the events themselves, or following them at no great distance. Everything appearing in the form of history, but counter-checked by no such evidence, is treated as mythical, unhistorical, useless in history—useless at least as regards its subjects, and only useful from what it shows concerning its believers.

Mure acknowledges the absurdity of attempting to convert legendary story into regular history. Yet at the same time he attributes more of fixity and substance to the myths. Without denying that they are subject to great alterations from an allegorizing spirit, and still more from a propensity to fanciful embellishment, he contends that they never arise out of nothing: that they must always have a foundation in reality: that this vast and various crystallization of fancy could only go on around a central nucleus of fact. The great fact in the story of the Trojan war is the combined movement of many Grecian tribes against a Teucrian kingdom in the north-western part of Asia Minor. And more than this, he sees no reason to doubt, that many of Homer's heroes, as Agamemnon, Achilles, and others, were really existing men: and that many of the exploits ascribed to them were founded in reality. In support of these views, he urges, that the Homeric poems impress us strongly with a feeling of the real—as also, that they would lose much of their interest and charm for the reader, if he should refer them wholly to the sphere of pure invention. These arguments, however, are by no means strong enough to satisfy an objector: they could hardly even confirm a previously established faith. A much stronger argument is founded on the Æolian settlements in Asia Minor, planted before the opening of authentic history, among the very sites and scenes of the Iliad, which presuppose a successful collision with the previous inhabitants—a war of Troy, in some form or other. This is a consideration of real weight, resting on a substantial basis of history, and one which the principles of Grote by no means required him to set aside: when we connect it with the natural, *prima facie* presumption in favor of an existing story, we feel compelled to consider that writer's skepticism as in this case overstrained and unreasonable. In regard to the general subject of mythic narrative, though we should agree with Grote in giving up the legend, where we cannot in any way confront or compare it with authentic history, yet it by no means follows, in our judgment, that such a comparison, where it is possible, may not yield reliable results, such as neither the history nor the legend by itself could have furnished. Something like this Grote himself appears to admit, in respect to the traditions concerning the Return of the Heraclidæ, or the Dorian occu-

pation of the Peloponnesus : and there is no sufficient reason for excluding the story of the Trojan war from the same category.

The warmest partisan of myths must allow, that in some cases they are utterly and completely untrue : that they contain no fact, but falsehood only. Such myths are not fictions which spring up spontaneously from the soil of the popular mind : they are intentional, perhaps interested fabrications. When the Greeks, in the sixth century before our era, began to be acquainted with Egypt and its people, the Egyptian literati were not content with impressing on their new visitors the high antiquity of their own civilization : they sought also to show that the elements of Greek civilization were borrowed directly from their country. With this view, they contrived to give an Egyptian turn to many of the old popular fables of Greece ; for instance, those of the Trojan war : and at the same time added others flattering to their national vanity, which were drawn entirely from the stores of their own invention. The Greeks were not disposed to be very critical or skeptical about these stories. Egypt to them was a land of wonders : the tales, which connected their own beginnings with that most ancient country, seemed probable in themselves, and not dishonorable to the younger land : they were received accordingly with ready faith. Modern scholars are not so easily convinced. Even Mure denies all authority to the legends, which tell of Egyptian colonies planted in Athens and Argos, and bringing with them the elements of civil and social life, which were before unknown to the primitive inhabitants. The manners and customs and religion of Greece are so wholly different from those of Egypt, as to show that they could never have been subjected to any powerful or permanent Egyptian influence. The Greek language shows no trace of Coptic elements, except in the names of a few objects or ideas borrowed from the East. Besides, the people of the Nile were never a sea-faring people, nor ever disposed to enter upon maritime enterprise or adventure. The utmost, which our author will allow, is the possibility, that, on the expulsion of the so-called shepherd-princes from Egypt, a few individuals, belonging to the expelled race, may have fled for refuge, probably in Phœnician vessels, to the coasts of Greece.

The stories of Phœnician settlement and influence, on the contrary, are regarded by our author, as possessing a good degree of historic probability. The Phœnicians were a maritime people from a very early period : their commerce extended to all the shores of the Mediterranean, and led to the establishment of posts or colonies for trade in many places. It was natural, that they should come into contact and intercourse with the Greeks : and that they actually did so, is attested by one great fact, the existence of the Greek alphabet, which is shown to be Phœnician, not only by the legends about Cadmus, but more certainly by the Phœnician forms of its

characters, and by the purely Phœnician names, which they never ceased to bear.

The Phœnicians, however, though they introduced letters into Greece, do not appear to have been at any time a literary people. There is no reason to suppose, that they exercised an influence, which could affect, in any material degree, the independent originality of Greek literature. If this were modified by any considerable infusion of foreign elements, they must have come from Thrace. For it is a remarkable circumstance, that Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyras and others, the principal bards of the legendary time, are in the legends designated as Thracians. There is no reason, however, for believing, that the country, generally known as Thrace, was ever occupied by a Greek population: still less is there reason to suppose, that the barbarian tribes, which the first light of history shows us in possession of that country, were the descendants of ancestors, who enjoyed a higher culture. We find, too, that when the legends mention any particular places in connection with these so-called Thracians, they are places belonging either to Pieria on the Macedonian sea-coast, or to the mountain region about Helicon and Parnassus in Central Greece. Müller, therefore, has pronounced these Thracians to be a Hellenic people, originally settled in the mountain country of Boeotia and Phocis, who, at some unknown period, left their native seats and emigrated to Pieria. Mure adopts the same theory, at least so far as regards the primitive home of this people: he seems to think that the legends do not require us to give them a Pierian location.

As we follow the course of dim tradition, we pass through a long series of legendary bards—shadowy figures, uncertainly discerned in the twilight of remote antiquity—until, after journeying we know not how far, and reaching we know not what point, we emerge at last into a blaze of light. We have before us two unrivaled monuments of early epic art, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The very form and pressure of the heroic age appear revealed to us in these magnificent compositions. But when we inquire concerning their author, we find ourselves again in the dark. The poems are known and clear, as those of Virgil, or Dante, or Milton: but the author is scarcely less obscure than Amphion or Orpheus. We have indeed a traditional Homer, with many circumstances of his life. But the fabric of his biography dissolves before the lightest breath of historical criticism; and it is evident, that Herodotus and Pindar had little, if any, information concerning the poet of the *Iliad*, which was fitted to command the assent of the historical inquirer. Homer, in fact, was little more than a common designation for the authors of the early Epos. The voice of tradition ascribed to him not only the poems, which we call Homeric, but many others, which were extant down to a late period of Grecian history, though now unfortunately

lost. Intelligent critics, it is true, dissented from the popular belief: they saw the superiority of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and set them apart as the only genuine productions of Homer. But they did so, not on external grounds of history, but on the internal evidence of character and style; and for us also this must be the principal reliance in the various questions relating to the authorship of the Homeric poems.

The latter part of the last century was a period of general skepticism. The fact, that a proposition had received unquestioning assent for ages, was then regarded as in some sort proof presumptive against its truth. Tradition no longer fortified the doctrine which it inclosed: it was a ruined wall that only encouraged and provoked attack. Nor was it alone the reverence for authority that suffered: the feeling of unity, at the same time and from the action of the same causes, became impaired and indistinct. The discord, which rent the political and moral world, extended to literature, and even here nothing could be perceived but discords. The highest artistic unity was unobserved or went for nothing, while a discrepancy in the merest matters of detail was carefully noted and exalted into paramount importance. Hence a general disposition to challenge the authenticity or unity of ancient works, where they were not shielded by the most formidable array of external testimonies. All are familiar with the results of this tendency in Biblical criticism. Its influence was less conspicuous perhaps, yet no less real in classical philology. It was a thing of course, that the Homeric poems should not run the gauntlet through such a time without suffering keen attack. The traditional belief concerning Homer had been impugned by Bentley at the commencement of the last century, and soon afterwards by Giambattista Vico, the ingenious and eccentric philosopher of Naples. It was Wolf, however, who first directed the batteries of skepticism effectively against the old established doctrine. In his famous *Prolegomena*—a work distinguished for its elegance of style not less than its originality and rudition—he boldly denies the existence of a personal Homer. He commences with a large number of epic lays, the work of many different bards, and relating to a great variety of subjects, among which, however, the war of Troy, and the mythical events connected with it, furnished the favorite themes. These lays are handed down, generally in an unwritten form, for several ages: during this time they are constantly rehearsed by professional reciters, rhapsodists, who wandered from place to place in the exercise of their vocation, and cantillated their stock of lays in the halls of chiefs and at the festivals of the gods. Thus composed and transmitted, through many changes, additions and diminutions, they reach at length the middle of the sixth century. At this juncture, they fall into the hands of certain literary artisans, acting under the orders

of the great Athenian tyrant Pisistratus, who conceive the happy idea of constructing long continuous poems out of the raw material which they supply. Accordingly they select from the great mass at their disposal, the pieces which relate to the Wrath of Achilles, and the Return of Ulysses from Troy to Ithaca, and combining them ingeniously together, with the necessary insertions, alterations and retrenchments, they produce at last the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, such as we now have them.

This theory appears in our rough outline somewhat more positive and definite than should be. Its author evidently felt himself strongest on the negative side, and to that directed his chief attention. He could criticise the popular view, and oppose it with many doubts and difficulties, previously unthought of. But when it came to setting forth the real facts in the case, and explaining the actual genesis of the poems, his language was often vague and ambiguous. Yet in this respect he only fell in with the temper of a time more intent on pulling down than building up. His theory, therefore, was received with general acceptance, and for some time was in substance the prevailing doctrine of the German scholars. Its advocates agreed in denying the primitive unity of the poems—and they agreed in little else. The original elements of which they were composed; the amount of change and interpolation to which they were subjected by the redactors: the relation in which they stood to the other epic poems of the early time: on these and many other points the varieties of opinion could hardly be enumerated. We find the same discrepancy in the field of Biblical criticism. Many scholars have agreed in rejecting the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and in asserting its fragmentary character: but in regard to the fragments, their number, limits, authors, dates, &c., hardly any two can be found agreeing with each other. In the case of the Bible, all know that there has been a great reaction from the skepticism of the last century. The current of opinion has come to set in the opposite direction. The general mind of scholars gravitates again towards the old established doctrine. We are not to conclude, however, that all this skepticism and criticism, these long processes of questioning, challenging, searching, have been entirely in vain. For though the older formulas are restored, they are placed upon more solid grounds, and propped by firmer buttresses, than heretofore. If then we appear to have come round to the point from which we started, it is in appearance only, not in reality: we have actually made a most important advance. We do not now simply believe: we believe rationally, intelligently—not from want of contradiction, but from preponderant weight of evidence.

The reaction is equally evident in the Homeric question. Our author is himself an instance of it. He states, that in the outset of his studies, he was, like most young scholars, a zealous disciple of

the Wolfian school; but by twenty years' study of its doctrines has become thoroughly convinced of their fallacy. It is perhaps the natural effect of such a change, that he should pass from one extreme to the other, and assert the views, which he has now embraced, in a somewhat cramped and inflexible form. And yet, as regards his principal conclusions—that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are each the work of a single author, and both probably of the same author, and that they are not largely interpolated nor otherwise essentially changed from their primitive form—we have no doubt, that these propositions express what is now the prevailing opinion of the best scholars, and likely to become in the end all but universal.

The theory of Wolf himself, as we have just described it, is clearly untenable. It is demonstrably absurd to suppose, that there could not have been an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey* existing in their substantial integrity during the seventh and eighth centuries before our era. The wonder is, that any scholar of respectable standing should ever have been found to question it. The works of the Epic cycle are decisive on that point. This name is given to a series of epic poems, composed by various authors, from 776 to 550 B.C., on legendary subjects more or less closely connected with the war of Troy. They are all now lost, with the exception of the scantiest fragments. We have, however, a tolerable synopsis of their plan and contents, made out while they were yet extant. And from this it is evident, that they avoided the themes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: that they aimed to supplement the action of those poems: that they rested upon them, in such a way, as to imply not only their previous existence, but their general notoriety and recognized preeminence. Here then we find sure traces of these poems long before the age of Pisistratus, at a time when the Wolfian theory represents them as unconnected lays, undistinguished from a multitude of others, that lay floating in the memory of the rhapsodists. But this age of Pisistratus, if too late for the indications of the cyclic poems, is much too early for that book-making process, which the theory of Wolf attributes to it. Such feats of literary jobwork belong to a later period. We cannot imagine them in the middle of the sixth century, in the fresh spring-time of Grecian literature, when it was putting forth the most splendid original productions, with fertility that seemed to be inexhaustible.

As to the agency of Pisistratus, Mure does not go to the length of denying it altogether. But he puts a new face upon the matter, by assuming, with great appearance of probability, that this Athenian redaction was not confined to *our* Homer, the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but extended to Homer, in the wider sense of the name, the common father of the early Epos. He conjectures that this may have been the origin of the Epic cycle: that the poems composing it were then for the first time brought together in

a single collection, and arranged in the order of their legendary chronology.

It is not sufficient, however, to prove that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* existed in an integral form as early as the first Olympiad. We only put farther back the question of their original unity. For it is still supposable, though certainly not very probable, that they may have been produced in that early time, by an artificial combination of distinct and isolated pieces. In the absence of positive historical testimony, the question must depend on the internal evidence, the indications of the poems themselves. It would be absurd to imagine, that a patch-work process of composition could result in a well ordered proportion of the parts, and an ideal symmetry of the whole. One might as well expect to make beautiful statues by piecing together the isolated heads, limbs and torsos of the Elgin collection. The separate parts of such a work could not fail to appear in their separate intention and character. Now, there are not wanting critics, who profess to distinguish in this way the original components of Homer—the *disjecti membra poetæ*. Thus Lachmann, after having dissected the 2200 lines of the *Iliad*, between the beginning of the eleventh book and the 590th line of the fifteenth, into four distinct songs, declares, that, if any man thinks their difference of spirit inconsiderable, or fails to feel it at once when pointed out, “he will do well not to trouble himself any more either with my criticisms, or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand anything about it.” If these critics agreed with each other, making the same separations and the same connections, we should pay more regard to their authority: for we might then believe, that their judgments, though to us apparently groundless, were founded on some real objective test. But when we find, that each of them has a scheme of his own, and that each regards the arrangements of his predecessors as little less absurd than the old unitarian belief, we begin to doubt the validity of their criteria: and we claim the right of opposing our subjective feeling to theirs, especially as ours connects us with that great body of readers, who have in all times recognized the one personal Homer.

We would not be understood as resting the unity of these poems on purely subjective grounds: we think it a truth susceptible of demonstration. The contents of each may be presented in such a form, as to show its leading aim, and to show that this aim was kept in view throughout—that the parts were arranged and composed with reference to the whole. This is strongly urged by Grote in regard to the *Odyssey*, to which he justly attributes a more conspicuous and striking coherence, than is to be found in the *Iliad*. He accepts, therefore, without hesitation, the original unity of the former poem: as to the latter, he receives it with considerable reservations; though these are far from sufficient to justify Mure in classing him

among the supporters of the Wolfian theory. He regards the *Iliad* as made by the enlargement of a primitive Achilleid. This poem, he supposes, embraced about fourteen books out of the twenty-four, and was of simple structure, being occupied wholly with the anger of Achilles and its consequences. The books from the second to the seventh, the ninth, the tenth, the twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, he looks upon as the addition of later hands,—not independently composed, as in the hypothesis of Wolf—but constructed for incorporation into a previously existing poem. This theory of the *Iliad* he defends with great ingenuity; but he cannot guard it against the fatal improbability, that the original Homer should have been followed close by poets of equal genius, who, however, instead of composing independent works, were content with interpolating the work of their predecessor. Mure has taken great pains to develop the unity of plan in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, both by elaborate analyses of the text, and by particular criticism of the parts, which have sometimes been regarded as excrescences upon the action.

Our author does not deny the discordances and contradictions, which have been relied upon in arguing the fragmentary origin of the poems. He admits, that they are numerous and irreconcilable. He goes farther even than his opponents, and shows that they exist side by side in the same current of narrative or description. But he denies, that they can fairly be regarded as proving diversity of authorship. The best poets, writing under the most favorable circumstances, are not infallible: they are subject to forgetfulness and error: they are liable to contradict themselves, to cross their own track, and incur the censure of a lynx-eyed critic intent on absolute consistency. If self-contradiction were incompatible with unity of authorship, hardly any great work could prove its claim to be the production of a single author. Mure has taken the pains to examine a number of works, by the most celebrated writers—such as Virgil, Milton, Cervantes and Walter Scott—and has collected out of them a curious anthology of contradictions. Those of the *Æneid* will surprise the reader, who considers the amount of patient thought and toil expended on that work by a poet who has the reputation of being eminently “judicious.” Of *Don Quixote* it is observed, that “its self-contradictions equal, or probably exceed in number those of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Æneid* united. Of the seventy chapters comprised in the second part of the work, there are few but contain statements totally irreconcilable with others occurring in previous or subsequent portions of the narrative.” These writers all enjoyed facilities for correct consistent composition, which were denied to Homer. The manuscript or printed sheets lay continually beside them, to supply the deficiencies and rectify the slips of memory. But the Grecian poet, though he may not have been unable to reduce his work to writing, had certainly much less command of that re-

source, and was so much the more subject to the accidents, against which it is a safeguard. It is still more important to remember, that whether his work were written or not, it was intended for hearers and not for readers. An uncultivated audience, charmed by the musical enunciation of the rhapsodist, and inspired by the epic glories of his song, would have little disposition, as well as little ability, to compare part with part, so as to expose and censure every appearance of contradiction. The dread of minute criticism, which now-a-days is always present for good or for evil to the mind of the author, was unknown to the poet of that early time. We cannot suppose then, that an individual Homer would guard himself very carefully on this side—that he would trouble himself much about securing absolute consistency and probability of narrative. His objects were poetical and not historical. He would care little for a contradiction that was not striking and offensive to a circle of enthusiastic hearers—especially, if it enabled him to secure some interesting dramatic effect, or some beauty of poetical description. Mure has shown that serious discrepancies are to be found woven into the same texture of discourse, where the very extremity of subdividing criticism cannot assume a difference of authors. These inconsistencies, which could not be made available in support of the Wolfian hypothesis, have been generally overlooked by its partisans. Yet they demonstrate principles and habits of composition in the epic author, which completely nullify the argument founded on the more remote discordances. It is interesting to observe in some cases a sort of conventional probability, according to which people are allowed to see and know only so much of what takes place in their presence, as may happen to be convenient for the purposes of the poet—a convention, which Mure compares to the *asides* of the modern theater.

. The skillful and consistent delineation of human character has always been recognized as one of the crowning excellencies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Pervading, as it does, both poems, with the same peculiarities of thought and handling, and the same conception of individual persons, it furnishes a very strong argument for unity of authorship. Mure has dwelt upon it at great length, and his minute researches bring out much that is novel and interesting. We take an instance from the character of Agamemnon. This “king of men,” with all his splendid qualities, is represented as one who yields blindly to his own ungoverned passions, and is often hurried by them into fatal acts of folly or of crime. For this character the poet has an appropriate word—*Ate*. It denotes sometimes the state of a mind thus befooled and led astray by passion and presumption; and sometimes the divinity to whose malign influence that state of mind was attributed. Now it is remarkable that “out of about thirty occasions in which the term occurs in the *Iliad*, it

has been used no less than twenty-four with especial reference to Agamemnon's conduct, while of the remaining examples it has been but rarely and quite incidentally connected with the name of any other person or object." This is owing, no doubt, in part to the fact that the wrath of Achilles, the great subject of the poem, is provoked by an act of unreasonable violence, to which Agamemnon is instigated by the influence of Atë. It is natural that the deed should be often referred to, and as often described in somewhat similar terms.

In the character of Diomed we find heroic fortitude and promptitude, united with equal modesty of feeling and brevity of speech. These qualities appear in a conjuncture which arises repeatedly during the inaction of Achilles. The council of chiefs is thrown into extreme perplexity by a disastrous turn of affairs: the most experienced counselors are at a loss what to propose. Diomed waits until it is plain that no one else will speak. He then comes forward, and in few words urges some energetic action, which receives at once the unanimous applause and approbation of the assembly. This situation recurs not less than four times, and is described every time in nearly the same words.

It is hazardous to attribute these consistencies in the representation of character to a common stock of epic tradition. We know that some of the chiefs, as Diomed and Menelaus, were represented in a very different and far less flattering way by authors of the Epic cycle. Still more was this the case with Ulysses, in whom "the valiant soldier was transformed into the skulking poltroon, the sagacious politician into the plotting traitor, the man of honor into the low-minded villain." Perhaps the thing most to be regretted in the entire loss of the Cyclic poems, is this, that many things are now ascribed to a common epic genius, which would appear, if we had those works, as the exclusive property of Homer. As it is, they lessen the glory of their predecessor by sharing it. Could we see them, they would probably heighten his splendor by the contrast of their own darkness.

In the compositions of a single author we look for unity of style. Yet the demand may be pressed too far. The productions of the same mind will vary with times, circumstances, moods, subjects, and inspiration. He who dashes on at one time in the full tide of thought, pouring out his resources with lavish profusion, will be seen at another urging on a flagging spirit to the treatment of an incongenial theme. Absolute equality of excellence is not to be required in any writer: least of all, perhaps, in one of preeminent genius. The ancient critics and grammarians stigmatized many passages as spurious, because they were in their judgment unworthy of Homer. The sentence may have been just in some cases: but the ground on which it rested is entitled to little confidence. The

truer principle appears in the Horatian "*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*."

Much that is uniform and pervading in the style of these poems is attributed often to the common genius and the current forms of early epic poetry—to what Mure calls epic commonplace. To this head we may refer numerous formulas of constant recurrence, such as those which introduce the words of a speaker, or those which describe the hurling of the spear and the falling of the slain. Yet in regard to these we can easily believe with Mure that many of the most striking and felicitous owe their origin or their peculiar form to the inventive genius of the single Homer. On this point the Cyclic poems, if we had them, would perhaps give us little satisfactory information: for of things common to all, we should still be in doubt, how many were borrowed by the Cyclic poets directly from Homer, and how many taken by both from the great common stock of epic tradition. However this may be, it is certain that there are peculiarities of treatment and expression, which from their nature can never have been common to a whole class of poets. This is true of that dramatic management, already referred to, by which the description of the author is as far as possible superseded by the language of his persons. We see this not only in the dialogue which abounds throughout the poems, but in other cases also, where we should less expect to find it. The feeling of a multitude is expressed in the language of its leader: or in words supposed to be addressed by each or any individual to his nearest companion. The succession of thought in a single mind is represented, as on the stage, by a soliloquy or monologue: which sometimes appears under the form of a debate in the mind itself; and sometimes even as an address of the actor to his own mind. Something of this might be attributed to the vivacity of an early simple age: something to common epic genius. But we cannot thus account for the whole phenomenon. Aristotle could not have noticed this as a peculiar excellence of Homer if he had found it equally in other epic authors. It is a striking and distinctive feature of the individual poet.

The argument drawn by the author from the identity of moral feeling and opinion throughout the poems, is not without its weight. But the so-called comic element is more doubtful. Mure regards this as a discovery of his own, and thinks that critics have fallen into serious difficulties from overlooking it. We cannot help feeling, however, that his conception of the subject is more original than satisfactory. He seems to have mistaken a lively simplicity and *naïveté* for intentional comicality. It is certain that Homer describes every kind of life with great minuteness and exactness. He gives us a daguerreotype of the heroic period, in which all its varied scenes are successively brought before our view. Like the sun, he

portrays each scene as it comes, whether mean or grand, gay or gloomy, with the same scrupulous fidelity. It is clear too, that he has a ready sympathy with the scenes which he represents; that he treats some with deep tragic pathos, others with a careless and light-hearted humor. All this, we can readily allow. But we cannot so easily admit that he has introduced long passages, whole books even, for the sake of burlesque effect. Still less can we concede, that the poet designedly parodies his own heroics, balances his own tragedy with a farce at the conclusion. But most improbable of all is it, that he should appear as a sort of Archilochus-Homer, wielding the lash of the professed satirist. For so our author regards him in the episode of the Phæacians in the *Odyssey*,—a piece designed, as he supposes, to ridicule the luxurious habits and the boastful vanity of some people, Ionian or Phœnician, with which the poet was familiarly acquainted.

As to the puns, which Mure refers to, as evidencing the spirit of comedy, they are most of them perfectly serious—plays upon words, such as occur not seldom in the tragic passages of Shakspeare—such as are found even in many parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. The only instance, in which anything like comedy could be imagined, is in the trick practiced by Ulysses upon Polyphemus, when he gives his name as Outis or No-man. But here the comedy, if such it be, is of the serious kind. The device is in the poet's view perfectly natural for the man of many arts under such circumstances: nor is there any hint that he regards it as derogating in the least from the dignity of the heroic character. Mure discovers an intentional drollery in the question, which recurs several times in the *Odyssey*, addressed to a stranger recently arrived in the island of Ithaca—"What ship brought you? for I think you came not here by land." The expression strikes us certainly as quaint and strange: but it is used to honored guests without anything jocular before or after it. If regarded as burlesque it must appear misplaced or impertinent. Still worse would it be with another question repeatedly addressed to travelers, whether "they are journeying on business, or wandering without definite aim, as buccaneers, over the sea, that rove about and risk their lives, in bringing harm to men of other lands." If such freebooting expeditions were not looked upon as dishonorable, there is no occasion for imagining a jest: if they were held as dishonorable, the jest would have been an insult in any state of society. And why should we suppose anything ludicrous in asking a man, whether he was engaged in that which Ulysses is represented as having practiced—which he avows his intention of practicing again? The detailed and familiar descriptions of Alcinous and his court are given as examples of the burlesque. But what shall we say then as to the particulars of Homeric cookery in the *Iliad*? Mure himself recognizes the pleasure, which

the Homeric man (to use an expression of Grote's) must have taken in the metrical description of familiar objects. Description was sought and valued for its own sake. If this was so with the trivial, why not so with that which borders close upon it, and cannot always be distinguished from it, the ridiculous?

There are many critics, such as Payne Knight, Nitzsch, and Grote, who hold to the substantial unity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but refer the two to different authors. This view has no ground of external evidence in its favor; yet neither has it any decidedly against it. The early tradition of antiquity ascribed not only these poems, but many others, to Homer: if these two have been distinguished from the rest, it has been solely on grounds of internal evidence: and on such grounds we could with equal right separate one of these two from the other. Yet with Mure, we should attach considerable weight to the nearly unanimous opinion of the ancient critics in favor of a common authorship. They showed their independence by denying the Homeric origin of the *Thebais*, the *Epigoni* and several other works. If they had seen any essential difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as regards style, or genius, or manners, no deference to current tradition would have prevented them from giving it full weight. We do not know, what were the arguments relied upon by the few Separatists of ancient times. The modern advocates of this doctrine have not generally denied the equality of poetic merit in the two poems, but have pointed out many supposed diversities in language, in customs and in ideas. They have commonly assumed the *Odyssey* as the later work, and have sought to show that it represents a more advanced culture, and a more perfectly organized condition of society. It cannot be denied that there are noticeable differences in tone and contents between the two poems: this results of necessity from the difference of subject. But there seems to be no marked or important diversity, which is not fairly referrible to this cause. The mythic story, so far as it appears in both poems, is in both the same. And Mure has shown the value of this agreement, by confronting the Homeric poems with those of the Epic cycle, or what little we have of them, and pointing out the variations and discrepancies of fable which they present. For the manifold coincidence and resemblance of the two poems, the Separatist theory has no explanation, except either in epic commonplace, which is not sufficient to account for the phenomena—or in a designed imitation of the earlier bard by the later, which is contradicted by the general ease, freedom and spirit of the *Odyssey*. Perhaps after all the strongest reason with the supporters of this doctrine has been the difficulty of supposing, that any one man could have produced two works of such magnitude, and such variety of subject and of style: and especially that this should have occurred in the infancy of literature, and at a time

when the art of writing, if not unknown to the Greeks, was probably a rare and difficult process. This is almost the only reason urged by Grote, who indeed does not express himself very confidently upon the question. There is certainly a difficulty in the case: but we cannot see that it is materially lessened by the Separatist view. It is strange that one man should have been able to produce the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: but it is scarcely less strange that one man should have been found who was able to produce the *Iliad*. The genius, which was sufficient for one, was not inadequate for both. The faculty of memory or the resources of writing, which were requisite to originate and perpetuate the *Iliad* with its sixteen thousand lines, would need no great extension to take in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with their twenty-seven thousand. There is great weight also in a consideration urged by Mure on the opposite side—the improbability that two poets of such transcendent genius should have flourished at the same or nearly the same time. This is the more striking, when we consider that these two poets must have been not only equal in genius, but remarkably alike in style and treatment. Minds of the highest order, equally distinguished for depth and originality, could hardly fail to be more perfectly stamped with distinct individual features. The Cyclic poets are numerous and extend over a period of two centuries: yet of their voluminous and elaborate productions, not one, if we may trust to the best judgment of antiquity, was worthy to be placed in the same rank with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Two first-rate geniuses in the same age and country would be scarcely less miraculous than two suns in the same heavens. Nature is not so prodigal of her noblest gifts. She reserves them for

High souls, like those far stars that come to sight
Once in a century.

Recognizing thus a personal Homer, the single author of these two great epics, we naturally inquire concerning his personal history. The traditional accounts of antiquity are obviously legendary: it does not, however, follow, that no conclusions of probable truth can be extracted from them. What is most remarkable about them, is, that in all the earlier and purer forms they connect the poet with the *Æolian* race in Asia Minor. *Cyme* and *Smyrna*, the most important cities of the *Æolians*, are represented as dividing between them the honor of his origin. Mure thinks it impossible to determine his native place any further than as belonging to *Æolia*. Müller decides confidently in favor of *Smyrna*. He follows the *Ionian* story, according to which that city was founded by *Ionian* colonists from *Ephesus*, who were joined soon after by a body of *Æolians* from *Cyme*. The two races dwelt side by side for some

time, until the Æolians becoming predominant expelled their Ionian fellow-citizens, and forced them to take refuge in Colophon. At a later period, as is well known, the city was wrested from the Æolians by a Colophonian invasion, and continued ever after in possession of the Ionians. Now the theory of Müller refers Homer to the earlier time when the two races were united in the walls of Smyrna: the poet belonged to one of the Ionian families, which were subsequently driven out to Colophon: he may himself have been among the refugees. This hypothesis is recommended by its author, as accounting remarkably well for the indications of the poems, which present, as he thinks, a mixture of elements belonging to the two races. Their subjects are Æolian: for these colonies inherited the mythic glories of the Pelopidæ, their legendary founders, and especially the tales of the Trojan war, which had its scene in their country, and was probably connected in some way with their own primitive establishment in Asia. The style and language of the poems, on the other hand, he refers to the Ionians, and he supposes that the poet identifies himself with that people by the preferences and partialities, which here and there make their appearance. These indications, however, will hardly stand the test of a thorough examination, and are more than balanced by others of an opposite character.

It is certain, that, in spite of the primitive form of the legend, the opinion gained currency in ancient times, and in modern times has been almost universal, that Homer was an Ionian. Hence the phrases, "Ionian poet," "bard of Chios," and the like, the popular synonyms of Homer. Mure declares strongly against these formulas, and vindicates for the Æolian race the Homer whom they had nearly lost. He takes his stand upon the legend in its oldest form, which is the less to be suspected in this particular case, as it comes to us through Ionians: they have engrafted much upon it, which was intended to procure honor for themselves; but they have not obliterated its primitive features, or nullified the testimony which they give. The local knowledge of the poet confirms his Æolian origin. The Ionian places in Asia Minor are scarcely mentioned; while those of Æolia are enumerated with great minuteness. The Æolian predilections of the poet are seen in other ways. In the Catalogue of the Ships, which Mure defends as Homeric, he begins with Beotia, the recognized head of the Æolian race. "The protagonist of each poem is an Æolian, as are four of the seven chiefs of first rank before Troy, Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Diomed." The Ionians, on the other hand, have no chief of distinguished prowess, Menestheus the Athenian receiving only the cold praise of a "good drill." Yet it would have been easy for the poet, had he so chosen, to honor the Ionians by persons and achievements of his own invention. He might at least have introduced a multitude of

honorary allusions to that people, their cities, chieftains and eponymous heroes. But nothing of the kind is to be found in him. The interest which he expresses in the fate of the Trojan Æneas is accounted for by the fact that a race of kings, deriving their origin from that prince, reigned in a part of Æolia. Mure finds another argument to the same point, in the indifference manifested by the poet in regard to the Dorian migration, and the changes which it wrought in Greece and elsewhere. This great event receives at the utmost only a passing allusion. The Æolian colonies are represented in the tradition as settled in Asia before the occurrence of this revolution. It would therefore be less likely to make a deep impression upon them, than upon the Ionians, whose emigration to Asia was one among its many most important consequences.

As to the language of Homer, Mure denies that it was founded in any manner on the Ionian, as spoken in Asia Minor in the poet's own time. He regards it as an earlier form of the Ionian, the current language in the courts of the Achæan princes, before the Dorian invasion. It was employed of course by the bards attached to those courts, and thus became the established idiom of poetry. As such, it was used by bards of other races, Æolians and Dorians no less than Ionians. There are certainly some striking advantages about this theory. It accounts well for the general currency of the Homeric dialect in all epic composition. It gives ample time for the disappearance of the archaic forms, so numerous in Homer. The difficulty is that it fails to account for the peculiar affinity, which with all differences subsists between the Homeric Greek and the later Ionic. The tyro must feel, that the language of Herodotus is nearer than that of Thucydides or Xenophon to the idiom of the Iliad and the Odyssey. On the theory of Mure, however, the dialects of Attica and of Ionia, being both alike descended from that primitive Ionian, which we have in the Homeric poems, should both resemble it equally—or rather the Attic should present much the closest resemblance. For the Ionians were in constant intercourse with other tribes of Greeks and with the barbarian nations of the interior: they had a much more rapid progress in commerce, art, and every species of culture: they were subjected in far greater degree to all the causes which tend to change a people's language. The Athenians, on the contrary, lived by themselves, shut up in their own limits, and with little influence from without. They ought therefore to have preserved the original common language in greater purity than their Asiatic colonies: and if this common language were the Homeric, as Mure supposes, then among all the later dialects, the Attic is the one, which ought to show the closest resemblance to the Homeric: a conclusion, which no Greek scholar could for a moment entertain.

If the legends represent Homer as by birth an Æolian, they con-

nect him equally in his later life and his death with the Ionians. This connection is understood by our author, as having its substantial truth, not in the history of the personal Homer, but in the fortunes of his works. They were treated with neglect by his own countrymen : but the Ionians adopted them and became the principal agents in their preservation and extension. It is hard to comprehend, how the Æolians, after having produced a Homer, should have fallen thus into the background, and surrendered the great monument of their renown to a rival race. We might perhaps relieve the difficulty by supposing, that Homer, though a native Æolian, was in his poetic culture connected with and dependent upon a more genial and cultivated people.

As regards the time, when the poems were composed, the date of the personal Homer, our author expresses no definite opinion. He rejects the theory which places him before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus : but he seems inclined, if we may judge from his very guarded expressions, to put him not far below that era. No confidence can be placed in the guesses of the ancient writers. The poems are of course more recent than the Trojan war, which they celebrate. That a long interval of time must have elapsed, may be inferred from the terms in which the poet speaks of his heroes. They are widely different from his contemporaries : gifted with an incomparably greater measure of heroic strength and prowess. They hold immediate and scarcely unequal intercourse with the gods. No people, however prompt in mythical exaggeration, would speak thus of their grandfathers. On the other hand, these poems must have preceded the first Olympiad—for they are earlier than the earliest of the Epic cycle, and enough earlier to have gained already a universal recognition of their superiority. For the rest, we must depend upon the state of manners and society represented in the poems : and the most important point in this regard is the monarchical government which they describe. At the outset of the historical period, republicanism is nearly universal in the states of Greece. Monarchy survives only in Sparta, and there subject to great restrictions, the shadow of its former self. In Homer, republicanism is unknown : everywhere we have the king, the supreme military chief and civil ruler of his people, deriving his power from Zeus, and accountable to no man for his use of it. He hears the advice of his council of elders : he is influenced by the public opinion of the people assembled in the agora : but these affect him only by their moral power : he is himself the absolute sovereign. We cannot well suppose, that Homer described a past state of society, known to him only by report, designedly excluding the ideas of his own time or country, as inconsistent with historic truth. Such a method belongs rather to a reflective and critical age, an age of historians and antiquaries. It is less improbable, that a particu-

the form of society, being represented by some great bards of the earliest time, when it was actually the established one, should go down by imitation to their successors, and thus retain its place in poetry, after it has disappeared from real life. With every such allowance, however, we are compelled to believe that the Homeric poems were composed before the great early revolution, which transformed the states of Greece from monarchies to republics—if not before it commenced, yet before it had become general and predominant. With such data we cannot place Homer lower than the year 850, and may perhaps carry him a century further back.

The questions relating to the authorship of the Homeric poems have been generally connected with this other question, whether they were originally reduced to writing. The inquiries are, no doubt, closely related: yet it has been too often assumed, that a decision in one case must be decisive also for the other. Thus Wolf, having proved, as he thought, that the poems could not have existed in writing before the sixth century, inferred that they could not have been composed as integers, or have existed in their collective form at any earlier time. The opponents of Wolf have frequently admitted the correctness of the inference, and regarded it as necessary to rest their cause on disproving the premises. At present, however, it seems to be the prevailing opinion that the premises of this argument do not justify the inference derived from them. It is the belief of Müller, for instance, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the productions of a single author, but unwritten at the outset, and perpetuated in the same unwritten form for several generations. We cannot absolutely deny the possibility of this, though it is hardly made out by satisfactory analogies. It is said to have been not uncommon to find in Athens a man who could repeat the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from beginning to end. But we should consider, how much easier it is to learn a long work from the written copy, than from the oral enunciation of another person. An eminent tragic actor will have a large number of parts stored up in his memory, and ready at a moment's notice: but the parallel must be taken with the same allowance as before. Much is said of the capacious and well-stored memories of Celtic bards, and modern Greek minstrels, and Persian tale-tellers. Yet we feel, that after all they fall far short of the achievement, which we are required to believe in regard to the Homeric poems. It is not without reason, therefore, that Mure exerts himself to show that the poems were originally written. His chapter on the age of alphabetic writing is particularly interesting and valuable. If it fails to make out in a manner perfectly satisfactory the main point of a written Homer, it proves certainly that writing was in common use at a much earlier date than Wolf assumed. There is overwhelming evidence, that it was frequent and familiar long before the time of Solon. It is admitted

indeed on all hands, that letters were known and used in Greece as early at least as the era of the Olympiads. But it has been claimed, that for a long period the art was applied only to monumental inscriptions, or to brief and scanty records: that there was nothing like the writing of a long continuous composition. This has been inferred from the want (rather assumed than proved) of a suitable material for writing: and from the rude and clumsy forms of the letters on the earliest monuments. But there are examples enough to show, that a people may write imperfectly on brass or stone, while yet they write easily and even elegantly on some more tractable material. It is perfectly certain, that the numerous productions of epic, elegiac and lyric poetry, composed in the eighth and seventh centuries before our era, must have been written as they were composed: to imagine them perpetuated by memory alone would be transcending the bounds of the most extended possibility. And if alphabetic writing was common in the year 750, it may have been practiced a century or two earlier. Most of the arguments against giving it an earlier date than that, would equally preclude us from assigning one so early. Yet for this earlier time we have nothing from history but vague presumptions: and we naturally inquire, whether nothing to the point can be extracted from Homer himself. Here, however, we find ourselves drawn two ways. The very existence of these poems, with nearly thirty thousand lines, appears to furnish the strongest evidence of an art, which seems at first view indispensable to their creation and preservation. And yet the absence of any allusion to such an art, among their innumerable and multifarious descriptions, is a strong circumstance upon the other side. Mure claims, indeed, that such allusions are not wanting. But he maintains, that if they were, the silence of Homer would not be decisive. He instances several objects and processes, which must have been familiar in the Homeric age, yet are not distinctly referred to in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Without denying all weight to these parallels, we must still hold that the omission of explicit reference to a well known art of writing is a much more striking and extraordinary case. Our author denies, however, that Homer has omitted such explicit reference. He finds an allusion to the art of writing in the expression, so often used of events which remain yet uncertain in the future, that "they lie on the knees of the gods." This he understands as signifying, that such events are inscribed in tablets, which rest, after the fashion of Greek penmanship, on the knees of the divinities who write in them. But this only increases the difficulty. For the expression is clearly proverbial, and if it is to be interpreted in this way, would show that the art of writing, not only in the general idea, but even in its particular methods, was familiar to the popular mind. It is all the more surprising then, that we do not have more frequent and unambiguous allusions. The idea

of destiny occurs on every page. If in this one phrase it is associated with writing, why do we not find the same association in other expressions and connections? Why do we hear nothing of a book of fate? Why nothing of a book at all? Why is no bard represented as writing his poems? why no soothsayer as writing his prophecies? why nobody as writing anything? Here, however, our author interposes, and tells us, that we hear in the Iliad of a sealed letter sent by Proetus to Jobates, king of Lycia, with instructions to kill Bellerophon the bearer. The passage has been generally understood of late, as referring to some sort of conventional signs, or pictorial representations, by which the Lycian king was informed of his kinsman's wishes. Mure opposes this explanation in a labored argument, and shows that the passage may without absurdity be understood as a poetic description of a written letter. He has hardly shown, however, that his own interpretation is necessary, or that, when connected with the other indications of the poems, it is even probable. On the whole we find ourselves constrained to admit, that the Homeric poems do not contain any distinct and unequivocal reference to an art of writing: and this fact we think can only be accounted for by supposing, that such an art, if known at all, was not at that time familiar to the great mass of the Hellenic people. It may have been already common with the traders of the sea-coast towns, who borrowed it from their Phœnician visitors. It may have extended itself to the priests, to be used in their temple records. It may have come to be employed by the minstrel-guilds, to perpetuate their finest compositions. But to the great body of the nation, we must believe it to have been as yet unknown. It found no place, therefore, in the Homeric stock of description and illustration. The early epic poetry was addressed to the popular mind, and whether written or not was designed to operate upon that mind by oral recitation. It must of course confine itself to objects of general familiarity. The whole question is one, in regard to which a somewhat doubtful probability is the utmost height that we can expect to attain; and the view here given seems to us to have a greater probability, to be encumbered with fewer difficulties, than any other.

If we had not trespassed too long already on the patience of our readers, we should be glad to follow our author through the Epic cycle, the Hesiodic or didactic school of poets, and especially through the interesting account of the early lyrical poetry, which occupies his third volume, and might fitly claim an article by itself. We think it unfortunate, however, that he was precluded by the chronological limits of his work from taking up the great Theban poet, who, if not the greatest master of the lyre, is our best extant specimen of the lyric muse of Greece. The deficiency will be supplied, though

with less of continuity than could be wished, in the next published volumes of the work. An undertaking of such extensive and elaborate research can hardly be expected to advance with much rapidity. It will be the universal wish of scholars, however, as well in this country as in Europe, that its stages may be as swift, and its stops as few and brief as possible.

ART. II.—ENDLESS PUNISHMENT, A RESULT OF CHARACTER.

LETTER TO A YOUNG CLERGYMAN. *Life and Correspondence of John Foster.*

THIS famous letter contains John Foster's argument against the future punishment of the wicked. He regards future punishment as an arbitrary infliction directly by God's hand for the sins of this life; while his argument implies a denial of man's free-agency, its force depends on the absence of a comprehensive and philosophical view of the unity of the soul's entire existence, and of the connection of the future state with the present as one whole. It is not intended, in this article, to examine Foster's arguments in detail, but to present a train of thought striking at the fundamental error on which his reasoning depends.

When a child dies, it has been beautifully said that it never grows old. It is thought of always as a child; it is embalmed in the affections a half-opened bud, never losing its sweetness, never blooming into maturity, never withering in decay. When the image of such a long-lost child flashes on the mind in contrast with its former equals, now vigorous in manhood or withering in old age, we are startled at the vivid revelation of the changes wrought by time.

A few years ago the body of a young man, retaining undecayed the fullness and beauty of opening manhood, was dug from a coal mine in England. None recognized him, or even remembered that one had perished on that spot. But, as the discovery was noised abroad, a woman, wrinkled, and bent, and leaning on a staff, tottered to the spot; there after a moment's scrutiny, she cast herself, with a piercing cry, on the body and embraced it with intense affection. It was her betrothed, who, just before their marriage was to be consummated, had perished in the mine. Then she was young and fair like him; now, wrinkled and de-

crepit, she stands over his youthful form, and measures in the contrast, the ravages of three score years.

Once at a semi-centennial alumni meeting, as the graduates were entering their names at the desk, we saw two gray-haired men come forward from different parts of the house, and greet each other as classmates, amid the acclamations of the throng. They had not met since they graduated, nearly fifty years before; and now, as they scrutinized each other's faces, searching for the well-remembered features of former years, they were compelled to see in a moment the changes effected by passing from youth to age.

When scenes like these reveal the changes of a whole life-time in the flash of a moment's glance, and we are saddened by contemplating the ravages of time on the body, we may profitably reflect—and full of solemnity is the thought—that not less real are the changes wrought on the soul. The simplicity of the soul in childhood has long since, perhaps, been seamed with cunning, its credulity corrugated and stiffened into skepticism, its blushing modesty bronzed in impudence, its affections soured into misanthropy, and the whole soul seared and furrowed by manifold transgressions. Could the soul suddenly make itself visible, so that we could see at a glance the scathing influences of a sinful life upon it, the spectacle would be more affecting than that of the ravages of time on the body.

This idea accords with the language of the Bible: "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee. *Know*, therefore, and *see* that it is an evil thing and bitter that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God." We do not say that the prophet intended in these words any exact philosophical theory as to the influence of sin; but we must suppose that he intended to describe sin as itself the agency in inflicting its own punishment.

There are various ways in which sin effects this result. The more closely we examine the delicate and wondrous mechanism of the soul, the more apparent it is that sin disorders it in all its parts. It embitters the memory, it defiles the imagination, it troubles the conscience, it inflames the desires, it makes the habits into chains and fetters, it turns every faculty and susceptibility into an instrument of torture, and the sinful soul, like the bomb-shell in its terrific career, carries within itself the burning elements of its own destruction. This subject is too large for a single article. We will confine ourselves to a single branch of it—the ruin necessarily resulting from a sinful character.

When a lecturer on temperance holds up before his audience the stomach of a drunkard, or a picture of it; when he exhibits, in their different stages, the progressive effects of alcohol in dis-

easing its coats, in filling it with sores, in making it a mass of deformity and disease; when he argues that a disorder, which thus consumes the very organs of life, must be productive of suffering, disease, and death, the argument is felt to be unanswerable. It is an argument analogous to this which we urge respecting the effect of sin on the soul. Could we hold up before our readers the soul of a sinner, could they *see* the changes which sin has produced in it, could they see the spirit, no longer beaming in angelic grace, but festering and gangrened with pride, impenitence, and selfishness, could they see the vital powers of virtue decaying, pernicious desires eating like cancers, baleful passions swollen and inflamed, and "from the soul of the foot even unto the head, no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores," the argument would be seen to be decisive. "Sin, because it works such effect on the soul itself, can result only in misery, and by working such effects, it works out its own penalty."

All this is really the effect of sin on the soul, though the bodily eye cannot see it. A man's character is different from his acts; it is consolidated by his acts. What he continually does, he forms a habit of doing; the feelings habitually indulged become a second nature to him. Thus, man not only performs sinful acts, but—what is of immeasurably greater consequence—his acts affect his character, and stamp their impress on the soul itself;—the desires, the affections, the thoughts, the habits, the whole soul are stamped with the imprint of a sinful character, and realize the apostle's description, "Even their mind and conscience are defiled." The soul of the miser is as really pinched and shriveled by his penuriousness as his body: the soul of the worldling, according to the apostle's terrific language, is scathed by its worldliness and feels the rust of riches eating it, as it were fire. The soul of the debauchee rivals his body in rottenness: "Their heart is as fat as grease." In these cases the effect of sin on the soul is as manifest as that of disease on the body.

But it is not the openly immoral and profligate alone who exhibit these effects. The impenitent of every character present a contrast to the health and beauty of perfect holiness, showing too plainly the ravages of sin on the soul. Behold the soul perfected in holiness, delighting in intercourse with God, free from every sinful emotion, overflowing with universal, unselfish love, radiant in the very image of Christ and in the loveliness and peace of heaven. Behold, now, that soul fallen in impenitence, disliking to think of God, disliking prayer as a burden and all God's service as a weariness, the whole current of the thoughts worldly, selfishness the ruling principle of the life, the lips sealed against every word of praise, every fountain of love and heavenly hope frozen and motionless in the heart, discontented with the present,

goaded by restless desires, "without God and without hope in the world." Who can look at the contrast without exclaiming, "How art thou fallen from heaven, oh son of the morning. Thine own wickedness corrects thee; know, therefore, and see that it is an evil thing and bitter that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God."

There are two facts recorded in the Bible—the only two of their kind—which show in a terrific light the effect of a single act of sin on the character of the soul. We refer to the sin of Adam and the sin of the fallen angels. In both these cases the first act of sin produced a fall, a moral revolution, a depravation of the whole soul, and was the beginning of a continued sinfulness. We might not have anticipated, could we have speculated on the subject antecedent to the event, that a single act of sin would issue in depraving the whole character of a hitherto holy being. Yet so, in every known instance, the fact has been.

Subsequent sins, committed by a being already sinful, cannot produce effects so marked; we do not see the soul falling, like a star burning as it falls, from heaven to earth. But every act of sin produces a real effect in depraving the soul and confirming a sinful character. The law of habit is familiar; yet in this view of the subject it reveals one of the most fearful facts in the constitution of the human soul; the fact that a man cannot act without affecting his character; that every act he performs, every feeling he indulges, is strengthening invisible chains that bind him, and making it more and more necessary to continue to act in a similar manner and to indulge similar feelings.

It should be considered, also, that character is permanent. Permanence is implied in the very idea of it. Rarely does a decisive change take place in a single trait of character; and, when such a change does take place, it constitutes an era in the life. The fundamental change of the character from impenitence to penitence, from selfishness to love, is a change so great that nothing less than God's Spirit ever effects it. And if this character is already sinful, permanent as it is in itself, every act of sin is consolidating it into a more unalterable fixedness, a more impregnable solidity. Thus, the sinner's own wickedness is itself the agency in punishing him by depraving his character and confirming him hopelessly in habits of sin.

The principle which has now been elucidated renders inevitable the future and endless misery of ungodly men, by rendering inevitable their future and endless sinfulness. It shows that the doctrine of future and eternal punishment is not less a necessary result of the laws of the human soul, than a doctrine revealed in the word of God. We need look no farther than the considerations just urged to discern a tendency to a fixed and unalterable

state. Even in this life this ever active tendency sometimes results in so enslaving men in some bad habit or trait of character, as to make their reformation no more to be expected than a miracle. And by continuing to sin—the result cannot be avoided—the soul must sooner or later be irrevocably confirmed in sinfulness. The same law of character applies equally to the holy acts of one whose soul has been renewed by the Holy Spirit. Every act and exercise of piety tends to confirm the soul in piety. Thus we discern a tendency in continued holy acts and affections to a state of confirmed holiness, in which, as it is with the inhabitants of heaven, probation will have ceased and perpetual holiness will have become certain; and in continued sinful acts and affections a tendency to confirmed sinfulness, in which, as it is with the devils, probation will have ceased in hopeless and eternal sinfulness. Thus by the natural action of the mind itself, according to its uniform laws, a state of probation is always and necessarily consolidating into a state of retribution. Here, then, in the very constitution of the human mind, we find a law binding the future to the present, and making the conduct of the present mould the character and destiny of the future.

There is no reason to suppose that death will interrupt the operation of this law. *There is nothing to favor such a supposition in any discernible facts attending this last change.* On the contrary, the history of death-beds is a strong argument that this law will not be interrupted by death; for up to the last moment we discern its continued operation; and that so strikingly, that it has passed into a proverb, “The ruling passion strong in death.” Nor is there any evidence that the law will be interrupted in aught that we know of *the nature of death*; for it is a change pertaining to the body, and not at all to the soul. Therefore reason and philosophy give not the slightest evidence that this law will be suspended at death. Their decisive teaching, on the contrary, is that the marks with which sin has scathed the soul, must remain on it after it leaves the body; that the law by which sin has perpetuated itself through the mortal life and consolidated a character of sin, will continue to act in like manner in the life to come; that the soul will carry with it its own character, and, by the very laws of its own being, a probation of sin will issue in an eternity of sin. Nothing can arrest this result but the renewing of the soul by God’s Spirit, through the sacrifice of Christ, offered for the very purpose of making it possible to arrest this law. This interposition of the Holy Spirit, the Bible emphatically teaches, is confined to this life.

The argument, which has now been drawn from this law of the human mind, is confirmed by examining God’s method of

government in every department in which it is open to our examination. This law of the soul is but a part of a wider law, which throughout God's government, binds the future to the present, and the present to the past. It is not only, as Wordsworth sings,

"The child is father of the man,"

but throughout all moral action, the present is the child of the past, and the parent of the future. In the transition from childhood to youth, and from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age, in intellectual and moral training, in social life, in the action of government, appears this indissoluble connection of the present with the past, and of the future with the present. A man, a church, a village, a state, are what their past action has made them, and will be what their present action shall make them. Even the material world supplies numberless analogies to the same law, giving significance, in its application to moral conduct, to the apostle's declaration, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Therefore it is contrary to all facts, to all induction and analogy, to suppose that this law, prevailing everywhere else, is suspended by the change merely of the soul's circumstances in its removal from the body—to suppose that the connection between the future and the past existing everywhere else, has no existence in binding the life to come to the life which now is. No.

"We shape ourselves the joy or fear
Of which the coming life is made,
And fill our future's atmosphere
With sunshine or with shade.

"There shall the soul around it call
The shadows which it gathered here;
And, painted on the eternal wall,
The PAST shall reappear."

Are we now asked, "How do you know that God will not suspend this law at death? or, why did he establish a law fraught with so fearful consequences?" We answer, It is the great law of God's moral government; the great law which, like the law of attraction in the material world, binds the moral universe together. Annul this law, and it is inconceivable how the consciousness of personal identity can be retained; or how, ceasing to be conscious of any effects of past transgressions, the sinner can be conscious of their guilt. Annul this law, and moral training becomes impossible; the cohesiveness and plasticity of character are destroyed, and it is as incapable of being moulded as uncohesive sand; all the care with which a child is educated

will be thrown away, the customs of early years will not grow into habits, and it will not be true, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Annul this law, and the fact that a man has always been true, honest, and kind, is no ground for expecting that he will continue to be so ; all ground of confidence in the perpetuity of character is destroyed, and the bonds by which society is held together are dissolved. Annul this law, and it is no longer possible for the righteous, by continued acts of obedience, to grow in grace, and all preparation for heaven must cease. Annul this law, and there is no danger in sipping the intoxicating glass, or in commencing any sinful indulgence, for the beginnings of sin are as likely to end in holiness as in greater sin. In short, annul this law, and God's moral government is at an end, and the moral universe resolved into chaos. This is the law which, if it be not annulled, renders certain the eternal sinfulness and misery of those who die ungodly.

We have considered the fact, and the inevitable certainty of the fact, that a man's wickedness will correct him by perpetuating itself. We proceed to show that this will be a fearful correction.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that we are considering but one of the elements of misery existing in the sinner's own soul. We say nothing of memory, conscience and other mental powers which sin converts into instruments of torment. And we do not deny that, in addition to all this, there may be positive infliction of evil, denoted by the imagery of the fire and the worm, so that the body, which has been the soul's companion in sin, may be its companion in suffering. The single point which we urge is, that that is a most severe correction which sin inflicts by perpetuating itself, and giving the sinner over to the realities of a soul leprous from head to foot with a sinful character. It is appalling only to think of a man foaming eternally in rage or revenge, lacerated eternally with peevishness, anxiety, or discontent, aching in eternal hatred, pinched by eternal miserliness, goaded and driven by eternal ambition, given up like a helpless deer, Actæon-like, to be hunted eternally in full chase, by his own open-mouthed and ravenous passions. And what aggravates this misery is, that into eternity the sinner carries, not the objects that have gratified and nurtured these passions and desires, but only the passions and desires themselves, made craving and voracious by long indulgence, and now left with nothing but the bare soul on which to gnaw forever. A man—perhaps he ought not to be called a miser, but he had sought his happiness in hoarding,—was wasting with consumption in a little room without stove or

fire-place. At his bedside was a chest, in which, unknown to his attendants, were locked his treasures. As the season advanced, he was continually urged to consent to be removed to a warm room; but he as constantly refused. At last they removed him in his sleep. No sooner had he waked than, gazing hurriedly around, he cried, with his husky voice, "Where is that chest?" He was told that it remained in the other room. "Bring it to my bedside," was the quick reply. He fixed his eyes on it with delight, and gazed on it till he died. This wretched victim of avarice could carry his treasure with him to his dying bed; but he could carry it no farther. Into eternity he could carry—not his treasure—but only the avarice to which the hoarding of that treasure had given a tyrannical power. The miser in eternity is a miser without money, left to the insatiate gnawings of an avarice which his whole life had been employed in making terrible. Napoleon spent his life in feeding his ambition with principalities and kingdoms, till it had grown to a monstrous greatness. And to the sea-girt rock whither he was banished, he carried that gigantic ambition; he left behind all that could gratify it and appease its fury. His misery there is a fearful exhibition of the power of a single passion to fill the soul with anguish; it feebly illustrates the case of the sinner driven away in his wickedness, leaving behind all the objects of sinful gratification, but carrying with him his passions and desires, strengthened and infuriated by long indulgence, and now left with nothing but the soul itself on which to gnaw and be the worm that never dies.

Let those who are seeking happiness in the paths of cupidity or ambition, who, by indulgence, are nursing into strength, passions, earthly, sensual, devilish—let them remember that, though the objects which they seek are perishing, the passions with which they seek them belong to the soul and partake of its undying life. When wealth, and thrones, and palaces shall have passed away, when the plaudits of men shall have been silenced, when the monuments of greatness, the histories and poems which record its achievements shall have perished, and the globe itself shall have been burned up, the evil passions which they are nourishing to-day, will be burning unquenchable in the immortal soul, and inwrapping it as in sheets of eternal fire.

The same principles are equally applicable to the impenitent man of whatever outward character. He has not fellowship with God: but in this fellowship the happiness of heaven must consist. He only can be happy in heaven, whose character is such as to make him happy in being with God and in serving him.

But we must go a step further. The sinner's want of fellow-

ship with God and consequent incapacity to enjoy him is not negative only. "The carnal mind is enmity against God." This enmity shows itself, not so much in conscious hatred of God, as in the habitual contrariety of the sinner's disposition to God's. God, for example, has the keenest sensibility to the evil of sin, and the intensest abhorrence of it. The sinner, at the best, is indifferent to his own sinfulness; he does not hesitate to commit sin; he commits it without any sorrow that seriously disturbs his peace; and often finds his delight in it. Another example of the same contrariety of disposition is seen in the fact that God is intensely interested in establishing his kingdom on the earth, and on this has concentrated his energies in all the course of his providence since time began; but the sinner feels no such interest in this object; is quite indifferent about it; and concentrates his energies on his own interest. Here is an entire contrariety of the sinner's disposition to God's. And the same contrariety appears in the sinner's treatment of God in all the relations in which God presents himself. God presents himself as a king, the sinner disobeys his law and murmurs against his providence; God presents himself as a father, the sinner does not receive him as a son; God presents himself as a Savior, the sinner does not accept him, or see any beauty or desirableness in him. With a character so contrary to God's, the sinner cannot be happy in God. In the world of spirits, where there is no money to be gained, no honors nor offices to be won, no worldly delights to amuse, where the soul meets God face to face, and all the happiness possible is the happiness of being with God and being like him and doing his will, such a character must be of itself a sufficient hell; and the final sentence, "Depart," will be only the formal decreeing of that separation and alienation from God, which the very character of the sinner has already effected.

Most terrific, therefore,—in whatever light we look at the subject—most terrific the consequences of sin involved in the single idea of forming character. And so, sometimes, the word of God expresses it, when, dropping the imagery of the fire and the worm, it says in literal and yet most appalling language, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still." When that decisive day shall come* which closes probation, let every one retain

* The language is equally in point to our argument, if, with Stuart, we suppose the angel referred to a period preceding the final judgment; for, in that case, the idea would be, He that can witness all that is revealed in this book, of God's judgments, and yet not abandon his sins, is confirmed in hopeless sinfulness.

his own character, and unfold and strengthen it forever. When the transgressor of God's law, in serious reflection, dwells on the thought, till its full meaning unfolds on him, it is absolutely appalling to think, "I shall be forever such as I am now; I shall feel forever the same aversion to God and his service, the same ingratitude, pride, and hardness of heart; I shall eternally be controlled by the same groveling desires, the same grasping selfishness, the same tumultuous passions. Forever all the offensive features of this character will grow more offensive. I am binding myself by my acts and feelings every day,—by my own hands I am binding myself with chains of darkness forever." Look forward, thou covetous worldling, thou filthy debauchee, thou proud, self-righteous Pharisee, thou callous despiser of Christ, look forward ten thousand years, and behold projected on the dim and distant clouds of eternity that monstrous and loathsome image, lifting like a Colossus its execrable shape. It is but the image of thyself, magnified by the lapse of ten thousand years. It is but thine own pride, and covetousness, and hatred, and hardness of heart that compose the horrid limbs and features of that colossal monster. Tremble to know that, unless thou repent, thou wilt thyself be what thou now shudderest to behold; and from that point, now far distant in eternity, where that image stands, when thou shalt reach it, thou wilt look forward to still more detestable developments of thine own character.

We are now prepared to see how destitute of force is Foster's principal argument against the endless punishment of sinners, that the punishment is too great for the offence; that it cannot be believed that a whole eternity of agony is to be the penalty for only seventy, or fifty, or twenty years of sin. If, indeed, men will cease to sin at death, and if punishment in hell is to be regarded as stripes or pains inflicted on the sinner by the immediate hand of God tormenting him, the objection may have some weight. But we have been contemplating the punishment of the wicked in a different light. The sinner has formed a sinful character, and, according to a law of the human mind, which we have seen to be an indispensable element in the moral government of God, that character perpetuates itself and becomes confirmed irrevocably. Therefore the man sins forever, and suffers all the torment of sinful passions reigning in his soul; and lies forever under God's frown; for God is holy, and must frown on sin wherever it appears. The eternal misery of the sinner is simply the consequence of the fact that he sins forever. God's eternal punishment of the sinner is simply the expression of his eternal abhorrence of sin, of his unalterable purpose to give it no approbation, no favor, no tolerance forever. No objection can be urged

against the doctrine, thus stated, which does not apply with equal force to the fact that, under the moral government of God, men do sin in this life.

The doctrine which has been elucidated may also help to relieve the perplexity occasioned by the unequal manner in which the blessings of this life are distributed. From the days of Job until now, men have been anxiously asking, "Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, are mighty in power?" It must be admitted that, in the distribution of temporal blessings, little regard seems to be paid to character; the good are depressed, the wicked prospered. But in one respect sin is, in this life, uniformly and immediately followed by evil consequences, and holy actions by the contrary; and these consequences in each case are the most important and enduring. Every sinful act confirms a sinful character, and strengthens the probability that the man will be a sinner forever; than which no result of sin can be more terrible. On the other hand, every holy act confirms a holy character, and helps to secure the man in holiness forever; than which no blessing can be more valuable. Thus, even in this probation, we trace a single line of retribution, in which, without deviation or exception, sin is uniformly and immediately followed by evil, and that the most fatal; and holy acts are uniformly and immediately followed by good, and that the most desirable.

This accords with the apostle's declaration, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The harvest shall be the very same in kind with the seed sown. It is not taught that, if a man sows the seed of holiness, he shall reap a harvest of wealth, or honor, or long life; but he shall reap that which he sowed, and that is holiness, increased thirty, sixty, or an hundred-fold. "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled." They shall be filled with the very holiness for which they hunger; holiness itself shall be the reward of them that seek it. Grant, then, that the Christian may suffer sickness, poverty, bereavement, martyrdom; yet, by enduring these very sufferings he strengthens those graces which make him like God and prepare him for the blessedness of heaven; and thus, by his very sufferings, he insures and enhances his reward. And it is not taught that if a man sow sin, he shall reap poverty, sickness, or disgrace; but he shall reap sin, and with a fearful increase. Grant, then, that the covetous man becomes rich by his covetousness; yet, by the very process of accumulating in the spirit of covetousness, he has strengthened that covetousness, and made it more fearfully probable that it will gnaw his soul, when, of all his riches, there will remain

only the bitter *memory*, like that of Dives, when he heard the significant words, "Son, REMEMBER that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things." The sinner's success in sin does but strengthen his sinfulness, and thus insures his punishment. His sin is but a seed which shall produce a harvest of sin a hundred-fold. Then let not the sinner flatter himself that his punishment is far off and uncertain; that he may continue in transgression, and yet escape; for here, amid all the confusion of this life, is a single line of retribution, immediate, uniform, inevitable, and—unless arrested by repentance through the scheme of salvation provided by Christ—necessarily eternal.

And here we may reclaim to its true significance that much abused expression, "Sin is its own punishment." Let no man delude himself with this, as if, because sin is its own punishment, therefore that punishment is slight, temporary, little to be regarded. Sin *is* its own punishment. But the meaning of this is deep and wide as eternity; it expresses the most appalling fact in the history of sin; it means that every sin is a seed planted in the soul to bear the fruit of sin a hundred-fold, and each multiplied harvest sowing and multiplying itself in new harvests of sin forever. It means that sin stamps itself on the very soul, shapes and moulds the immortal spirit into its own hideousness, and compels it to grow forever into its own monstrous deformity and hatefulness. It means that the sinner will be a sinner forever; will forever experience the raging of passion, the agony of unappeasable desire, the burning of hatred, the anguish of remorse; will forever become more and more unlike God; will forever repel him with an increasing aversion, and be repelled by Him from his bosom of holy love. Thus, now, thus during every day of sin, thus through all eternity, will the sinner's own wickedness correct him; and forever will he be *seeing and knowing* that it is an evil thing, and bitter, that he has forsaken the Lord.

Impossible, then, by any device to continue in sin and yet evade its penalty. Impossible to flee from the wrath to come, except by fleeing from the sins of the present. Impossible to flee from these sins but by repentance and faith in Christ. Then, with overpowering emphasis, does our subject enforce the warning of inspiration, "TO-DAY, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."

ART. III.—THE BARDS OF THE BIBLE.

The Bards of the Bible. By GEORGE GILFILLAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut Street. New Haven: T. H. Pease, 83 Chapel Street. 1851, pp. 325.

MR. GILFILLAN is well known as one of the popular authors of the day. He has written principally about genius, and men of genius—not without a perceptible strain of his own powers. Having finished the uninspired writers of the present age and the past, he now attempts the sacred writers. In one respect he was qualified for the task; the Bible, as he informs us, had been his daily companion from childhood; and he had devoted to its proclamation “the most valued of his years.” In another respect he was positively disqualified; he has a puerile admiration of genius,—of the spiritual, the genial, the spontaneous, the unconscious;—as a consequence, his writings are mainly “puffs” of the demigods whom he worships. Unfortunately, he regards the writers of the Bible as all of them men of genius even beyond any that ever lived, and accordingly he has written about them with all that splendid rhetoric with which he deems it a duty to adorn everything pertaining to the object of his idolatry.

A work on Hebrew poetry, written from genuine poetic impulses and founded on accurate and comprehensive scholarship, thus uniting the excellencies of both Lowth and Herder, would perhaps supply a deficiency in English literature. But Mr. Gilfillan has attempted nothing of this kind. “The main ambition of this book,” he tells us in the preface, “is, to be a prose poem,”—a very poor ambition even for a book to entertain. Literature has nothing quite so offensive to taste as that mongrel called a prose poem. We are further told that the author “has not conformed to the common practice of printing his poetical quotations from the Scriptures as *poetry* in the *form* of parallelism.” He gives as a reason that, “he never could bring himself to relish the practice;” and then adds, “He may say this the more fearlessly, as translations of the great masterpieces of foreign literature into plain English prose are becoming the order of the day.” But what has that to do with the question, whether poetry shall be printed in the form of poetry, or in the form of prose? The Psalms in the common version and the Psalms printed in the form of parallelism do not stand in the same relation to each other as a prose translation—of Homer, for instance—to a poetical one. The author might as well cause

Pope's Homer to be printed as prose is printed, and then call it a prose translation. We hope such logic is not becoming "the order of the day."

The author discusses, in an Introduction, the question why so much of the Scriptures is written in the language of poetry? We propose to follow him in this discussion. But we must first apologize for the mode of our criticism, which will be to take up sentence after sentence and inquire what each one means. Mr. Gilfillan writes almost solely in metaphor. His thoughts, to use his own expression, in speaking of figurative language, "like the swan on still St. Mary's lake, 'float double;'" or, if at any time he condescends to express himself in literal language, it is with a certain poetical license which makes it very difficult to determine precisely what he means. But the sentences upon which we shall remark, follow each other as in the book, and form an entire paragraph.

The first reason which Mr. Gilfillan alleges, why Scripture is written in the language of poetry, is thus expressed: "As the language of poetry is that into which all earnest natures are insensibly betrayed, so it is the *only speech* which has in it the power of *permanent impression*." If the meaning be that all true poets are men of an earnest nature, and that this earnestness gives to poetry its power of permanent impression, the assertion may be true but explains nothing, since it does not exclude the supposition that prose writers may also be men of an earnest nature, and therefore that they may so express themselves as to make a permanent impression. But if the meaning be that all men of such a nature are poets, the assertion is false, though if it were true, it would be to the point. Bishop Butler writes "with simplicity and in earnest," but the Bishop is not a poet, and yet his writings have made a permanent impression. Swift, Paley, De Foe, and others write in earnest, but it is their prose writings which have made a permanent impression. But we will look at the assertion apart from the reason given for it. If it be true that "poetry is the *only speech* which has in it the power of *permanent impression*," it is time for men of letters to revise their vocabularies, and give to Herodotus and Thucydides and Xenophon and Plato and others who have made some tolerably "permanent impressions" on mankind, the name which has been so long denied them; not to say that in this view of the matter, the greater part of the Bible must be of very transient value, or else the Bible is all poetry. The author next proceeds to render a reason why poetry makes its permanent impression. "As it gives two ideas in the space of one, so it writes these before the view, as with the luminousness of fire." It is the

metaphor, we suppose, which is concealed under the enigmatical expression of "two ideas in the space of one;" and with this explanation, we doubt if there is a true assertion in the sentence. Poetry and metaphor are not identical. The metaphor is not preeminently a perspicuous mode of communicating truth. Perspicuity is distinct from that property of style which preeminently impresses thought. But to proceed to another argument: "The language of the imagination is the native language of man. It is the language of his excited intellect, of his aroused passions, of his devotion, of all the higher modes and temperaments of his mind. It was meet, therefore, that it should be the language of his revelation from God." If the revelation were addressed to man *only* in his higher modes and temperaments, or were for his use *only* while in these states, or if the language of the imagination were the *only* native language of man, there might be some ground for the inference. Besides, according to this view, the greater part of the Bible must fail of its intended end, or there has been a very strange misconception among men as to what is the real language of excited passion. The author explains still farther: "It was meet that when man was called into the presence of his Maker, he should not be addressed *with cold formality*, nor in the words of lead, nor yet in the *harsh thunder of peremptory command and warning*, but that he should hear the same *figured* and glowing speech to which he was accustomed, flowing in mellower and more majestic accents from the lips of God." As to the etiquette which the author exacts of the Deity in addressing man, whether it shall be in "cold formality" or otherwise, we do not profess to have any knowledge, but sure we are that the author has an idea of "peremptory command and warning" very different from most persons, if he finds none in the Bible, accompanied in the utterance even by "harsh thunder."

Such are Mr. Gilfillan's explanations of the fact which he alleges, that "the language of poetry is the language of the inspired volume." And this assertion is much broader than the reader at first sight will suppose. Mr. Gilfillan actually holds that the whole of the Bible is poetry, or at least with very few exceptions. It is a "mass of figures." The Old Testament is a poem; the New Testament is a poem; the entire Bible is—not two poems—but a poem. The Bards of the Bible are not David and Isaiah and Jeremiah only, but Mark, and Paul, and James.

The author having made out the Bible to be a poem, goes on to accumulate in one splendid outburst its most striking figures, and winds up his rhapsody as follows: "Thus the quick spirit of the Book has ransacked creation to lay its treasures on Jeho-

vah's Altars—united the innumerable rays of a far-streaming glory on the little hill, Calvary,—and *woven a garland* for the bleeding brow of Immanuel, the flowers of which have been culled from the garden of the universe." One would think there were associations with that bleeding brow which would have repressed the vanity of idle rhetoric. The author as if apologizing for the splendor of his eulogy, adds, "this praise may seem lofty, but it is due to the Bible." No, no, Mr. Gilfillan, such praise is not due to the Bible;—the Bible asks not the patronage of the popular writer who seeks in its pages a theme for fine writing. But the reason why such praise is due to the Bible, is not a little remarkable. "*It, of all poems, has uttered in broken fullness, in finished fragments, that shape of universal truth which instantly incarnates itself in living nature, fills it as a hand a glove, impregnates it as a thought a word, peoples it as a form a mirror.*" We leave this as a study to our readers, musing within ourselves meanwhile whether the author has ever read that essay of a distinguished countryman of his which seeks to explain why it is that nonsense so often escapes the notice of the writer.

Leaving the Introduction, we pass to the body of the work. But here we can touch upon only a few points. The first chapter treats of the circumstances creating and modifying Old Testament Poetry—which we leave without remark. In the second chapter, which enumerates and describes the general characteristics of Hebrew poetry, we thought we had made a discovery which would be of great value to the reading community. In speaking of the first characteristic of the Hebrew poets, "their figurative language," the author says: "it is so of all high thoughts, except, perhaps, those of geometrical abstraction. The proof of great thoughts is, will they translate into figured and sensuous expression?" We knew that Mr. Gilfillan had labored much in gauging the genius of great men, and we thought it probable he might have at last made a discovery which would relieve critics and readers of a great deal of trouble. So many great thoughts, or what seemed such, have been uttered of late by a certain class of writers both in England and in this country, that we hailed with delight the announcement of a test by which they could be tried. We forbore to raise a question which we otherwise should have done as to those words, "translate" and "figured." But in applying the test, as we read along, we found that small thoughts would undergo the operation of "translating" as readily as great thoughts or high thoughts. Besides, we were touched with the forlorn condition of those that will not "translate," as the author says: "Will nature recognize, own, and

clothe them as if they were her own? or, must they stand"—great thoughts—"small, shivering, and naked before her unopened door?" No wonder Mr. Gilfillan is so eager to clothe his own thoughts in "figured" dress rather than leave them shivering in their nakedness.

The third chapter treats of the varieties of Hebrew poetry. The author has occasion here to speak of some of the divisions which have been proposed: and this leads him to discuss the merits of the several writers on the subject. Bishop Lowth, with his fine scholarship, with his precision of thought, with his perspicuous and classical style, meets of course with little favor at the hands of Mr. Gilfillan; and Michaelis, still less. The criticism of the Bishop, we are told, wants subtlety, power, and *abandonment*. Herder fares better, and we are not disposed to dissent from the judgment which is passed upon him. Omitting the divisions of Hebrew poetry proposed by other writers, we proceed to Mr. Gilfillan's. He divides Hebrew poetry into "Song and poetic Statement." But our readers will need some little explanation of what is meant by "poetic statement." Under this head, then, we have "Poetical Statement, *first*, of poetic facts (Creation, &c.); secondly, of poetic doctrines (God's Spirituality, &c.); thirdly, of poetic sentiments with or without figurative language (Golden rule, &c.); fourthly, of poetic Symbols (in Zechariah, Revelations, &c.)." Here the author stops his subdivisions, but he might as well have made a fifthly, of poetic rites, and a sixthly, of poetic genealogical tables, which we believe would exhaust the subject. The author defends this division. "We maintain," he says, "first, that it is *comprehensive*, including every real species of poetry in Scripture, including especially the Prophetic writings, the New Testament, and that mass of *seed* poetry in which the Book abounds, apart from its professedly rhythmical and figured portions. Song and Statement appear to include the Bible between them, and the statement is sometimes more poetical than the song. If aught evade this generalization, it is the argument, which is *charily* sprinkled throughout the Epistles of Paul. Even that is logic defining the boundaries of the loftiest prose." Certainly the division is comprehensive enough. But the expression 'Hebrew poetry' seems to imply Hebrew prose, and where such a thing as Hebrew prose is to be found under this division, we do not see. We would remind Mr. Gilfillan that a logical division excludes as well as includes. It is proper, however, to say, that the author does not follow his own division, but treats of each Book of the Bible in the order in which they stand in the common version,—for which he gives this reason, that it "will prevent any of its prominent

writers being overlooked or lost amid vague and general description." But notwithstanding, the "poetical characters" of Scripture, which the author says it would be unpardonable to omit, were overlooked till after the concluding chapter was printed, and are only noticed in a "Supplementary Chapter."

All that Mr. Gilfillan says on the subject of poetry is "confusion worse confounded." He has departed from the fixed meaning of the word, not only without reason but against reason. Distinctions which are universally recognized and for the expression of which there are appropriate words in all cultivated languages, may be presumed to have some foundation in nature. Of this kind is the distinction between prose and poetry. It is a distinction in the *form* in which the productions of the mind in accordance with natural laws are expressed. Speech is not an invention of man but an act of nature. So, too, forms of speech which are universally recognized as distinct and are denoted by distinct words, are natural forms; that is, the mind acting under different impulses necessarily expresses itself in different forms, and some of these forms are different in kind. The poetic form is not a modification of the form of prose nor a species of it; it is generically distinct. The poetic form itself may be developed diversely; it may be controlled by accent, by quantity, by alliteration, by parallelism, or by something else, but whatever specific form it may take in any particular language, it is different from the form of prose in that language. The person, who writes in the one or the other is conscious of that distinction, and so is the reader. It is the form alone, which can make a perfect division between prose and poetry. There is then a natural distinction between the two generic forms in which the productions of the mind are expressed; and these are denoted by words corresponding to prose and poetry. The Hebrew language has words to denote these distinctions. It seems hardly proper in treating of Hebrew poetry to disregard distinctions existing in the language and as old as the language itself.

The mind seems to recognize the poetic form as the higher of the two. Hence, it is impelled to adopt this form from the simple desire of excellence, and hence, too, the greatest efforts of the imagination and the intellect are embodied in it. This has led to a second use of the word poetry. We sometimes mean by it the ideal, as when we say of some particular passage, "this is poetry." In this case, we have reference not to the poetic form as distinct from prose, but to the most perfect specimens of that form. In the definition of poetry we have in view merely its existence, and seek for that property which will discriminate all poetry, good or bad, from prose; in its ideal, we limit ourselves

to those examples of poetry which have superior excellence. From this latter meaning of the word, has arisen a secondary or figurative meaning. As we find in prose, efforts of the imagination and of the intellect equal perhaps to any in poetry, we apply to these the epithet "poetical," or we may even call them "poetry;" but in that case we do not mean that they are *literal* poetry; we call them so because they have *some* of the excellencies of poetry. The sentence, "God said, Let there be light, and there was light," we may call poetical or by a *bold figure* poetry, but it would be ridiculous to write a book on poetry in this figurative sense of the word. It would take in a large portion of the most important prose works in every language—it would sweep over the fields of oratory, history and philosophy. And yet, this is precisely what Mr. Gilfillan has done. Throughout the volume he has regarded every thought and image which could be wrought into poetry as already poetry. He might at once call everything poetry which can be made use of in a poem; indeed, everything in creation, for there is nothing but can be so used. We have dwelt upon this, not because in the present instance it is a very mischievous error—it has merely led Mr. Gilfillan to write a poor prose poem,—but because it is a rhetorical trick of a large class of writers, which needs to be exposed. The artifice is merely to take words denoting anything excellent, and then to use the figurative applications of them to other things as if they were their literal signification. A few such words as "religion," "philosophy," "poetry," "beauty," "infinite," are the stock in trade of several writers of the present day. It is thought to be wonderfully profound to call religion, poetry, or poetry, religion, whereas it is nothing but a mere trick with words.

At the fourth chapter, the author proceeds to treat of the several books of the Scriptures. We do not think it necessary to make any minute criticisms on particular passages. We pass hastily along, with here and there a remark.

The Pentateuch, we are informed, is "steeped throughout in the essence of poetry." But Mr. Gilfillan, even with all his keen scent for the poetical, could not but admit that large portions of the books of Moses are written in the plainest and most unadorned prose. In the account of the flood, which has furnished him with materials for several pages of fine writing and which he has surrounded with "masses of figures," Moses has used—as our author almost complains—but a single metaphor, "the windows of heaven." It was necessary therefore, to discover some menstruum by which the plain speech of Moses could be transmuted into poetry. We admire the skill of the alchemist. "As a nar-

rator, Moses makes a word or two do the work of pictures. Nor is this word always an ἑνος πτερόεν—a word rolled together like a double star—but often a plain, unmetaphorical term, which *quakes* under the thought or scene it describes. The pathos or the grandeur, instead of elevating or kindling his language, *levels and sinks it*. His language may be called the mere transparent window through which the 'immeasurable calm'—the blue of immensity looks in." After this, we think no poet need despair. By the way, it has hitherto been considered by scholars, that πτερόεν, instead of "rolled together," means right the opposite, being derived ultimately from a verb which is used of a bird expanding its wings. One would suppose "the winged words" of Homer might have been understood by this time, at least that the expression has no reference to the metaphor. Perhaps Mr. Gilfillan was thinking of the swan that floats "double" on "still St. Mary's lake."

In the book of Job, the author finds a style which gives him less trouble than that of Moses, and he declares that the latter in comparison with the former is "like one *severe* feather compared to the outspread wing of an eagle." Job, it may be remarked, is "the Landseer of ancient poetry and something more." "That great painter seems, every one knows, to become the animal he is painting. So Job with the war horse swallows the ground with fierceness and rage; with behemoth moves his tail like a cedar; with the eagle smells the slain afar off and screams with shrill and far-heard joy." But Job could do some things that Landseer can not do. For we are told, "it may be questioned whether Landseer could or durst go down after Jonah into the whale or exchange souls with the mammoth or megatherium"—which it is implied Job would venture upon. But perhaps, Landseer may be pardoned for not exchanging souls at least with the megatherium, since he may never have fallen in with a perfect specimen of that fossil.

But we can not pursue the footsteps of our author further. We are weary of hunting through figures for thoughts which elude the grasp, or if arrested, prove to be nothing but old familiar truths. There is scarcely a definite proposition in the volume. We are not aware that there is a single new interpretation—a single explanation of any difficulty—or a single important thought added to what was before well known. There is nothing but figures—figures—

"Water—water, every where."

We have also another reason for not prosecuting farther the examination of this book. When the author comes to speak of

New Testament poetry, he introduces the subject in a way that is too painfully offensive even to be criticised. "We pass to speak of the Poetry of the Gospels and of *that transcendent Poet* who died on Calvary;" and he thinks the chapter on the subject would more properly be designated, as "The Poetry of Jesus," than the "Poetry of the Gospels."

Mr. Gilfillan in writing this volume has sought among other objects to win men of genius to embrace the moral truths of Revelation by first leading them to look at the Bible as a work of genius; or as he otherwise expresses it, "to insinuate the lesson of eternal truth by that of infinite beauty." But in prosecuting this design, he has committed two very grave errors. He has spoken of men of genius too much as inspired men, and of inspired men too much as men of genius. We do not mean that he does not recognize the inspiration of the Scriptures and the distinctions arising from that fact, but that his habitual language seems to place men of genius all but in the class of inspired men. He speaks, for instance, of "the prophetic men among us as displaying rather the mood than the insight of prophecy—rather a yearning after, than a feeling of the stoop of the descending God," and a like view is presented throughout the work. Now, if a writer, by a figurative use of language, chooses to speak of men of genius as inspired or prophetic, we do not object, but habitually to use this language as if in a literal sense and this in a manner so as to leave the impression that they are really prophets, really inspired, is a mischievous abuse of words. On the other hand, he has exaggerated the native talents of the writers of the Bible taken as a class. He has represented them to be men of preeminent genius beyond any that ever lived, so that if they had not been inspired they might have produced a Bible—a poem—which should far transcend all other human productions. We do not hesitate to say that this is a false representation of the case. It cannot be said with truth, that Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or Peter, or James, for example, were men of genius. There are some other writers of the Bible who do not seem to have had any natural superiority over other men. Nor will the representation have the effect intended. No man of talent will be misled by such exaggerations, while it will only flatter the vanity of those who aspire to be "the prophetic men" of the age.

Mr. Gilfillan appears to have been led into this view of the subject partly by his idolatry of genius and partly by his admiration of splendid writing. But it is unfortunate when any cause which is generally supported in any community is taken up by a popular writer—the temptation is so strong to make it a theme

for mere fine writing, since there will be little disposition to criticise with severity. How much has been written on the Reformation that will not stand the test of an historical scrutiny! How often has the American Revolution been made an exercise for empty declamation, in which the effort of the mind has been not to say what was just and true, but to search out something brilliant and rhetorical! The character of the Bible has saved it from being often treated in this way, but when it is done, it is offensive to all right feelings in the highest degree. We do not suppose that Mr. Gilfillan was conscious of any such attempt, but his whole work has made upon us that impression. In this case, too, the disgust is increased by the manner in which the author brings the writers of the Bible into comparison with uninspired writers. Who can be expected to endure a writer that can speak of Amos "as the Robert Burns of the prophets," and of Peter "as the Oliver Goldsmith of the New Testament?" It is from no desire to say anything harsh, but because it is the actual feeling we had in reading the book, that we pronounce it the poorest book, written by a man of talents, we ever read, not even excepting "Hervey's Meditations."

ART. IV.—THE RESULTS OF MODERN MISSIONS, PERMANENT.

John Foster on Missions: with an Essay on the Skepticism of the Church. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Edward H. Fletcher, 1851.

THIS work reproduces in a popular form two important publications. One is the noble discourse of John Foster on the Glory of the Age, or the Spirit of Missions, delivered thirty-three years ago, before the Baptist Missionary Society: the other is an essay on the Skepticism of the Church respecting the work of missions, by the Rev. Mr. Thompson, which appeared some years since in the Biblical Repository. The former has a kind of martial tone about it; as we read, we seem to hear the tread of embattled and bannered hosts, as with voices of victory, they press on to the conquest of the world. There is a beauty in its expression, and a strength in its reasoning, and a grandeur in its comprehensive view of the great work of missions, fitted to stir the soul, and to stimulate the faith of the militant Church. The latter, the pre-

liminary essay, is preparatory to the discourse, and, by its timely utterances, is adapted to do great good, while it gives completeness to the book. Skepticism in regard to the missionary work is far too common: although not always expressed, it widely lurks throughout the Church. We hail truth which is fitted to dislodge it. The days of skepticism should be over, and they must be, before the work of the world's redemption will go forward as it ought. There is need now of faith, earnest, influential, universal faith.

Without entering upon any particular analysis or review of these treatises, we propose to consider a branch of the general subject of missions intimately connected with, and naturally suggested by, what is here before us: the decline of the earlier missions and the reasons for the belief in the permanent success of modern missions.

The spirit of missions is the spirit of Christianity. The work of missions is Christianity at work. There is nothing novel or modern in the principles which lie at the basis of our present missionary movements. They characterize the Gospel, its Founder, its Apostles, the universal Church, in the days of her purity and vigor. The Savior came forth from the Father to seek and to save the lost. The Apostles and early Christians went everywhere preaching the word. The Gospel has ever been aggressive, and the watchword of its friends has been "onward." In the face of obstacles, against the combined forces of the world and Satan, notwithstanding repulse and temporary defeat, the kingdom of the Redeemer has advanced towards its triumph. For man's salvation and God's glory there has been a vast expenditure of human resources and of divine energy. The wants of the world, the degraded condition of a fallen race, the exposure of the soul to endless perdition, together with the demands of God, have ever moved the sensibilities of Christian hearts, and prompted the toiling of Christian hands. The efforts which have been made, have been crowned with a success which has infinitely rewarded them. It would be hard to measure the salvation of a single soul, by mortal toils and sacrifices.

In the first ages of the Church interesting missionary labors were undertaken. Among the lost sheep of the house of Israel, the disciples of Christ labored under his personal superintendence. After his ascension the Apostles applied themselves to the fulfillment of his last command, beginning at Jerusalem. In Samaria, throughout Asia Minor, in the proud cities of Greece, at Rome, far and wide in the Eastern world, they established churches, and gathered many converts from Judaism and Paganism. Through some centuries, the Gospel was introduced with

greater or less success into many lands, where, for a season, it maintained its foothold and accomplished its benign effects. From time to time, successful missionaries arose who bore among strange people, and distant nations, the tidings of salvation. From time to time, in the lapse of ages, particular portions of the Church became distinguished for their zeal in promoting the spread of the Gospel. During the first three centuries its triumphs were witnessed from India to Gaul, and from the shores of Britain to the confines of Ethiopia. Yet it is a melancholy fact, that over all those regions of the triumphs of the early churches, the dominion of Satan has for more than a thousand years been supreme. The lands where the Apostles proclaimed the gospel have for long centuries borne no fruits of the Apostolic labors. Deep darkness has brooded there. Long ago the light of the Cross waned before the pale glimmer of the waxing Crescent. And now in every place where Apostles toiled, and Martyrs died, there is need of Apostolic devotion and the Martyr's faith. Nay, already, from lands where Apostles' feet never trod, from lands which for many hundred years after their time lay enshrouded in original pagan darkness, devoted servants of Christ have gone forth and entered into their ancient labors. To the dwellers in India, our missionaries have proclaimed a crucified Savior. In Jerusalem they have enjoyed Pentacostal seasons. Thence along the early track of the gospel, they have gone as the heralds of salvation. Where the ancient faith has long been forgotten—where the turbaned nations have bent under a degrading superstition—on the sites of Apostolic churches—they have planted anew the banners of the Cross. Syria hails again the light which gushed over her hills in the New Testament times. An American missionary, with the indomitable zeal and unfaltering faith of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, declares to the Athenians the unknown God whom they ignorantly worship. At Salonica, the Thessalonica of the New Testament, a young brother has recently fallen, in attempts to renew there “the work of faith and labor of love and patience of hope” which the Apostle commended in the Thessalonian Christians.

Passing on from those first centuries, we behold the same results following the efforts of succeeding times. Among the mountains of Koordistan, existed a church which as early as the fifth century, was one of the foremost in the extension of Christ's kingdom. Never have their zeal and indefatigable labor been surpassed. Among the fierce and barbarous nations around them, the Nestorians carried the words of life. Within the confines of China, their vigilant and toiling apostles planted the

Cross. Beyond the summits of Imaus, the savage Tartars heard from their burning lips the messages of salvation. Success attended their efforts, and the influences that went forth from the fertile vales of Persia were for the healing of the nations. For centuries past, not only has the gospel been unknown where they so faithfully labored, but that church itself has fallen. To-day in the vale of Oroomiah, among its clustering villages, sixteen of our own American missionaries are industriously seeking to recall that fallen church to its ancient faith. Similar has been the history of other powerful Oriental churches. The Abyssinian, the Syrian, the Armenian, the Greek and, to the west, the Roman churches have all suffered a decline and fall from a former and a purer faith: while in very many places, where in various periods missions have been planted, Christianity has become unknown. We have then the startling conclusion, that for about sixteen centuries, the success of the pure gospel was for the most part merely transient. The investigation of the causes of such results, opens a wide and interesting, but melancholy study for the ecclesiastical historian. The social and political state of the nations produced its effect. Within the Church, as faith and spirituality declined, corruption and formality crept in. The clear doctrines of grace were encumbered and darkened by human traditions and speculations. Religious ordinances degenerated into efficacious rites. The simplicity of the ancient worship was exchanged for a showy and ritualistic service. Spiritual ambition grew dominant, and the servants of the churches became lords over God's heritage. At last the Church of Christ became an organized hierarchy, and connected itself with the civil power. God's blessing was withdrawn, and the scattered churches were smitten with his curse.

There is something melancholy and discouraging in these facts, and in view of them, we are led to inquire whether the same thing shall be true of the churches planted by the missions in which we are now interested. Shall the watch-fires which we kindle on the distant and dark shores of heathenism go out in the lapse of ages? Shall the stations which we have cherished, and which have become the centers of light and holy influence to the people among whom they are placed, revert again to their original darkness, and shall our sacrifices and expenditures be in vain? Are darkness and barbarism and superstition again to encroach upon the domains of Christianity, and at last blot out every vestige of the faith we hold and teach? And where our missionaries are now teaching, shall other missionaries in a distant age be needed to teach to an ignorant and deluded people the way of life? Or are the churches of the missions now per-

manently founded, and is all that we gain from Satan and sin to be secured for Messiah? Were there causes in the apostolic and later ages leading to the results which we have contemplated, which do not now exist? Are missionary and Christian labors with their blessed effects, to go on with increasing power and permanence, until the world shall be converted to Christ? Is light to wax brighter and to spread abroad, until it shall mingle with light, and the globe be flooded with its radiance and glory? From mountain-top to mountain-top, shall herald cry to herald, until the glad tidings of a world redeemed shall everywhere be heard? Is it the latter view which we are accustomed to take; and in it we find much to cheer and nerve the soul. If the success of missions were merely temporary, the work would be worthy of far greater sacrifices and efforts than we are accustomed to make: but if it is to be enduring, then we see motives of still greater magnitude than before, to urge us onward and to lead us to spare no exertions which we may wisely make.

Since the Reformation, the life of the Church has been restored, and gradually her strength has been put forth for the conversion of the world. The revival of her ancient faith has brought about the return of her ancient zeal in missionary labors. Unorganized efforts were from time to time made by different branches of the Church, until during the last century under the pressure of obligation and from love to Christ and to man, missionary movements were reduced to a complete and settled system. From this point a new order of things arises, and one which, under the controlling purposes and providences of God, seems to be destined to secure the entire evangelization of the world. Failures at particular points there may be; reverses, which shall in the end be followed by renewed success; the temporary abandonment of certain stations for others of more immediate promise. Nations and races, like the aborigines of this country and the islanders of the Pacific, may dwindle and decay and in the end become extinct. But the great work is to go forward permanently and triumphantly to its predicted, and therefore certain consummation.

We proceed now to the statement of some grounds for believing that the success of modern missions will be permanent.

In the first place, the system which characterizes modern missions is one which implies the permanence of their success. They have been undertaken and are conducted on a mature and comprehensive plan, which respects the continuous and increasing employment of appropriate agencies, until the world is thoroughly Christianized. There is a mutual understanding among the various branches of the Universal Church, in regard to the

several fields which shall be occupied, the instrumentalities which shall be used, and the triumph which shall be gained. By none is the work considered a temporary work, or one which shall be abandoned with any limited success. Nothing less than the complete subjugation of THE WORLD to Messiah, is the aim and the determination of his followers. Success at any particular point is only a motive for greater efforts. Every fortress which is gained, is not only so much taken from the enemy, but it is thenceforth to be actively used for Christ: as in the storming of a city the capture of each strong point diminishes the resistance of the garrison and adds to the strength of the besiegers.

Wherever a mission is instituted, a deep and strong foundation is laid for future times. Many agencies and aids which were unknown to early missions, are gathered around it. The mission families establish themselves there for life. They plant among the habitations of paganism the Christian home. Its light and beauty and order, its altar, its instruction, its songs, its sacred associations and influences and training, are all before the heathen, presenting to them an excellent model and by the striking contrast impressing them with the defects and darkness of their own unhallowed homes. There they behold the illustration of what the family should be—which they have never known by experience—where the marriage vow is fulfilled, and all that is exalted and blessed in the relation which it secures is enjoyed—where parental love, and filial affection, and fraternal union are experienced and prized. The influence which is exerted by the permanent presence of religious households, cannot be fully estimated. Said the wife of one of our earliest missionaries—"It was not so much what we taught, nor what we said in regard to our Scriptures, that made an impression on the heathen, as our life, our treatment of women and children, and our domestic habits, so different from theirs."

At every mission a Christian church is organized, to which the mission families belong. They are its nucleus—around which the converted pagans shall gather—to whom they will look for guidance and example in their new life. They will see that its ordinances are faithfully observed, that its laws are obeyed, that the spirit of Christianity is cherished, and that the life of its professors is in harmony with that spirit. The churches of the missions will not now be left, as was too often the case among the early missions, with the converted heathen alone. That may have been one great source of those divisions and troubles, which gave the Apostles so much anxiety, and which drew forth from them such strong rebukes as we find in some of the Epistles of Paul, and which eventually led on to decay and apostasy. An

influence is now exerted upon their new members which is powerful, which they respect, which tends to confirm them in right action and to make them worthy members of the household of faith.

The gospel, too, is to be permanently preached by the missionaries themselves, or by those who are under their direct influence and personal instruction. In this way error will not be as likely to creep in, wrong customs or dangerous doctrine will not be as likely to gain a foothold. Religious institutions will grow old under the superintendence of those who are capable of conducting and perfecting them. In the early times, the Apostles could not abide with the churches which they gathered. They ordained officers for them from the converts themselves, and hastened on to do their Apostolic work. Similar was the mode of those who in after ages succeeded them. The modern system is the reverse of this. The mission at the Sandwich Islands is now thirty-one years old. Yet the latest intelligence brought us the account of the ordination of the *first* native preacher. Thus over the world are Christian churches to enjoy the direct personal ministry and superintendence of educated and experienced pastors.

This system contemplates the education of the heathen. It proposes, as soon as possible, to prepare them to sustain among themselves, those institutions which belong to an enlightened and religious people. By the side of the Church it plants the Seminary, and all abroad among the people it establishes schools. Here the children and youth of the people are gathered and instructed in the common branches of knowledge, and in the Word of God. Here they are carried forward from step to step in their education, with the hope that they will be converted and be prepared to become teachers and preachers of the Gospel. Here they unlearn their heathen habits and notions, are made acquainted with correct science, and are introduced to the knowledge of many things which the heathen cannot know, and which prepare them for usefulness and wide influence. These schools and higher seminaries of learning, are a grand auxiliary of Christianity, and one of the surest means of securing the permanence of the Gospel. The churches which now send forth missionaries may, in the lapse of ages, become enfeebled, they may grow indifferent to the world's conversion. But Christianity shall live where it is thus established. Educated men shall be raised up to take the place of the missionaries as they fall, and to perpetuate among their people the ordinances of religion. The delightful and benign effects of this system of education are already seen in many places. Native teachers and preachers are now abroad among the people of the Sandwich Islands and Ceylon, in India,

and among the Armenians. Already the ancient missionary spirit is somewhat revived amidst the Nestorians, and their preachers are now climbing the wild mountains and proclaiming, in those old fastnesses of the faith, the truth as it is in Jesus. This work is to go forward, until, in every land, there shall not be wanting men to proclaim to every nation and tribe, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God.

Nor is this the only effect of that education which is projected. It is designed to secure *good homes* among the heathen. In the female seminaries multitudes are trained, who are to be influential in the households of the people. As daughters and sisters, as the future mothers of the land, they, in their appropriate sphere, are to do much to secure the perpetuity of religion. Paganism degrades woman, deprives her of that sweet and potent influence which she is fitted to exert for the exaltation and virtue and happiness of any people: Christianity restores her to her proper position, and places in her hands the means of vast and efficient usefulness. Educated Christian mothers and teachers will entirely change the households of the pagan world. They will make them fountains of holiness and moral power, as they are among us: places where the character is early formed aright: in a word, Christian homes, after the "model homes" of the mission families.

This education is designed to develop individual manhood. It is a Protestant education—an education based upon the Bible—an education which makes much of every man as a free agent, as an immortal being, as one accountable supremely to God and now deciding his endless destiny. It is an education which will be felt through every order and condition of intelligent mind, cultivating private judgment, drawing out whatever there is of force and individuality in every soul, and guiding that soul onward and upward. It is an education which will affect the structure of society, demolishing its abuses, and engrafting upon it the masculine and virtuous principles of a better state.

A powerful engine for securing the permanence of Christianity, which was not employed in former times, is the press. This is one of the principal bulwarks and auxiliaries of modern missions. In the early ages education and the means of education were possessed by few. Knowledge was locked up in guarded treasures to which a select class alone were admitted. Books, as we understand the term, were unknown. The massive and costly manuscript, requiring slavish labor to be copied, was the poor equivalent. But now, in every land, the press is at work, publishing, with almost miraculous energy, the Word of God, in every language under heaven; scattering tracts

and religious books, thick as the leaves of the forest before the autumnal blasts. It is like the Gift of Tongues. It is like an omnipresent ministry. No habitations are so remote and inaccessible—no men so poor—that these pages of life may not reach them and declare to them all that is necessary to make them wise unto salvation. The press is an agency that cannot be destroyed. And as long as it does its work, Christianity cannot be exterminated. It places the Bible in every man's hand—and where the Bible is read, religion cannot die. The printing-press will by degrees pass into the hands of pious men among the pagan nations, and they will never cease to employ it as an agency of defense, and a powerful battery upon the stronghold of sin. It will make the nations acquainted with the science, and literature, and religion of Christian lands. It will introduce among them those aids for the improvement and exaltation of the mind, which abound among us, and which tend to fortify the faith of the gospel. In this broad and comprehensive plan of missions, we find strong evidence of their permanent success. The missionary now does not go forth alone. He goes with supplies for a long, and forces for a vigorous warfare. The Apostles and early missionaries went alone: they had few aids: and when they left a particular field, it languished. There is a strong contrast between the systems of the ancient and modern missions. The former was like a lonely knight errant, striking strong blows, and performing deeds of prowess remarkable for a single arm. The latter is like a well-equipped and marshaled army, with all the munitions and ordnance of war, prepared to garrison and supply every stronghold which is captured, and to move on conquering and to conquer.

Again, the connection of civilization with Christianity, and the intimate sympathy between the different portions of the Church thereby produced, tend to secure the permanence of modern missionary success. In the early ages the learning and civilization of the world were mainly among the pagan nations. The early missionaries had therefore none of those advantages and aids which come from a superiority in science and the arts of an enlightened state. The great Apostle to the Gentiles visited the seats of ancient learning, and their sages were often his hearers. He stood up among the monuments of Corinthian skill and art; and his voice was heard where the greatest of Athenian orators had thundered forth his world-famed philippics, and where Athenian poets had recited their matchless verses to the listening assemblies of Attica. The labors of the Apostles and their companions were mainly within Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy, the most advanced of the nations

then. It was a paganized civilization which prevailed, and therefore it opposed peculiar obstacles to the humbling teachings and requirements of the religion of Christ. In its place of pride, and with the assumption of superiority, it looked down with scorn upon the lowly followers of Jesus and upon all their claims. And afterwards, when to some extent the true faith had triumphed among the people that were most advanced, it derived no such influence from its success as was fitted to make much impression upon the nations. But now, the highest civilization is the hand-maid of Christianity. The most enlightened nations are Christian nations, and mainly Protestant nations. Where Christianity goes, there go powerful agencies and auxiliaries to build it up, and to secure its permanence. Where its missions are planted, there are opened fountains of blessings to the nations; there are established institutions which are the glory of the lands, and which freely lavish their gifts upon the people. Around them are seen industry, and order, and the tokens of an advancing civilization. There enterprise is developed and education is enjoyed. There family government and social rights and civil liberty are germinated. There the arts are nurtured and men engage in the useful professions and callings of life. And all these things, while they are the fruits, are also the supports of Christianity. They will cluster around it, and rally to its defense and oppose a formidable front to its foes. There is nothing in the literature, the science, the practical knowledge or the condition of the heathen, which will give them a sense of superiority to the teachers of the faith of the Gospel. Nor will they value their religion above that of Christ, when they shall have intelligently witnessed the practical effects of each, in contrast. The civilization which is connected with Christianity is its best earthly support, and its entire tendency is to perpetuate Christianity where the latter shall have gained a firm foothold.

By this connection an intimate sympathy is fostered which binds together the different portions of the Church. Formerly, churches, far from one another, were almost entirely dissociated. There was but little intercourse between the different members of the body of Christ, and that only at long intervals and by great exertions. Acquaintance could scarcely be cultivated. Aid could hardly be communicated if its need was known. Missionaries journeyed on foot or in fragile sea-boats, without compass or quadrant. A newspaper, a *Missionary Herald*, were altogether unknown. But now all this is changed. Art, and science, and inventive genius have been at work, and their manifold and splendid offerings and creations are all tributary to the Church. Gigantic steamers are dashing through the waters of every sea,

bearing our missionaries to their stations. Ponderous cars are pressing across the desert, and piercing the gloom of the forest. The command has been literally obeyed, and the prophecy fulfilled: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." By and by shall the result appear: "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." From land to land thought is now transmitted by the lightning. In comparison with it old Time himself has become a laggard. This rapid and easy communication, bringing the most distant places into close communion, and making the whole world a neighborhood, has done much toward producing an intimate sympathy between the different portions of the Church. By it Christians from distant lands are brought together in large convocations, where they mingle their mutual sympathies, and, waiving their petty differences, unite in a common enterprise against a common foe. By it resources and recruits can easily be sent to our distant and suffering missions. By it tidings of success or calamity are rapidly borne to every portion of the Church, so that the whole body of believers is moved by a simultaneous sympathy.

The system of posts and post-offices also fosters this sympathy. Mails are now transmitted by the cooperation of the different governments of the world, with the greatest possible dispatch and safety, from continent to continent, and to the remotest settlements of men. Every steamer that plows up the Niger toward the heart of Africa—every steamer that pierces the gloom of Asia's dark lands—bears with it letters of love and kindest memories to the missionaries, who in loneliness and faith are there building up the Redeemer's kingdom. Wherever our self-exiled and devoted countrymen are thus laboring, they are cheered by frequent correspondence with the friends they have left behind them. This links them closely to their brethren all over the world, and animates them for their future duties. Half-enlightened lands are adopting this system of communication. It has been recently introduced into the Turkish empire. It will follow everywhere in the wake of civilization and Christianity.

The Press is also increasing this sympathy. Through our Missionary Heralds and newspapers, and more elaborate volumes of history and biography, we are made acquainted with the character and works of missionaries, with the hindrances to the spread of the gospel, with the trials which must be endured, and with

the progress of the cause of Christ. This information leads us to feel for our brethren abroad. Through the same agency they learn what is taking place at home, and their hearts throb with every strong pulsation that moves our own.

It is through this intimate and world-wide sympathy that missions are strengthened and their success secured. They cannot fail. Any calamity to the humblest station, sends a thrill through the entire Christian world. We have seen what this principle has accomplished throughout the Papal church: what then may it not secure, when sanctified and exalted by Christian faith and love? There is now an Argus-eyed vigilance over every department of religious enterprise, and a Briarean labor ready for any emergency. The Church on earth is one: and its every portion is dear to the whole. Time with its discoveries and improvements shall only bind the parts more closely together. Continued enlargement shall promote enlarged interest and sympathy, until, when the world is redeemed from its bondage, a common love shall burn in every heart.

Old systems of error are crumbling—and in this fact we may see indications of the permanence of the success of modern missions. The time was, when those systems which have most widely prevailed were vigorous and aggressive. They sent forth their apostles, they entered upon the career of conquest, they converted nations to their faith. Brahmanism once had the vitality and energy necessary for its wide increase and prevalence. Buddhism was once marked by eminent growth and extension. Its missionaries once went from land to land, over the mountain-ranges of the Himalaya, and beyond the waters of the Indus, in the zeal of an awakened propagandism. Mohammedanism, relying upon carnal weapons, the fire and the sword, once forced itself upon the nations of western Asia, and became the religion of many wild and powerful people. But the days of conquest and extension for these various systems are past. Although they are still powerful, they are waning. They have become effete, and are now in their dotage. Silently and surely they are giving way before the power of truth, and the agency of divine Providence. Their deluded subjects are losing their faith in these false systems and their reverence for them. The lower forms of heathenism seem to be only awaiting a vigorous assault, before they shall fall and pass away. Among the more intelligent of the idolatrous nations, there is a wide impression that the era of a better faith is at hand. Traditions have been handed down, and are now repeated and believed, which tell of the coming of another and a purer system, which shall supplant that which they have cherished for ages. Light is beaming around the Mos-

lem mind, and the turbaned nations of the East begin to feel the influence of a religion better than that of the Prophet whom they adore. We have seen the extraordinary spectacle of a people anticipating the presence of the missionaries by casting their idols to the moles and to the bats. Thus through the earth, there is a weakening of the powers of darkness and a dissolution of their accursed sway.

Christianity remains aggressive. The crumbling of other systems is only the era of its more vigorous exertions. Close in the track of its retreating foes, it presses hard after, to gain what they have lost. Onward, over the wreck and ruin of Satan's empire, it urges its way to the conquest of the world. Nothing less has ever been its aim: nothing less will satisfy its adherents. Every error must be supplanted by the living and life-giving Truth. For this have its Apostles toiled: for this have its Martyrs died: for this has the contest been hotly and unceasingly waged, as ages have rolled slowly away. Its heralds are now more widely scattered than ever before. Its conquering hosts are abroad on every battle-plain. They are piercing the old realms of night, and surrounding the strong fortresses of sin with their heavy batteries. *The World*—THE WORLD—is their battle-cry—and it rings from land to land as, through watching and toiling, victory follows victory.

The revival of religion among the ancient Oriental churches, has an important bearing in this connection. While among the heathen there is an abandonment of their ancient superstitions and delusions, among the nominal but apostate Christians of the East, there is a return to their ancient doctrine and worship. Although those churches long ago departed from the faith which was once delivered to the saints, yet God has blessed the labors which have been recently employed for their conversion, and to some extent they are returning to a life of vital godliness. Among the Armenian, Nestorian, and Syrian churches, there have been enjoyed powerful revivals of religion, characterized by the same wonderful effects which mark similar works among ourselves. The spirit of genuine religious inquiry seems to prevail to a considerable degree among the people, while in many cases, the ecclesiastics themselves have hopefully become the subjects of saving grace. The work, wonderful as it has already been, appears to have only just commenced. The principles of godliness are taking root broadly and deeply among those interesting people. Investigation of the principles of the gospel is increasing: spiritual anxiety is taking the place of spiritual lethargy: the quiet of the old formalism is broken up: youth in multitudes are growing up under religious training and all the

sacred influences of the gospel; and the agencies which are adapted to the conversion and sanctification of men, are there diligently employed and brought to bear upon the multitude with cheering success. We may anticipate with hope the regeneration of those ancient churches. Causes like those which led to their decline will not be likely to prevail again, while true and active piety will be nurtured by sympathy from abroad, and by their labors at home. The time may not be distant when Nestorian missionaries shall press out into the track of their ancestors, bearing the gospel from the waters of the Caspian, to the seas of China. The Protestant Armenian church, occupying its novel and momentous position in the heart of Turkey, has too great a work before it to retrograde. As that people, "the Anglo-Saxons of the East," shall be brought more and more under the control of the pure gospel, we may expect that God will employ them in the enlargement of his kingdom. Through all the channels of their extensive trade and commerce, wherever over the Eastern hemisphere their enterprising merchants are found, they may become the heralds of salvation to the nations.

This revival, at this juncture, is auspicious of good things. Among the wonderful providences of God, we hail it as an omen of the prevalence and the permanence of his kingdom.

Prophecy is approaching its fulfillment—and in that we may read the certainty of the permanent success of modern missions. Through the dimness of ages the ancient Seers beheld the radiance of a glorious Day. The voices of Prophets declared the coming of a time, when holiness and happiness shall prevail upon earth. In anticipation of it the Psalmist's harp was tuned to exalted numbers. For its coming, holy men have labored and prayed; while to that day, the eye of faith, through the entire history of the Church, has been directed.

The range of prophecy extends from the early periods of the world to its closing scene. In Paradise, it whispered words of hope to the saddened hearts of the fallen pair. It told of the Flood: and the Deluge came. It told of the Egyptian bondage: and under the Pharaohs, the children of Israel were rigorously oppressed. It told of the promised land: and in process of time the Hebrews settled upon its productive plains. It announced the Captivity and the Dispersion: and those events came with the certainty of doom. It announced the coming of the Messiah: and at the appointed time the world's great Deliverer appeared. Prophecy has foretold the rise and fall of empires, the series of events in the history of the Church, and the delightful issue of the labors of the people of God. For age

after age, fulfillment has followed fulfillment, until now we are rapidly approaching the end. The prophecies seem to be centering at some point but a little before us. To that point too the providences of God seem to be rapidly bearing us. The convulsions and changes of our day, the onward movements of the nations, the overthrow of old dominions and powers of darkness, and the triumphs of the gospel, are all preparing the way of the Lord, and hastening the arrival of the world's great Jubilee. Sure as any other predictions, are those which announce the triumphs of the Redeemer's kingdom. The day shall come when "all the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship" before him. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow unto it." "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." "The seventh angel shall sound: and great voices shall be heard in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever."

If these glorious prophecies are to be fulfilled, and if the day draweth nigh when they shall be, then are the missions of our times the appointed agencies for bringing about the grand result. Who can doubt it? They are the centers of light and holy influence, from which light is to spread abroad until it shall mingle with light, from which holy influences are to go forth until they shall meet with kindred influences, and the redeemed world be brought under the dominion and love of Christ. The missionaries from the north, west, and south of Africa shall meet exultingly at length at its center, and Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God. From the Nestorian hills, from India's plains, from the guarded shores of China, the armies of Emanuel shall sweep before them the powers of darkness, until their victorious banners shall wave together in the heart of Asia. The Island Missions shall by and by lift up their voice of triumph, declaring that the abundance of the sea is converted to God. All abroad over the world, wherever the servants of Christ have labored, shall be heard the sublime announcement—The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ.

The prospect and the promise of success, of permanent success, in the work of missions, while it should encourage and stimulate, should also awaken and bind Christians to their individual duty and responsibility. In former ages there has been sad decline, and the work of the world's conversion has retrograded. But under the overruling providence of Him who orders all things with infinite wisdom, that may have been only the necessary means for the wider and more glorious propagation and success of the gospel. Those events which have been witnessed in the past, may have been the preparatory acts for the final and crowning act which is soon to happen.

In our day the foundations for a new order of things have been prayerfully and diligently laid. And now, noiselessly as the Temple at Jerusalem, in whose erection no hammer's sound was heard, is the structure uprising. Said the poet-statesman of Greece to our missionaries at Athens, "Ye are rearing a monument that shall outlast yon Parthenon." For this, many are laboring, in every land, under every sky, in self-denial and much anguish, with their eye on heaven, and their hopes and desires all centered in that bright world. For this great result, the evangelization of the world, all things are becoming tributary. For this, prayer is ascending and the sympathies of the Church are enlisted. For this, the resources and powers of nature are employed. For this, God is superintending and guiding all things, so that the nations seem to be moved by some mighty super-human agency. We live in a time of wonders. A new world, as it were, has sprung into being. The landmarks of the Past have been swept away, and are now found only in the dusty chronicles of the historian. Many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increasing. New impulses, new ideas, new purposes, new organizations, are coming into existence, and men seem to live in a different atmosphere, and to partake of a different spirit, from those of their fathers. The Spirit of God is energizing among men, and the angel having the everlasting gospel to preach, is flying in the midst of heaven.

This is the time for prayer, for faith, for untiring effort. We should move in harmony with the providences of God. We should act as becometh wise men. The burden of the world is now upon us. It is no time for skepticism; no time for loitering; no time for half-hearted Christianity. All things conspire to urge us onward—onward with zeal for our Lord. Our money should be poured into the Lord's treasury. Our time should be devoted to the Lord's work. We should be his, in our bodies and our spirits, which are his. Well shall it be for the Church, if her members understand and fulfill their trust. Then shall her sun

no more go down, nor her moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be her everlasting light, and the days of her mourning shall be ended.

ART. V.—HEALTH AND DISEASE.

The Use of the Body in relation to the Mind. By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. 1848.

Health, Disease and Remedy, familiarly and practically considered. By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. 1850.

Dr. Howe's Reports upon the Training and Teaching of Idiots. 1847 and 8, and 1850.

Treatise on Insanity. By PRICHARD. London. 1835.

Constitution of Man. By GEORGE COMBE. Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon. 1833.

THOSE who are in the habit of saying the Lord's prayer are quite certain that the common is not necessarily commonplace; such persons will surely excuse things in this present writing which may seem to them old and stale, provided they are true; because their hope and ours rests upon that which is or is to be common and patent to all mankind. The views which it is proposed to reassert with regard to the body, some of its uses and abuses, cannot claim the merit of novelty, but they may nevertheless be true, and of course of service to every one living. It may safely be assumed that to the rising and reading generation, many facts and views respecting the physical life will be new, which are, to those who have passed the culminating point in our journey here, as familiar as household words; to each generation therefore, old truths must be presented with such new light as advancing time more and more supplies. In this age of bustle particularly, when mind is at work upon matter with its sleepless energy, and "the mind" is everywhere talked about and written about, till one's own is lost in a metaphysical mælestrom, it becomes us to assert with what voice we have, the DIGNITY of the BODY; to say that there are laws too respecting it, which cannot be transgressed with impunity: and further to affirm in the most serious manner that so far as this world and its duties are in question, a perfectly sane mind is impossible with-

out a sane body, and that just in so far as we wrong our bodies, so far we unfit our minds for full and healthy exercise, and it may be sow the seeds of sorrow and suffering for those who shall follow us.

When we read of the Moor, who, enjoying the sunshine in the street of Seville, refuses to move his legs from the wheel track, because if it is "God's will" that his legs should be broken he is willing to bear it patiently, we are apt to smile at or to pity his fatalistic belief. But let us look at home, and how is the fact presented? The student enjoys his dinner and *eats*—but he sits in his chair and *works* not;—when dyspepsia comes, and in its train the hordes of thieves and vagabonds who rob him of peace and rest, stripping the mind down to its very nerves, does he not say, "How am I afflicted! Oh God, I pray for help"? He forgets that God's help is toward those who keep themselves by searching to know his will—his law—and to do it. Who among us has not heard from time to time when some man has fallen in his prime, or some woman has been reaped in the fullness of her womanhood, "How mysterious are the ways of God!" Yet it may be worth while for every person to ask himself or herself seriously what this means—whether this may not be fatalism more disastrous than that of Islam. For surely the abridgment of life has not been arbitrary in these cases; it is only an ordinary result of the operation of natural laws. Every physician knows, and every reflecting man knows or may know, that a person who is born healthy, and has been left to grow up healthfully; who controls his appetites, and inquires honestly and continually of his own nature and constitution, listening to the warnings and *heeding* them, may enjoy almost uninterrupted good health. If it be true, then, that HEALTH is the law, and DISEASE the consequence of the violation of law, it is a matter of the first importance for every man and woman to know it. And will any one seriously question this, that a healthy child, well brought up, by good (not great) attention to exercise (work), diet, cleanliness, and cheerfulness, will avoid nearly all (*nearly*, because at the present, *perfect* life is not attainable) the diseases now so common, and all except those which come from malaria and contagion,—perhaps even these? Will any seriously deny that a little careful observation, begun with manhood, of himself and those about him, will enable a man to learn what are the great fundamental laws upon which sanity rests? which he cannot disobey without paying the penalty to the utmost farthing? These natural laws are universal and as rigid as iron, effect following upon cause as surely as the cause is:—"If you prick us, says the seer, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh! if you poi-

son us, do we not die?" Jew and Christian alike!—The headache follows the debauch, indigestion is the shadow of indolence, nausea warns us from tobacco, the blister tells us that fire burns—there is no escape from these things! Everywhere, and always, the angel of God stands with a drawn sword to turn us back, and how is the man equal to the ass if he heed him not!—Many will believe upon testimony what their own sense will not teach; listen then to the witness.

"There is no example of men in any country enjoying the mild and generous internal joys, and the outward esteem and love that attend obedience to the moral law while they give themselves up to the dominion of brutal propensities. There is no example in any latitude or longitude, or in any age, of men who entered life with a constitution in perfect harmony with the organic laws, and who continued to obey these laws throughout, being in consequence of this obedience visited with pains and disease; and there are no instances of men who were born with constitutions at variance with the organic laws, and who lived in habitual disobedience to them, enjoying that sound health, and vigor of body, that are the rewards of obedience."—*Const. of Man*, p. 25.

It is true that multitudes live on from day to day, many in ignorance of, many in direct opposition to, the known requirements of a sane body, without experiencing any remarkable punishment; and if their ails and aches are charged upon their self-indulgence or self-neglect, nearly all are ready to slip from under the weight, thankful they are not so bad as this or that other one. Some know that a good constitution may distribute these penalties (of sickness) over a long life:—see the hypocondriacs and invalids—but they also know that nature may bear up against ill usage till it can bear no longer, and the crisis, always unexpected, comes; the glass of life is broken, its sands scattered, and then the shortness and uncertainty of this life are brought home to men, too often without the lesson which they should teach.—Let us ask here why it is that animals, guided by instinct, always reject what is noxious, always resort to exercise in proportion as they eat, while the contrary so commonly prevails among men? Perhaps we may find an answer in Kidd's *Bridgewater Treatise* (p. 20). "Probably, however, it would be nearer the truth, were we to say that man if divested of his intellectual powers, and endued merely with his animal nature, would be inferior to the brutes; for possessing, as is the case, very few of the prospective or preservative instincts, he would be unable, without the aid of his intellectual powers, to provide for some of his most important wants."

Constituted as man is of body and soul, the animal and the spiritual, the human and the divine, the purpose of his life here seems to be to overcome the lower by the higher, to control and subdue all fleshly lusts, which war against the high, the true element of

his nature, and thus to bring himself into harmony with the divine law, and work out in himself the problem of humanity. Just so far as a man does this, does he fulfill the purposes of his existence, and just so far as he neglects to do this, does he sink in the scale of being, and approach, till in some cases we may fear he reaches, that worse than animal existence, spoken of in the extract. Having these nobler faculties of observation and reflection—of Reason—we are called upon daily and hourly to use them; to find out the qualities and relations of things by their exercise; to inquire of our own souls, of nature, and of history and revelation, what are these laws by which we are to regulate ourselves, body as well as soul, the temporal as well as the spiritual?—to find exquisite gratification in their discovery, and health and holiness in obedience to them, or, else, to pay the penalty of our ignorance or wickedness.

And let it not be supposed that a man need be wise in the craft of the leech, or mysterious in the virtues of pills, but every one should be and must be willing to learn, and honest to apply such knowledge. If indulgence brings disease, he will try to show his manhood—not in smoking, not in drinking—but by cleansing some mental or moral waste, rather than by fouling the home of his own soul: if he finds that stuffing and gormandizing produce repletion and discomfort, he will learn the folly of digging his grave with his teeth. If he finds that excessive bodily toil, resulting in exhaustion and lethargy to soul and intellect, is necessary to secure the prizes of this world—luxuries and gold—he will turn his face from these.

With sensual temptations on every hand, the young person (man and woman) will be fain to learn from individual experience wherein the secret of the fascination lies; and the difference between the wise one and the fool lies mainly in this: that the one having tasted of the Sodom fruit ever afterward refuses it: while the other fiercely feeds and is not satisfied. The one finds, from one experiment or more, that the words of the wise are true, and himself learns wisdom; while the other will try each vice and each indulgence, and life wears itself away whilst his folly does not abate.

But besides the duties the individual owes himself, there are still more important duties which he owes to others. And we think the time has come to speak again of the duties of parents to their children, for fearful does their responsibility become if these be overlooked or abused. That affection stronger than death is—for what? Certainly, not to be shown in pampering, in weak and foolish indulgence, not to be made a jackall to feed their own vanity, too often to the injury of the body and soul

of the child ; but that they may be led by it to guard the innocent and helpless young being against the breath, the suspicion of harm : let parents remember that, humanly speaking, the body is from them, though the spirit is from God, and then ask themselves what are their duties as to that beautiful home which is to be furnished from above ? How has the parental heart been wrung with anguish at the misfortunes of a deformed, a weakly, an imbecile or idiotic child ? Let those who have known, answer, and let those who have not, watch and pray that they may be spared. Cases unquestionably occur of persons who marry and become the parents of such children, who might have known that in all probability it would be so ; but let us hope that it is in ignorance, and not from any willful indulgence of affection or appetite. The importance of the subject presses upon us now, when we see the habits of city life, radiating by every railway into the country, and sentiment and muslin usurping the domain of health and sense ; so that young women are becoming politely pale, and a healthy woman would be a prize for the showman. Effete and diseased nations were once recuperated by the hordes of wild health which came out from that birth-place of life, the Caucasus and India ; but where shall we look for strength, if what we now have, is wantonly or ignorantly lost ? We must learn and we must obey. Let us introduce our readers to the pages of Dr. Moore (*Health, Disease and Remedy*, p. 193) :—
“The excessively refined are nearly on a par with the most depraved and ill-conditioned in respect to the propagation of deformity and disease. Insanity, rickets, scrofula, gout and consumption are apt to be hereditary ; but an unhappy pair whose habits of body and mind are not those of obedience to order, and to Heaven, may yet, though untainted by these maladies, be the means of introducing these and other disorders of conformation and of temper among their offspring. And on the contrary, it is possible for persons predisposed to such diseases, so completely to improve the whole economy of their bodies by proper attention to their habits, and by training themselves in the right use of diet, air and exercise, and by the practice of all that is understood by temperance and virtue, that their children shall be entirely free from inherited diseases.” Again, “During a prolonged period mother and child form together but one living system, and whatever injures the mother’s constitution also involves that of her progeny in the mischief, not only while they are in the fullest sense vitally united, but also when the infant is to absorb the breath of life itself.” But to enforce this view, let us turn to p. 16 of Dr. Howe’s report, for 1850, to the Massachusetts Legislature, as to Idiocy, its causes, &c., &c. :—

"The subject of the transmission of diseased tendency is of vast importance, but it is a difficult one to treat, because a squeamish delicacy makes people avoid it; but if ever the race is to be relieved of a tithe of the bodily ills which flesh is now heir to, it must be by a clear understanding of, and a willing obedience to, the law which makes the parents the blessing or the curse of the children; the givers of strength and vigor and beauty, or the dispensers of debility and disease and deformity. It is by the lever of enlightened parental love, more than by any other power, that mankind is to be raised to the highest attainable point of bodily perfection."

Some of the causes of idiocy are set forth in the report, of which we shall quote but two; the first is the low condition of the *physical organization* of one or both parents: induced often by intemperance; the second is the *intermarriage of relatives*. "It will be seen by the tables that by far the greater part of idiots are the children of parents, one or both of whom were of scrofulous temperament, and poor, flabby organization." "Then it should be considered, that idiocy is only *one* form in which nature manifests that she has been offended by such intermarriages (those of relatives). It is probable that blindness, deafness, imbecility, and other infirmities, are more likely to be the lot of the children of parents related by blood than others."—p. 19. "It seems probable that any causes which tend to produce enervation and debility in parents will have an effect upon their offspring. It is a general opinion that marriages between persons of near kin have such an effect, and that the mental faculties display it even more than the physical."—*Prichard on Insanity*.

There can be no question that if these views be correct, every man and woman in the community should feel an interest to know their duty, and make the necessary exertions to conform their lives to such a rule, as will secure health and bodily well-being both to themselves and to their children.

Another view of this subject calls for notice. If it be true that physical imperfection, showing itself in malformations, debility, idiocy, and the like, is the result of a neglect on the part of parents of natural laws which are founded upon control of the appetites, upon activity, cleanliness, and cheerfulness, it follows that the converse of this must be true:—therefore we conclude that the more intelligently and faithfully we live according to the laws upon which health is sure to rest, the more certainly we secure to our children, not only freedom from these painful and excessive physical defects, but the possession of bodies, complete in their organization, and constantly approximating to the

perfection of beauty, which, as Dr. Prichard so truly says, is synonymous with perfect health. The moral results often connected with physical beauty, arising from those who possess it being such marked exceptions, that conceit and vanity in a greater or less degree are engendered, certainly are not intrinsic, and would vanish as the race retrieved its original and natural condition, insuring bodily perfection to all its members; while its enjoyments, springing from a consciousness of powers in harmony with law, would render existence a pleasure and a blessing, and go far towards securing intellectual and spiritual health. The body would thus be one, complete and full, and not as we now feel it to be, from our pains in too many cases, a bundle of parts and organs which seem at times made to trouble us. In such a state of physical health (utopian as some may suggest), no man or woman would know that he or she had a liver, or a spleen, or a lung (of whose existence thousands are now miserably conscious), and we should know not of parts of the system, except in reflecting upon the wonderful delicacy and nobleness of the whole.

It will be well in this connection to say something of the early and untimely death of children, mown down as they now are like the tender grass. "In London a third of the whole population are cut off in early childhood; and throughout Europe about a quarter of the children born are destroyed by *mismanagement* within one year after their birth, and the registrar-general, in his ninth report, states that in seven years, out of 23,523 children born in Manchester, 20,726 died within that period. In a parish in Scotland, according to M'Lean's account of his visit to St. Kilda in 1838, eight out of every ten children die between the eighth and twelfth day of their existence. There is every evidence that this terrible mortality arose from heaps of manure and pools of noisomeness which characterized the village at that period, as about the most offensive in that country."—*Health, Disease, &c.*, p. 202. Dr. Ticknor gives in his work (*Philosophy of Living*) the number of deaths in New York as reported by the Board of Health for the five years from 1829 to 1834, at 14,247 adults, and 17,575 children.—Let us ask, is this enormous mortality of children necessary—is it intended by Providence to punish us for our sins—to remind us of our own mortality? Such it is feared is too common a notion;—and such fatal beliefs stand in the way of inquiry and improvement.—Let us attend to the following, because one fact is often worth a thousand theories:—"With regard to the dieting and exercise of young children, there is much instruction to be gained from Dr. Alcott's treatise on vegetable diet. He states that in the Orphan Asylum of Albany from

1829 to 1836 there was an average number of eighty children, and the deaths amounted to one every month, but a *better management* being adopted, not a single case of sickness took place for two years, and the superintendent stated that there had been a remarkable increase in activity among the children and also a change for the better in their temper. 'They became less turbulent, irritable, peevish and discontented, and far more manageable, peaceable, gentle, and kind to each other.'—All these benefits followed a little reasonable attention to their physical requirements.'—*Health, Disease, Remedy, &c.*, p. 204.—No one will be disposed to say that all who were destined to death, died before the 'superior management' was adopted; or to deny that a course which so decidedly prevented disease and death among children, *after* they became orphans, would have been equally effective before it—even from the time of birth, supposing them to have been born healthy—if their parents could and would have observed the needful conditions.

The evil influences of city life, city air and habits upon health, have been over and over again pointed out:—yet so long as the getting of money is the greatest good, the one thing needful, so long we may expect that young men will crowd the city streets; and that they will not often discover their error in time to remedy it so far as they are individually concerned. The only hope is that some may become enlightened, and that affection for their children, stronger than death, may influence them against their own habits and practices. It is almost a hopeless thing to attempt, by persuasion or denunciation, to prevail upon a man or woman to forego indulgence or habit: and we can only address their consciences through their children, and the love they bear them. The well fortified man or woman may resist the evils for a long time, and with care may reach a long life, but who can estimate the effects upon the sensitive and susceptible bodies of children. Let the crowds of them who (deprived of that free range and free air which the country alone affords) grow up in the cities—weak, lank, colorless, bear witness!—let the mortality in the city of London speak!—When such pictures as this exist, and are not only written about but are not questioned, it becomes every man and woman who have regard for their offspring to ask themselves serious questions:—nor can any shake off the responsibility, by saying that they live in Boston or New York, and not in London:—

"He stopped at the end of a miserable blind alley, where a dirty gas lamp just served to make darkness visible, and show the patched windows, and rickety doorways of the crazy houses whose upper stories were lost in a brooding cloud of fog—the pools of stagnant water at our feet; and the huge heap of cinders

which filled up the waste end of the alley :—a dreary black formless mound on which two or three spectral dogs prowled up and down after the offal," &c. Through this alley he found the room. "And what a room! A low lean-to, with wooden walls, without a single article of furniture; and through the broad chinks of the floor shone up as it were ugly glaring eyes—staring at us; they were the reflections of the rush light in the sewer below. The stench was frightful—the air heavy with pestilence. The first breath I drew made my heart sink and my stomach turn. But I forgot everything in the objects which lay before me," &c.—*Alton Locke*, pp. 315, 316.

The children in cities, cut off from the usual free amusements of country life, are of course sent more early to school,—though the words we have to say upon education apply to some extent everywhere;—and as a matter of course the physical inability (for it can be called by no milder name) is increased.—Many, perhaps most children are sent early to school to get them out of the way, and in such cases, they gain at the generality of schools only a distaste for books, and idle and shiftless ways of study. But in some cases early mental cramming is systematically and perseveringly applied, and this too most vigorously upon the very subjects who should escape; as the following, which will strike most minds as true, bears witness :—

"But in all cases the course to be pursued is directly opposed to that which is usually adopted. If a child shows at an early age a great propensity for study, instead of animating and encouraging him to proceed in this course, as most teachers do, it is necessary to moderate his zeal, for precocity of mind is nearly always a *disease*, or shows an unnatural propensity, which it is most prudent to correct. A child of more dull intellect, whose thoughts are slow, may on the contrary apply to study at an earlier period in life, for in him this exercise is necessary for the proper development of the mental faculties."—*Hufeland*—quoted by *Dr. Brigham*.

The importance of the full and free physical development of children cannot be too strongly insisted upon, and will be to most minds conclusively proved by the following instance taken from *Dr. Howe's report*: he premises—"Whatever system is adopted for the instruction of Idiots, the foundation of it" [and of every other] "must be laid in physical education, that is, thorough bodily training." "The first thing then was to invigorate their bodies and to give them more complete command over all the muscles. This has been done by diet, by bathing, by walking and running in the open air, and by various gymnastic exercises, &c." The effect of this education upon *Sylvanus Waeller*, a child of six years old, was this.—When taken in hand, "He had no power of locomotion whatever." "In respect to intellect, he was an idiot." "The change and improvement caused in this boy's condition by one year's training has been most gratifying. He has been bathed daily in cold water; his limbs have been

rubbed; he has been dragged about in the open air in a little wagon by the other boys; his muscles have been exercised; he has been made to grasp with his hands, and gradually to raise himself up by them. He was held up and made to bear a little of his weight upon his lower limbs—then a little more, until at last to his great delight he was able to go about alone, by holding on the wall, or to one's fingers, even to go up stairs by clinging to the balusters. He can go around a large table by merely resting one hand on the edge of it. The like improvement has taken place in his habits; he is observant of decency; he calls when he wants any assistance; he can sit at the table, and chew his food, and even feed himself pretty well. His cheeks begin to glow with color; his eye is much brighter; he gives attention to what is passing around him; and his whole countenance is more expressive of thought. His improvement in language is equally great; he has learned many words and can construct simple sentences."

Enough has been given to show what proper physical education can do—and what must follow if it be neglected!—It would not be wise to say one word against mental training—nor to exaggerate the importance of that of the body so that children should grow up rude, boorish, and ignorant; but it becomes each one to ask the question—"Is it education only to develop the mind, without also developing the body?"

We have dwelt, perhaps, to a disproportionate length upon the preceding topics, although the right bringing up and education of children are the surest guarantees of a healthy community. But there are some other topics which we wish to discuss, although we do not purpose any formal essay on the subjects. We will then look at a form of misery greater, perhaps, than any other: we mean, *Insanity*.

There is a suspicion, amounting almost to certainty, that it is, and has been increasing, faster than the increase of population. A shrewd observer (perhaps not so shrewd a generalizer) mentioned to the writer, that on revisiting New England, after some years' absence, he was struck with a certain pride and satisfaction shown by the inhabitants, in pointing out their Lunatic Asylums, Insane Retreats, &c.; and he was strengthened in an opinion that the kind of civilization (as it is called) which goes on there, is worse than the quietism of Roman Catholic and despotic countries—which in another point of view is believed to be only mental and spiritual palsy. The Roman Catholics assume and the Protestants deny, that their religious system, by allowing of no questions, has an influence opposed to every form of *Insanity*. It is an open question, and in all probability can be set-

tled only by saying that the religious madness of the first would grow out of superstition, and of the last out of doubt and disbelief. It will be interesting rather than conclusive to state, that the tables prepared by Jacobi as to the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, show nearly one lunatic to each thousand of inhabitants; and eleven in the Catholic portions to ten in the Protestant.—*Prichard*, p. 197.

Whether insanity begins in a diseased action of the mind or body has been and must be a question, but that in any event a diseased body and brain is a certain result, we may conclude; as Dr. Rush states, "there are but two instances on record of the brain having been found free from morbid appearances in persons who have died of madness;" also, "there are no instances of primary affections of the mind, such as grief, anger, love, or despair, producing madness until they had induced some obvious changes in the *body*, such as wakefulness, a full or frequent pulse, costiveness, a dry skin, and other symptoms of bodily indisposition."

Prichard enumerates, of particular moral causes of insanity, the following:—Care and anxiety—uncontrolled passions and emotions—apprehensions relating to a future state, or religious apprehensions. Of physical causes, in addition to hereditary predisposition, injuries of the head—insolations and exposure to heat—metastasis—intoxicating liquors and other stimulants—sensuality—intestinal irritation—causes depending upon the uterine system.

Mr. Prichard sums up a short examination of the various and contradictory opinions with regard to the causes of insanity thus: "It would appear from the great proportion of cases in which disease of the thoracic, or *abdominal viscera* are discovered in the bodies of lunatics, that cases of the description last mentioned are much more important by their frequency than is commonly imagined. Pinel seems to have referred nearly all cases of insanity to this class, and Jacobi, though he has stated his opinion in very different terms from those of Pinel, may be considered as an advocate for a similar doctrine."—p. 248.

"Of the 14,000 insane, calculated to exist in England," or of the 12,547 ascertained, not fewer than 11,000 are paupers maintained principally at the expense of parishes."—*Prichard*.

Nearly all of this pauper class we may fairly conclude to be the result of congenital organization, arising from violations of natural laws on the part of parents, or of the physical causes enumerated above by Prichard.

"For example we observe that, among the physical agents which give rise to madness, there is none more influential than

intemperance and the habitual use of ardent spirits."—*Prichard on Insanity*, p. 157.

But let us turn our attention to what is about us. Dr. Brigham enumerates the following as among the great causes of the prevalence and *increase* of insanity with us :—

1. The constant and powerful excitement of the mind, which the strife for wealth, office, political distinction, and party success stimulates in this free country.

2. The predominance given to the nervous system by the too early cultivation of the mind, and excitement of the feelings.

3. The neglect of physical education, or the equal and proper development of all the organs of the body.

4. The general and powerful excitement of the female mind.

A fifth cause enumerated by Prichard, may be mentioned—Religious apprehensions.

That all these causes do act directly or indirectly on the body, bringing upon us not only insanity, but as has been before asserted, a great variety of physical ills, it is believed that none will question, whether they set themselves seriously to checking or removing them or not. But if it should appear that these evils are increasing among us, especially those of insanity and idiocy, what then?

By the results of recent investigations made in Massachusetts (1846 and 1848), it appears that there are not less than 1512 insane and 1200 idiots, making 2712 unfortunates who had, or whose parents had, departed widely from the organic laws. This shows three to each thousand inhabitants; a great increase upon the ratio calculated to exist in England and Europe, which is but one to each thousand.

It is an instructive fact, and one easily explainable, that cases of insanity are exceedingly rare among the Friends.

It appears from a report of the Lunatic Asylum, near York, belonging to that Society, that, "but three cases, out of one hundred and forty-nine, can with any probability be ascribed to anxieties connected with religious impressions." Equally remarkable it is that in the lists of causes, pride, ambition, jealousy, rage, debauchery, as well as extreme penury and care produced by hardships and want of the necessities of life, causes so fruitful of madness in other establishments, are not even mentioned."—*Prichard*, p. 198.

Mr. Fodere in his treatise on insanity has endeavored to estimate the moral and physical effect of different habits and modes of employment. "He concludes that the classes of society which furnish the greatest number of inmates to the Lunatic

Asylums in France are those of traders, merchants and military men."—*Prichard*, p. 184—men in whom the passions for wealth and fame may be supposed to burn most fiercely. The two first classes among us engross a large amount of our vigorous and enterprising men, though it is hardly safe to say they are the soundest. They of course tend to the large towns, where, according to a calculation made from the records of the Boston Custom House and Probate Office, some "ninety-three per cent. either fail or die poor!" But until they do fail or so die, the sum total of their sanity it is easy to estimate. Feverish days and feverish nights, failure and disgrace always at their heels, no time for anything but business, children neglected, wives wearied, homes homeless, changed from year to year, dinners taken at a slop-shop, evenings spent in stupidity or factitious excitement, all, so that by and by, a country seat may reward them;—or a palace—or an opera box;—anything, even a big diamond, may do it!

We pass, though somewhat abruptly, to another branch of our subject. And in approaching a delicate and difficult subject, one necessarily feels some misgiving as to how he shall conduct himself; and perhaps there is a slight nervous dread, resembling that which sometimes leads a man to rush headlong over a precipice. Such is in some degree the present state of the mind of the writer, being about to say some reasonable things respecting women. Having put on the gloves for them, will it be more than fair to ask from them perfect agreement with every word that shall be said—thus putting their maligners to confusion, and cheering the heart of the champion? "A moderate share of health is a rare thing among women of the leisurely classes of society: and however their natural excellence of disposition, and the peculiar amiability of the sex may tend to preserve them from the charge of ill-temper, still it is certain that the larger number of them would have been far more nearly perfect in moral and mental dignity, if the unjustifiable restraints of schools, stays, and inactivity had not curtailed them of their fair proportions, and by disturbing the developing processes of bodily life, interrupted the growth of the soul into the fullness of its beauty, and left it—a task almost beyond the power of the discommoded mind, because disordered sensations so habitually distort and confuse the ideas—to regulate the will by the dictates of knowledge and wisdom."—*The Body and the Mind*, p. 320. But whatever sweeping charges may be made against them, will it not be worth while in the first place to ask, if they are not more sinned against than sinning? Yet it is certain that they must take the first steps, because upon them mainly rests

the education and training of their daughters who are to follow them—either with bodies and minds invigorated or attenuated, as has been heretofore shown. By a law of nature, it is certain, that the faculties of both body and mind must be exercised in the proper degrees to insure health to either. Do women exercise either in a proper degree? or do they, especially those of cities, approximate toward it? They are shut out from nearly all the occupations of life; nor is it possible to engage in those open to them, and yet sustain a rank in ‘good society,’ to say nothing of what is termed ‘fashionable:’—but they have energies of body and mind which require *work*. Many marry, and find, so far as household and nursery duties go, a safe and honorable field. But until they do, and unless they do, and in many cases after they do, their time is upon their hands; and they too often suffer from this *accumulation and excess of nervous energy*, and are driven by it to dress, to dissipation, and—must it be said?—to irritability and unhappiness of the most unmanageable kind. Now that the blame rests greatly upon the men, it is not necessary here to deny—and few hopeful minds will put a straw in the way of their assertion of rights, and claim to privileges which they must have and ought to have, if they are true and worthy: yet here and now, it is wished that they might turn their attention to some things which *they* can do.

An object is needed, a purpose in life, something upon which a healthy activity can be exerted: the reading of novels, even of poetry, will not supply them; but suppose it be a pursuit, such as gardening, or botany, or mineralogy, or entomology, or any branch of natural science, or history. How will everything tend to a point?—what strong inducements then lead them into the hills and fields? It will not be rash to guarantee a perfect cure of ‘nervousness’ in every such case. Let the mothers, who are *necessarily* placed in the cities, look about them for this kind of out-of-door occupation and education for their children; and those who can may spend their money more wisely, by owning a house and an acre of ground in the country where they can pass the summers, than by creating sensations at either Newport or Saratoga. “If we would,” says Dr. Moore, “preserve our nerves in a state to favor mental exercise, we must insure an access to pure air. It is not enough to be guided by our senses in this matter; for unless we are supplied with fresh air, at the rate of twenty cubic inches for every breath while tranquil, and twenty-five while in action, we shall be in danger. Think then of the perils of the crowded routs about town.” But fashion and habit are powerful, and humanity and good sense call imperatively upon those whose position and powers of mind are

superior, to take the lead in this matter, for to them do their weaker sisters look.

Another large class of bodily illa, with their attendant mental and moral ones, grow out of the overtasks of mechanics, clerks, sewing women, &c., who are confined within doors ten, twelve, or more hours of the six days of the week, and are not expected to indulge in out-of-door exercise on the seventh. It was hoped and expected that the introduction of machinery whereby so much hand labor is saved, would have shortened the hours of daily toil, but such does not appear to be the case in England, and things tend in the same direction with us. Why is this? Must luxury keep pace with improvement, and must there always be so large a class who do not and cannot get above exhausting toil? There are those who will smile at any one who is so quixotic as to answer, No, and the smile of such may therefore be spent on Mr. Combe.

"The laboring population of Britain is taxed with exertion ten, twelve, and sometimes fourteen hours a day, exhausting their muscular, and nervous energy, so as utterly to incapacitate them, and leaving besides, no leisure for moral and intellectual pursuits. The consequence of this is that all markets are overstocked with produce; prices fall ruinously low; the operatives are then thrown idle, and left in destitution of the necessaries of life, until the surplus production of their former excessive labors, and perhaps something more, are consumed; after this takes place, prices rise too high in consequence of the supply falling rather below the demand: the laborers resume their toil on their former system of excessive exertion; they again overstock the market, and again are thrown idle, and suffer dreadful misery."—p. 226.

"Here then the Creator's laws show themselves paramount, even when men set themselves systematically to infringe them. He intended the human race, under the moral law, not to pursue acquisitiveness excessively, but to labor only a certain and a moderate portion of their lives: and although they do their utmost to defeat this intention they cannot succeed; they are constrained to remain idle as many days and hours, while their surplus is consuming, as would have served for the exercise of their moral and intellectual faculties, and the preservation of their health, if they had dedicated them regularly to these ends from day to day, as time passed over their heads."—*Const. of Man*, p. 228.

The law of competition does not then seem to have worked well in England—and were it not dangerous to the Union! we might suggest that there *is* a Higher law. What is it?

We have so far protracted our remarks that there are several topics—such as the law of action and re-action, diet, ventilation, and the like—we shall be obliged to omit. But as we have spoken of the possibility of attaining to perfect health, by following the laws of nature, it seems necessary to make some remarks upon medicine, its use and its abuse. The common impression is that medicine can *cure* diseases, that is—that *it* can restore the body to health. This is an error which cannot too soon and too

often be exposed; and although it has been spoken against and written against over and over again from the time of Hippocrates to this age of pills and sarsaparilla, it will be well to deal one other blow to the desolating ogre. The common experience is to live on carelessly, in the indulgence of appetites and habits, till nature asserts the fact that her laws have been so long and so cruelly outraged that she can go on no farther;—the patient (a common but entirely misapplied term) then puts himself into the hands of some medical man, or resorts to some hydropathic or other curative establishment—is put upon careful diet, is made to walk and exercise, and is thus brought (as far as the adviser knows, and the patient will allow,) back to a method of life, in which health becomes possible. But little medicine is given by some men, and the purpose of that is to assist the natural efforts of the system. Many under such a course of life and treatment recover their healthy state (usually, however, with weakened powers), and return to their old way of life, till the process has to be repeated. This is the practice with those who have some sense and some money. But there are thousands who have neither the time nor the money to spare, and they resort to pills, and Indian practices, and dredge themselves with cathartics, and specifics, till after dragging out their days in weakness and their nights in agony, nature gives way and they die. The *vis medicatrix naturee*, the healing power of nature herself, works all cures: there is a constant effort on the part of the body to regain its lost powers: it is shown in the swift healing of cuts and wounds in the healthy body of a child or adult: it is indicated by every inflammation and fever: and it will, when the organ or whole system is not too much impaired, if it be allowed fairly to work, bring the organ or system back to a state of health, without the use of any medicine at all. What then is the use of medicine? Properly used, it facilitates and hastens this intrinsic recuperative process, and is of no other use whatever.

Keeping this law in view, it is noways difficult to explain remarkable cures which are effected by bread pills, homœopathy, or any of the mild and simple practices of physicians. And when we add to this healing power, the wonderful effects of Faith—Hope—and Courage (the three best medicines), and the electrical action of the Imagination, even the Hohenloe miracles are easy of solution.

The practice prevails much with us, of advising or allowing persons in ill health, especially consumptive people, to go to some other climate, there to seek (and not to find) what they have lost at home. That a change of air and of scene in some cases may be advisable is quite true; but that a person with

body weakened, and mind depressed, should be helped by going among strangers where he can neither have the comforts of home, nor the care and kindness of friends, nor the pleasant mental stimulus of association and habit, may certainly be doubted. A very considerable experience in different portions of this country, north, east, south, and west, convinces the writer that there is no climate which the inhabitants will not speak evil against, and justly too. The resort to its virtues by invalids is but another way of trying to get well without effort, to serve themselves, and yet not pay the price—to break the law and yet somehow escape its penalty. No such plans will succeed, as the homeless graves on a foreign shore bear witness. A man can get well at home, better than anywhere else. Let him adopt Cornaro's habits of life (modified according to his system), and fortifying himself with Courage and Hope, patiently ascend the hill which he has gone down, and he may look for health where he lost it. At least he will not so quickly or so certainly find it anywhere else. Dr. Clarke says—and how does it agree with so many fancies?—"Inflammatory diseases of the chest rank next in point of frequency among the diseases of winter and spring at Rome. Acute inflammation of the lungs appeared to me more rapid and more violent in its course than in England and other northern countries. This remark does not apply to Rome only, but I believe to the whole of Italy." Another authority says, "Dr. Pottet and myself counted upwards of seventy cases of confirmed consumption in the wards of one hospital at Naples."—*Johnson on Change of Air.*

Death too loses its terrors (physically considered) when we can look forward to it, as the natural and necessary termination of our cares and labors in this world, instead of feeling as so many now do, that it is suspended over their heads, liable at any moment to fall, and crush them, with all their hopes, plans, and duties, in one common destruction. A part of the feverishness of existence—this "making haste,"—may possibly be laid to this uncertainty; what little time there is must be made the most of; but would this be so if men and women (by care and attention) could feel that the natural term of existence here was seventy, eighty, or ninety years? Cornaro's death was peaceful, and instances are not uncommon, where old people sink gradually through some years, till finally the oil of the lamp is consumed, and they go to their sleep as quietly as a little child.

Those ancients whom we are apt to pity, seem to have had some good notions as to the body, and its health. We find that the Brahmins, Egyptians, Moses, Lycurgus, Cyrus, made strict and stringent rules for the care and preservation of public health;

most of their laws were not only wise in their generation and suited to their climate and circumstances, but among them there are many that we might do very well to copy. Whence comes this total neglect and indifference as to the health of the community? It seems that each community, as such, thinks it not only right in itself, but true self-interest, to provide for the education of its children; it is not found either right or wise to let children grow up in ignorance and degradation of *mind*. But how is it with the *body*? Does any one feel that there is anything to be done to prevent the education into habits of drunkenness, of the children of drunken parents? Does any one consider it his business to guard against typhus fevers by taking measures before hand to prevent starvation and ill-living? Does any one fear the stench and effluvia from filth collected in his neighborhood or town or city, provided he keep his own house, yard, and skin clean? Who takes the lead in draining bog lands from which arise marsh and other fevers? Who, until cholera and fever drive them into it, take any steps in the paths of sanitary reform in cities? And who continue in the good way after the panic is past?

Is it not time to ask whether this letting things alone ought not to be put a stop to, because it is not the right way, neither the best way? The wise must think for the foolish, and not only think, but act; the strong for the weak, or Christianity and human improvement will not move forward one inch. But let us take courage, inasmuch as this is slowly and surely doing, not by the great, and rich, and mighty, so much as by the sound, hearty human sympathies of the people themselves.

The world was given to man that he should cultivate and subdue it; and selfishness has been the strong stimulant under which he has removed mountains; but it becomes necessary to enlighten this selfishness by benevolence, before it can fully do its work. "Local miasms, from defective drainage, are," says Dr. Moore, "the most pregnant causes of disease. We need heroes of the Herculean stamp, to cleanse, drain, and irrigate the world we live in; but great wisdom, as well as power, is required in the undertaking, for though the means are abundant enough, the knowledge and combination necessary to employ them are at present, alas! sought in vain." Again: "What an amount of poison must be floating about in 'that chaos of eternal smoke, hanging over London (or any city), with its 'volatile corruption' arising from the decomposition of fifty-two thousand corpses annually interred within its limits. The two hundred and eighteen acres in which they lie are black and greasy; the wells near them contain nitrates and other results of putrid

decay, producing a tendency to dysentery and low fever; and the close courts around them must have a deadly atmosphere, which the man from the country, with any sensibility of nerve, immediately perceives, and as quickly suffers from." This is a strong picture, not a pleasant one to the delicate sensibilities of some readers; but it seems that rose-colored sentiment, with all the help of art, will not heal the broken-hearted, nor bind up the wounds of the fallen, nor sweeten the gutters of the street. No one can at all estimate the amount, not only of valuable information, which would result from intelligent inquiry and examination as to the sources and remedies of diseases partaking of the character of epidemics and contagions; neither can any one at all foresee what improvement might result from the public attention being properly directed to such matters as have been under discussion. The reader is perhaps ready to say "it is easy enough to find fault, but I cannot leave my business to attend to such things. What would you have us to do?" Fortunately Dr. Stevens in a recent report has suggested the beginning of the movement. He recommends the appointment of a *public Health Officer*!

Should not this be done at once, by choosing one for the corporation of every large town—and one or more for each State? Might it not be his business to lecture through the State, to examine into the diseases of districts, and in connection with a public board of health, make such recommendations either to legislatures, counties or towns, as might seem best? The appointment of such an officer would be the first step, and every man may do his part toward such an appointment. It is not necessary, perhaps not best, that he should be a physician of high standing—or of any standing; it would probably be better to appoint an intelligent man, whose habits of body and mind would lead to *action*. In connection too with the emigration boards of cities, such an officer might be invaluable, furnishing as he could a means of communication between them and unpeopled districts of country.

The effect of bodily suffering in leading to crime, too, is beginning to claim general attention, and it may be a question whether a sanitary police might not be more efficacious than some of our present Dogberries, and their watches. Galen was in the habit of saying, "Send your criminals to me!" It is pretty well known that the starvation in France more than anything else, led to the first violences of the French revolution of 1789, whereby some prudent property-holders not only lost money, but heads—indicating that it is not always safe to take care of one's self alone. Captain Franklin found that his party, when suffer-

ing from want of food, was liable to ill-temper and fierceness upon the slightest provocation; and that too, in spite of a strong moral tone which would at once bring them back to shame and penitence. "The author of *Eothen*, who, though anonymous, is evidently well-informed, states that the fasts of the Greek Church produce an ill effect upon the character of the people, for they are carried to such an extent as to bring on febrile irritation with depression of spirits, and a fierce desire for the perpetration of dark crimes. Hence the number of murders is greater during Lent than at any other time of the year.—*Dr. Moore.*"

But let us come to a close, with a restatement of some of the positions which have been taken and sustained according to the ability of the writer, and the limits of such an article. These positions are commended to the careful consideration of the reader.

1. That obedience to the natural laws will *insure* health and life; disobedience is necessarily followed by sickness and premature death.

2. That these natural laws may be known by every one who will use his faculties in trying to know them, as the Creator intends he should.

3. That parents can secure sound bodies to their children by attention to these natural laws before birth; and are mostly responsible for their health during childhood.

4. That physical beauty may be secured by attention to these natural laws.

5. That disobedience to these laws results in idiocy and insanity, in addition to other ills.

6. That physical education should precede mental.

7. That girls are in more danger than boys from the want of physical education.

8. That occupation, requiring activity of soul and body, is necessary to sanity.

9. That excess of it leads to disorder.

10. That medicine in itself works no cures.

11. That public health-officers would relieve the police-officers, and assist the clergyman and philanthropist.

It may be expected that a few words should be said as to the two new books which stand at the head of our list. The second one is best adapted to popular use for its information and carefulness. A sentimental religious strain runs through the first, which would please some and displease others, but the books are valuable for the purpose which they have in hand, which cannot be said of all books. The other works quoted are sufficiently well known.

ART. VI.—BROWN, ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter.

By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 8vo. pp. 800.

THE first epistle of Peter is one of the choicest books of the New Testament. It is not characteristically discursive as are the epistles of Paul, nor meditative as are those of John, nor ethical as is the epistle of James, but it is instructive, devotional and practical all in one. It presents the great facts of the Christian faith, in statements singularly compact, forcible and full of meaning. It kindles the feelings by the very force and interest of the truths which it utters, accomplishing by a word or a hint what might be expanded and repeated, in a variety of forms. It draws from these truths, the most important practical duties, by natural and conclusive inferences without the formality of deduction. The manner of the writer, so far as it is peculiar, arises preeminently from his felicity in condensing into striking statements, truths which furnish their own evidence from the manner and form in which they are uttered. There is no single book of the New Testament which within the same extent contains more, perhaps none which contains so much, of the Christian system of doctrine and of duty, as this epistle of five chapters. For the reasons which we have given, it has always been a favorite book for public exposition and private reading. No book is more frequently opened for familiar remarks in the lecture-room; none is more fruitful of meditation in the closet.

Of all the commentaries upon this favorite epistle, that which stands highest in the estimation of the church, is the commentary of Archbishop Leighton.—“Next to the inspired Scripture,” says Coleridge, “yea, and as the vibration of that once struck hour remaining on the air, stands Leighton’s Commentary on the first epistle of Peter.” Dr. Doddridge, his editor, calls Leighton “this great adept in true Christianity,” and speaks with enthusiasm of “the delight and edification which he had found in the writings of this wonderful man.” Dr. Henry Miles, a correspondent of Doddridge, says with truth: “There is a spirit in Archbishop Leighton I never met with in any human writings; nor can I read many lines in them without being moved.”

Leighton is always just in thought, generally correct and even felicitous in his exposition of the meaning of the apostle, but always felicitous in the exposition of practical Christianity. His style is uncommonly pure and correct for its time. It often rises into passages of exquisite beauty, and is studded with images which are strikingly appropriate, and satisfy the mind with serene and delightful associations. The occasional formality of expression suits well with the authority of one speaking with the positiveness suited to a long experience of the power of the gospel. The dash of quaintness gives variety and freshness to that sweetness and melody, which otherwise might cloy and tire. The mystic vein to which the author was inclined by his natural temperament and a long life of sorrow, differs as widely from the forced and second-hand imitations which obtrude themselves upon the public in these days, as the fragrance that loads the atmosphere of a breezy day in June differs from the stifling and sickening odor that is emitted from a conservatory of plucked and fading flowers.

It may naturally be asked, If Leighton is so good, what occasion, or room even, is there for another exposition? Surely all attempts to rival Leighton must be vain. This is true. Leighton cannot be rived or equaled upon his own ground. But he has not occupied the whole ground. We have now ample means by which to elicit the exact meaning of the sacred text. The truths of Christianity must now be brought to face the antagonist opinions that are peculiar to our times. The duties that the gospel enjoins, though the same in principle, and similar in their leading features, need to be illustrated with reference to new conditions of society, and to be enforced against mighty systems of error, that, in the name of Christian reform, overturn the foundations of Christian ethics, and abjure the very spirit of Christ. Besides, Leighton is not sufficiently close and specific in unfolding the truths and duties of his text to meet the wants of those in every generation who look to an exposition, not only for principles but for their particular applications.

The exposition before us is evidently the work of a superior man and an industrious scholar. The author had at his command the most important appliances which the Latin, English, and French commentaries could furnish, and the aid of a translation from the German work of Steiger. It is obvious that he has made diligent use of these helps, and what is of more consequence, that he has sagacity and good sense in seizing upon the meaning of his author, and the power of stating that meaning in condensed and felicitous language of his own. This last peculiarity is rare. To understand an author, even to the inner

shades of meaning, and the delicate turns of expression, is one thing; to translate that meaning into brief, striking expressions, doing entire justice to the author, and meeting the wants of the reader, is an art of more difficult attainment. The translation of the epistle which is prefixed to the exposition, is a decisive proof, that Dr. Brown has no common skill in this important requisite to the successful expounder of the Scriptures. Such translations often obscure, or weaken, or degrade the sense. This translation makes the meaning more clear, and though we miss, as we always must, the familiar words that have been consecrated in our minds by their inherent strength, and by long association, yet we are not repelled by the want of force or dignity in the words which are used in their place.

The commentary was originally delivered in the form of expository discourses to the author's congregation. It has been recast however, though it retains many marks of the use to which it was originally applied. The text is broken into passages of a few verses each, such as would naturally be selected for the theme of a single discourse. Minuter points of criticism are disposed of in separate notes at the end of each discourse, while topics of graver difficulty are the subjects of a more extended discussion.

The exposition as a whole we regard as successful, and the book though very large is very readable. We do not mean by this that it is readable because it contains matter on every page which is good yet commonplace, nor that it is true yet trivial; nor do we intend that it is warm-hearted yet weak, nor that it is ingenious yet rambling, nor that it is imaginative yet running wild into a tangle of conceits; but that it is the product of a man of strong sense and superior scholarship, who has applied himself with earnestness to the work of finding out the meaning of his text and of communicating that meaning by extended and forcible illustrations. We mean, also, that the author in a good degree gives to his discussions, unity, freshness and point, qualities in which preachers, and especially expository preachers, are so often deficient. We think it a very great objection to the work, that it is so large. It would be far more useful, were it much shorter, and it might have been shorter, had the author sought to make it so. There are more pages than there ought to be, in which the author indulges in remarks which by the force of reiteration become meaningless commonplaces. There are others, in which passages from the Scriptures are quoted, rather for their remote pertinency than for their close-fitting application. The style is now and then dragging, or *schleppend* as the Germans phrase it, which term is more expressive than its

English rendering, we suppose, because the Germans have themselves furnished such numerous and wearisome illustrations of its import. Notwithstanding these defects, the work stands out from the mass of works of the kind, with marks of decided superiority.

The matter of the exposition is in general correct. The author is a moderate but decided Calvinist, who is by no means confined to the set phrases, certain of which he freely uses, betraying a Scottish rather than an American origin. But he does not sink the interpreter in the divine. He has the honesty to give the meaning of the text, as he understands it, and not as the Westminster divines have referred to it. He does not care to prove election by a text which does not prove it, merely because the catechism has referred to this as one of its proofs. He scorns the dishonesty of causing his battery of proof texts to appear the more formidable by making it bristle with the muzzles of sundry spiked cannon. The interpreter is, however, not wholly independent of the divine, and we notice several instances, in which the exposition of the text and the doctrine which it contains, suffers not a little from the attempt to find in the text, all the meaning which has been put there, by an artificial system of theology. For a Scotchman however, the author is very moderate in these failings; yet we wish they were not present.

In the enforcement of practical duties, Dr. Brown is very successful. In discoursing of the duties of husbands and wives, of masters and servants, &c., his principles are sound, and the application of them is faithful and useful in the highest degree. These discussions are very extended, and they recommend this volume as a valuable book for the use of Christian families. In respect to ecclesiastical polity he is decidedly Presbyterian, though he does not so much discuss the scriptural authority of "the eldership" as enlarge upon the duties which the office involves. The wise suggestions which are made in this connection can be readily transferred to church officers of another name, and the duties of the flock which are enlarged upon, will be felt to be due to pastors as well as to the session.

While, for the reasons suggested, we recommend this book as valuable for the use of lay and clerical readers, it may be of especial service to clergymen as furnishing the example and enforcing the duty of "expository preaching." It was principally for the sake of offering a few suggestions on this subject that we placed this volume at the head of this paper. We do not know the work, which is on the whole a better example of what this kind of preaching ought to be, and of what it may be made to be by needful effort. Though by no means a perfect or even a

safe model, it demonstrates the fact, that this kind of preaching can be as interesting as any other. It proves, also, that in several particulars it is far superior.

We are well aware that the very phrase "expository preaching," will, with many of our readers, awaken feelings of displeasure and disgust. Our clerical brethren will be reminded of sundry abortive efforts at expounding the Scriptures, which were attempted as make-shifts in cases of extreme necessity, or at best of irregular and rambling remarks, which have consumed the half hour at a weekly lecture. Our friends of the laity will recall certain dry and tedious statistical enumerations, or uninteresting historical particulars, or loose-jointed discourses, which have strangely contrasted with the compact argument, the eloquent description, the impassioned appeal, the earnest expostulation, and above all the finished oration, which they are accustomed to call "a fine sermon." This method of preaching has, so far as we know, rarely been practiced in the pulpits of New England, nor in those in which New England sympathies and the New England theology have predominated. A strong and determined dislike to it prevails among most of the churches of New England and those planted by the New England stock.

The other churches of this country are more or less accustomed to this kind of preaching. The Presbyterian churches of Scotland expect the morning lecture, as regularly as they do the evening sermon, and the habit of following the exposition with the open Bible, strikes an American as a pleasant peculiarity. The Dissenting churches of England tolerate it also, and a course of expository sermons from the pulpit is not unusual.

We believe, however, that in regard to this subject, the prejudices of some of the New Englanders are beginning to relax, and that fashion shows signs of change. It is with the hope of speeding the change onward and making it safe and salutary, that we venture the following suggestions in regard to the requisites and the advantages of successful exposition.

An expository discourse must possess unity of subject and unity of method. One of the most fatal objections to this kind of discourse from the pulpit is, that an extended passage presents more than one topic, and embodies a great number of thoughts, each one of which is equally prominent with every other, and all in the preacher's view must necessarily receive equal attention. The preacher selects his passage, and beginning at the first phrase, takes each regularly in its turn, and marches on with even step till he comes to the last, treating each proposition, allusion and appeal as of equal importance; and, regardless of the fact that they are all related to a single theme,

from which they radiate and to which they should be referred, he strikes them all apart, and treats them as independent items of an account book. It is no wonder that the hearer is distracted and confused, and that the preacher is disappointed at efforts so disjointed as these. But the expounder labors under no such necessity as this. By far the greater portion of the passages which are appropriate for his purpose, are pervaded by a real and striking unity of theme. This theme gives character and meaning to the several parts of the selection, as they serve to prove, to illustrate, and to enforce the leading thought. The writers of the sacred volume did not write without method, nor did they usually drop single and disconnected sentences, like separate pearls, but they bound their thoughts together by the ordinary relations. We see not why the arguments which they use may not be treated by the preacher as arguments in their relation to the truths which they prove, as well as the arguments which he himself selects from his own suggestion to defend or enforce the topic which he has taken as the theme of a sacred essay or oration. If these arguments need to be expanded or confirmed, let this be done freely and at length. If other parts of the passage do not consist of thoughts for confirmation, but rather of those which illustrate, enliven, or enforce its drift, let them be treated as less important, one being disposed of by a single remark, and another receiving more ample illustration; but all these passing notices should be held in subservience to the leading thought, and the attention of preacher and hearer should be continually brought back to the fact or truth on which the several parts are strung. It may happen, indeed, that two or more truths of equal value may occur within the passage chosen, and that the passage cannot be broken in twain; but in such a case, the preacher is under no stern law of necessity, obliging him to give an equal notice to each. The one may be selected as the theme for the time, and a passing notice may be given to the other, just sufficient to explain its place in the passage, and to do justice to the mind of the writer. Unity of theme is absolutely essential, and the theme must be distinctly stated at the outset, and brought home repeatedly to the attention of the hearer. This being done, it is not essential that the formal division and the symmetrical arrangement of an ordinary sermon should be strictly observed; on the other hand, the beauty and grace of an exposition arises from the fact, that the preacher in a measure yields himself to the thoughts of the sacred writer, and seeks by every means in his power to reproduce the workings of his mind in their original freshness and force. Hence, his laws of method, though real, are less rigid; his notions of unity, though severely

strict, are realized by a different arrangement. In sustaining this unity of theme, we acknowledge great skill is required, and some experience. Above all, a truly philosophical training, and habits severely logical, are of service, while all the resources of a liberal culture, and extended reading, and wide experience, will be placed under requisition, to bring out and render striking the course of thought. But this unity must be secured at any cost of labor and illustration. If this is sacrificed, everything is lost, and all the common objections against this mode of preaching hold good. To secure this unity may involve much labor, especially to an unpracticed hand. From this new and peculiar labor many preachers shrink. They have not sufficient resolution to encounter the new demand, or they fail in courage to bring themselves before their hearers in a new kind of effort, and so they prefer the old and beaten way of regular sermonizing.

Expository preaching should be eminently historical. By historical preaching, we do not mean preaching that is drily and minutely accurate in respect to names and dates—to dimensions and distances—to geography and chronology. Accuracy in respect to all these points is indeed essential to the preacher, and often valuable to the hearer, but an expenditure of strength upon them in the pulpit or the occupation of time with them, is always ill-advised. The historical exposition of the Scriptures recognizes the fact, that the several parts of the Scriptures were written at different times, and by different men. It aims to attain true and vivid conceptions of the times in which the books were written, and of the men to whom they were addressed, that it may have just conceptions of what was intended by the writers, under the circumstances in which they wrote. After gaining these conceptions, truly and vividly for himself, the preacher must seek actually to impart them to others. This is often a difficult task. For the knowledge offered is often that in which the hearers have little interest, until it is forced upon them, and it sometimes shocks their prejudices and disturbs their superstitious idolatry for the false and exaggerated associations which have clustered about the word. To the attainment of this knowledge, the preacher is bound to summon all his energies. He is bound to do this for his own sake; for otherwise, how can he interpret the word at all, as an enlightened Christian teacher ought to do? What can be said of the intelligence, what even of the honesty of that man who is set to be the guiding light of other minds, who does not earnestly strive to comprehend the Scriptures as they were understood by those *for* whom and *to* whom they were given at first? He is bound to do this for the sake of his hearers, who may be trained to look at the Scriptures not

merely as containing a system of consistent truths and a series of startling facts, but who may regard these truths with somewhat of the same interest with which they were clothed, when they first broke upon the mind of man, and may understand the facts as real and actual occurrences, just as those regarded them before whose startled senses Lazarus was raised, or the dumb man spoke, or the voice thundered from the cloud.

To make our meaning apparent, an example or two will suffice. Let us take the animated exclamation into which the apostle breaks forth: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to his abundant mercies, hath begotten us again into a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." The systematic divine, in his eager hunt after proof texts, finds here a decisive and unequivocal statement of the doctrine of regeneration by the Spirit, one of "the fruits" of which, as laid down in the catechism, is "hope." The resurrection of Christ he dimly recognizes as an event which was connected with the promise of the Spirit. The dry and formal exegete gives greater prominence to the resurrection, and huddles together the parallel texts that recognize this event as most important, inasmuch as by it the risen Jesus was declared to be the Son of God with power, and was prepared to reign as mediatorial King. But the impressions which he gives are vague and technical, and the interpretation has more to do with the dry and thorny subtleties of scholastic divinity, than with the vivid illustration of an actual occurrence, on the theater of the world's real history, which flashed a new brightness from the world that lies beyond the tomb, and "brought life and immortality to light." The historical expositor of this passage conceives distinctly, and strikingly sets forth, the thoughts and feelings of the world, before Christ lived and died, in respect to the life beyond. He takes his hearers backward because he himself has been there, to a group of devout Jews as they sit in mourning about the corpse of a deceased friend, or as they hide it forever behind the door of the tomb. He does justice to the reality of their hope concerning the continued existence of the spirit, that still lived with God. He does justice also to their dark and dim groping into the invisible, and their earnest longings after some tidings from behind the dismal curtain. He makes his hearers feel that these were the real thoughts and feelings, the actual expectations and misgivings of the wisest and best of the praying men and women who "waited for the consolation of Israel." He then introduces Jesus upon the scene. He paints the most wonderful being that ever lived among men, his life, his teachings, his words, his deeds. He describes his death, and how the hearts of his dis-

ciples died when he was taken down from the cross and laid in the sepulcher. He paints the rising, not in its material accompaniments, nor in the shock which it occasioned to the astonished Roman and the bitterly hating Jew, but in "the lively hope" which it awakened in the breasts of believing disciples who had seen all this, and in the hearts of the multitudes who heard the story from those who with their own eyes had seen Jesus "dead," and had afterwards seen him "risen."

After all this "historic" exposition has been given, the teacher is prepared to show how the exultant Peter could break out into the exclamation, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and how with him the jubilant disciples could unite in the same triumphant song. He can show how they were literally "begotten again," by means of a hope that was indeed life-giving—a hope literally enlivened by the wonderful fact, that had occurred in their own times, and of which not a few living men could tell.

We dwell for a moment on another passage: "Whom having not seen ye love, and in whom though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." What an immense advantage is gained by the interpreter who can do historic justice to this truth, by a reference to the times when it was uttered, and the meaning which it had in those times! The drily doctrinal preacher takes occasion from it for a very unlovely disquisition on the reason why Christ is lovely to the believing. The dull commentator quotes passages to which his reference bible directs him, or which his concordance furnishes to his hand, or perhaps plunges into a verbal disquisition respecting the meaning of "believing" or "full of glory," according to the *usus loquendi* in the Hebrew or the Greek. But the real, that is, the historic interpreter, pictures to his hearers the aged yet ardent apostle urging the duty of steadfastness upon a company of disciples who were every day tempted to apostasy. He shows them how it may well be supposed, that the reply would come to their very lips, "if we had seen him as you have done, we too could believe and love." He dwells upon the advantage which "the eyewitnesses of his glory" were supposed to possess above all others, how they were envied by the believers of another generation, how eager were the inquiries of these last, in respect to the minute particulars concerning the words and the appearance of the living Jesus. He shows that it was to such persons that the words were first addressed, and that the truth of these was doubtless often enforced by the blessing which Peter remembered to have heard his master pronounce upon his followers through all times, who "have not seen but yet have believed."

In this way and in this way alone, can the historic sense of the words be developed.

We anticipate here the objection as possible, that the logical passages of the New Testament neither require nor admit of this historic interest, which is appropriate to the narrative and hortatory portions. An argument, it is said, is the same for all generations. It is addressed to the intellect, which in all ages and under all circumstances is convinced by the same principles. To understand and feel the force of the Pauline discussions, it is not at all necessary that we know the circumstances under which they were written and the men whom they were designed to convince. We reply that the fact is precisely the opposite. To measure the force of an argument, to understand its meaning and to feel its appropriateness, it is absolutely necessary that we know the modes of thought, the objections, the prejudices, the knowledge or the ignorance of the men whom the argument was designed to convince. Though the reasoning, simply as reasoning, may be stated in a form which shall be the same for every age, yet it is often true that we cannot conceive what the reasoning is, without knowing the position which the author designs to carry in the minds of his audience. Besides what is called an argument does not consist of one or many syllogisms. It embodies allusions which have no force except to the original audiences, arguments to those men which would be arguments to no other men, arguments from their concessions which the concessions of none others would permit to be drawn; in short, an assemblage of considerations which are arranged and combined for the one original purpose, and which the reasoner framed with an eye to a single set of men. To know the first audience to whom these arguments were addressed is of indispensable importance, that we may do justice to these arguments. To be able to acquaint our hearers with them is of equal consequence. Especially is this necessary, in order to understand arguments like those of the New Testament, and modes of reasoning that would pass current only with Jews. For lack of interpreting these arguments by the light of history, the reasonings of Paul, the acute dialectician of inspiration, have seemed confused and inconclusive, and have even been pronounced weak and unworthy. The Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews can neither be understood nor explained, without vivid historical conceptions, faithful historical research, and successful historical painting.

Expository preaching should also be practical. This observation may seem to be obvious and commonplace, and yet there is especial need that it should be made in this connection. As doctrinal preaching easily runs into a shadow-fight of abstraction,

so expository preaching may readily pass into a picturing of the past in which the drapery shall withdraw the attention from the object represented. There is need therefore of special painstaking, that the interest of the preacher be not exhausted upon the mere scenery of the transactions which he depicts, and that his energy be not expended upon ingenious attempts to conceive and set forth the thoughts and feelings of the persons who took part in these transactions. He must have a sound theology and a Christian heart, to recognize in these events analogies to those of his own times, and to apply the workings of the minds of men in other times to the condition of his own hearers. He must not be so careful to separate "the transient" from "the permanent" in Christianity, as he is concerned to impress "the permanent" upon those for whose souls he watches, as one who must give account. In all the workings of his earnest desire to master and set forth the contents of the sacred volume, there must be seen to beat the strong and over-mastering purpose to bring home the earnest truth to the feelings and actions of his flock. It is a good rule, therefore, to let no discourse consist of a simple exposition of the word. Such an exposition, however ingenious and delightful, can never satisfy the judgment nor the conscience of the faithful and earnest preacher. Nor will he be content with drawing out the lessons of duty in incidental reflections and passing remarks. For the purposes of unity and of usefulness, he will draw out these lessons into distinct and strongly uttered truths, one or more of which shall be the remembered lesson of the hour, and shall recur to the hearer as often as he shall read the passage in question. If the lessons are numerous, the attention will be distracted, and the impression from each will be faint. If they are not enforced as the main subject to which the exposition has been all the while directed, and in which it terminates, the discourse will fail of a well defined, practical impression. Such an impression all the uses of preaching require. To fail in this, is to fail in everything; and the preacher who contents himself with anything short of powerful and distinct lessons of duty, abuses his trust. We believe that the strongest objections to this kind of preaching on the part of preachers and their hearers are founded in the secret persuasion, that it does not admit of ready application to the life, and of earnest calls to duty. As it is too generally practiced, it is open to this objection. And nothing but a demonstration of the contrary, by actual examples of an earnest enforcement of duty, can remove such objections, and vindicate its high capacities for usefulness.

The advantages of this kind of preaching are various. It is attended with this preeminent and peculiar use to the hearer, that

if successfully conducted, it invests the Scriptures with interest and dignity. No impression is more common than the real but unacknowledged conviction, that the Scriptures are a dry and unattractive volume. Intelligent and well educated hearers, by thousands, who respect the Bible as divine, and revere its counsels and warnings, conceive of it only as the mysterious revelation of God, or the wise counselor of duty with which they ought indeed to have a moral and religious sympathy, but in which they do not imagine it possible, that they can have a high intellectual interest. In vain do they strive to penetrate the stiff incrustations that have gathered over its living pages—the slow but stifling deposits, from years of childish familiarity, and years of later indifference or aversion. The mind is applied with new and repeated efforts to the work of reading it as other books are read, and of understanding it as other books are understood, but in vain. Early associations, strong dislike, and often a mistaken reverence unite to disappoint such efforts, and even to baffle endeavors that are in a measure earnest and persevering. It is not quite fair to solve all these difficulties, by ascribing them to a deficiency in moral sympathy, or to the want of spiritual discernment. Let it be granted that much is to be ascribed to this cause, still it remains true that the Bible, so far as it is fitted to interest the intellect, may be understood far better than it is. Especially may those portions of it be understood, which intermingle with the courses of human history, which touch human sympathies, and which unfold the workings of the strongest and most commanding springs of action. The Scriptures present some of the most stirring arguments which can be addressed to the human intellect. They record and explain the most wonderful and sudden changes in human opinion and in human character, which the world has ever witnessed. They show the causes of these changes in striking events claimed and believed to be supernatural, in bold and fervent declarations of those who professed to have beheld these events, in their meek attestation of this belief by the martyrdom of blood and fire; and in the more wonderful attestation of a new style of character, a new phase of human nature, of love given in return for hatred—of blessing returned for cursing—and of malignant and unprovoked wrong freely forgiven. All these events and these exhibitions of character, though spiritual in their causes, are human in their results, and as such are interesting to any intellect that is not passionately wicked, or stupidly debased. This human side of the Bible and especially of all that is history in the Bible—and in our view, the whole of the New Testament is nothing but history—may be expanded by a skillful hand, and developed by an active

intellect. Nor is genius required for this work. The simple desire to comprehend the facts of the Bible for one's own satisfaction, with the appliances that are within the reach of every student, will do much to awaken the human interest in the Scriptures, which we deem so important.

If this kind of interest can be excited in the minds of intelligent hearers, it will secure their respect for the Scriptures. The Scriptures cannot be despised, if they are shown to record events and opinions of so wonderful a character. The intellectual excitement and profit that is given by a true exposition of their contents, will secure them forever from contempt, their themes as intellectual themes from associations of weakness, and the preacher from the condemnation of narrow-mindedness. If the intellect is excited, the heart will be likely to be reached. If the contents of the Scriptures detain and arouse the attention, from their relations of interest to the intellect, the conscience will find it difficult to slumber, reflection will suggest a personal concern in matters so absorbing, and the man will be forced to think, and feel, and obey.

Another advantage is found in the fact, that the instructions received are attached to the book that is oftenest in the hands of the hearer. An argument on a point of doctrine, however clear and conclusive, though it may satisfy the mind and put every doubt to flight, is rarely retained distinctly in the memory. A splendid sermon passes from the mind as quickly as the gaudy and fantastic groupings of the kaleidoscope, leaving often no trace of its presence except the most vague and unintelligent sentiment of admiration. But a successful exposition is forever after attached to the passage which it explained or enlivened, and whenever that passage meets the eye or the ear, it will recall the exposition. Nay, it will be invested with an interest which no other part of the Scriptures can possibly possess. Permanent impressions are those for which the preacher longs most ardently. He desires that what he says should be remembered, and bring forth fruit after he shall have gone. He is chagrined when he learns that a sermon is not heeded, or if attended to for the moment, cannot be recalled even in the order or outline of thought, on which he labored so earnestly. What a personal satisfaction and an encouragement lie in the fact, that the book which his Christian hearers oftenest read, may, by his exposition of its contents, be made the very book which shall remind them the most frequently of his instructions; that, as they turn over its pages, each page shall reveal some passage that is brightened by the light which he has cast upon it, and be loaded with the new meaning with which he enriched it; so that even the book which brings

up the thought of God to the hearer, shall also call up the thoughts of their spiritual guide. Aspirations of this sort are not selfish nor sinful; they stimulate the pastor to secure to himself the purest of earthly joys, and the brightest of earthly crowns, the affectionate remembrance of a people who have loved him for his ministrations. Whether, therefore, the preacher desires that he himself or his instructions should be remembered, he cannot do it more effectually than by connecting his instructions with the word which every day meets the eye.

Expository preaching is valuable to the preacher himself, as it requires and secures a generous and various culture of his powers. To understand and successfully to explain the Scriptures, as the aids of modern exegesis and the light of modern science enable us to understand them, tasks all the powers of the best trained and most richly furnished mind. The preacher must interpret poetry, eloquence, argument, and appeal. Not only must he be able to draw a correct meaning from this variety of language, but he must also be able to comprehend the men of another generation, to enter into their thoughts and feelings, and to understand the meaning of their words. Not only must he understand all this for himself, but he must justify and enforce it for others who are not learned and philosophic men, but who can be made to know and appreciate the results of learning and philosophy. The lessons of duty and devotion of the sacred record must be urged upon the conscience and heart by earnest appeal, and in a united and single impression.

The making of sermons, though it may involve a liberal range of thought, too often limits and narrows the mind. The system of doctrine once received and the style of appeal and illustration once adopted, the preacher too often makes one sermon very like another. He reexpresses the language of his texts in formulæ of stereotyped phraseology. He develops his subject after the same method, and he concludes the whole with the same style of application. The exercise of writing sermons is so laborious, and the demand for sermons is so frequent and steady, that the mind being forced by an unnatural pressure, and fagged by a constant exhaustion, lays hold of the thoughts nearest at hand, and falls into trains of argument and illustration that are familiar. Little time is taken for generous study, because generous study is not absolutely necessary. A large portion of every audience, if they find little to startle or interest them in the recurrence of thoughts and words and methods that are familiar, find little to offend them. If the preacher takes a liberty of manner or speech that is unusual, he shrinks from the look of wonder, or the rustle

that indicates dislike, and so falls back into the dull round of listless monotony.

Against these tendencies to a narrow range of study, the preacher is bound to secure himself by every possible precaution. The most effectual security is that which grows out of the way in which one's profession itself is prosecuted. Preparation for the pulpit should itself be made to involve the widest circle of studies, and the most liberal education of the faculties. That such a course of study and training may make itself felt in expository preaching, nay, that it is required by it, is obvious from the considerations already noticed. Another way in which exposition favors this result, is seen in the fact, that a course of exposition upon almost any book of the New Testament involves a wider range of subjects than are handled in ordinary preaching.

The preacher is brought to consider them by the progress of his exposition. He cannot evade them, and he is forced to treat them thoroughly. Many a preacher who has committed himself to the task of expounding a single book, has been surprised at the novel subjects which he has been forced to discuss, the new efforts of thought to which he has been summoned, the special researches which have been required, and the conscious advantages which have been the consequence. We speak the experience of many, we are confident, when we assert that such exercises have been more profitable to themselves than any of their other efforts for the pulpit.

The greater freedom of handling which is admissible in the treatment of expository themes, the greater liberty of discourse and of illustration, the more familiar tone which is not only allowed but required, are all favorable to personal improvement. The liability to fail is greater, we admit, but this itself is a stimulus to effort. Success in such attempts gives confidence to repeat them. The preacher finds that preaching admits of greater variety than he has allowed himself, and that the wider his reach of thought and the more familiar his dealing with his subject and with his hearers, the greater is the satisfaction which he gives if he retains his respect for his hearers, his theme, the sacredness of the pulpit, and for himself. From the experience of these advantages he gains a higher estimate of the resources of his profession. His weekly preparations are pursued with a new interest, and he carries through life a wakeful mind that is rather liberalized than narrowed by his professional studies.

We hardly need advert to the fact, that the preaching which most instructs and improves the intellect of the preacher, will be likely to improve the intellect of his hearers. A sermon is not, or ought not to be, a mere moral or religious homily. It ought

to be also an instructive lecture, imparting new information, reviewing that which is already known, starting new trains of thought, and inducing new habits of reflection. Preaching, to be useful, on the largest scale and with a permanent influence, must excite and satisfy the intellect, not after a vulgar and fashionable sort, by setting the crowd agape, by affectations and caprice, but by stirring the mind with earnest argument, and enriching it with new principles and new applications of principles. We have shown how the Scriptures are fitted to be the food of the intellect, and what means of interest they present to the preacher who will draw them out for the use of his hearers. He then who will bring out their various wealth and accompany this wealth by the earnest and quickening action of his own excited intellect, cannot but benefit his hearers. His preaching will be a constant and generous education of their minds as well as a discipline of their hearts. His preaching will be regarded with a constantly increasing interest, and the effect will be seen in a people eager for information and enlightened in respect to all those great questions, concerning which man most needs to be well instructed.

Expository preaching is demanded by the errors peculiar to our times. These errors are summed up in a prevailing disesteem for the value and the authority of the Scriptures. By a large and increasing class of men of eager and active minds, the reality of a supernatural revelation is rejected. Industrious and insidious efforts are made to extend these opinions. They are boldly avowed, as if the whole contest was to be carried by the very force of audacity. They are insinuated by the most subtle and fascinating devices of ingenious craft. They are diffused through attractive books and more attractive lectures. Not only is the supernatural authority of the Scriptures rejected or thrust aside, but those who profess to receive it treat this authority with little practical deference; on the one hand, breaking down the Scriptures by loads of meaning which they will not bear, or on the other, weakening them to utter inanition, by taking from them all positive import, and even the possibility of possessing any import at all. Objections against their historic truth and consistency are confidently asserted and rarely answered. It is taken for granted that their truths, if they declare any, are at war with the intellect and science of the day, and that the cultivated intellect of the times has far outrun their teachings, in respect both to the sciences of nature, and the science of morals, so that the Scriptures are now in a fair way to be voted down at scientific conventions and in political cabals. There is no use in disguising this state of things. Every preacher who will conde-

scend to acquaint himself with the actual judgments of many in the community in which he lives, and even of many in his own flock, will find that this indefinite or completed infidelity in respect to the authority or the import of the Bible, prevails more widely than he has been aware. There is but one way to stem this current of evil. The Scriptures must be vindicated from the pulpit and in the pulpit, by using them freely and expounding them intelligently, with reference too, to the subtle or open unbelief which we have described. Doctrinal preaching will not meet this difficulty, for what hold can the most convincing array of proof texts have upon that person who rejects, or half believes the authority of the book from whence they are drawn. Fine preaching, as it is called, gratifies the taste, amuses the fancy, and confirms the unbeliever in the conviction that the preacher regards the Bible with as little respect as he does himself. For, he reasons shortly but surely, if he revered the book, he would preach it more, and himself less, frequently. The mystic vein is respected for its good intentions, its amicable spirit and its cultivation of the religious nature, but it cannot command the respect, nor control the conscience, that needs to be warned and overawed by the awful facts which it cannot deny, and by the stern realism of an angry God who has spoken to sinning man. Nothing will so effectually vindicate the Bible, as the intelligent use of the Bible by the preacher, who shows that he understands its import and the relations of its import to the history of the past, as well as to the doubts of the present time. We shall not be understood to say, that questions of learned interpretation, or questions of scientific exegesis, are to be brought into the pulpit, that the mythic theory and the various schemes of inspiration are to be learnedly discussed. We intend no such thing. Rather should the truth of the Scriptures as history, science and revelation be so justified that error should be excluded as impossible, and the arguments of error should be powerless to the well instructed mind. Rather should a respect for the Scriptures be so deeply inwrought by their manifested truthfulness and worth, that neither open denial, nor insidious unbelief should be able to gain a hearing with the mind.

But the most important service, which the practice of expository preaching would render both to preachers and their hearers, would be to change the prevalent style of preaching, so far as it is at fault, and to correct the popular taste. It is not in good taste, we know, to complain of preaching or of preachers. Sometimes it is done from no good motives and in no good temper. We believe, however, if the opinion of very many discerning and candid men, both of the clergy and laity, could be distinctly ut-

tered, they would earnestly condemn certain prevailing tendencies in preaching, as degrading to the clerical profession, and likely to vitiate both the taste and the piety of the churches. We care not to discuss the question who is most at fault in this matter, nor how and whence these tendencies originated. We are most concerned to know, how they may be arrested. The ambitious and affected cast of discussion in the pulpit which seems designed to startle and surprise, rather than to instruct, to invigorate and to warm, is no harmless nor trivial evil. Whether it be the ambition of style or the ambition of thought, whether the affectation be that of paradox or of oddity, of conceits or of piety, so far as it is designed to make the people stare and to constitute the preacher a marked man, it is hostile both to the dignity and the sacredness of the clerical profession and to the true growth and steadfastness of the churches.

The most effectual way to be rid of these evils is to displace them by that which is better. There is no way of doing this more effectually than by a resort to the Scriptures and the intelligent and glowing exposition of the stores of thought and feeling, of discussion and of appeal, which the Scriptures embody, and will give up under the hand of the workman. There is a manifest superiority in the manner in which truth is handled in the Bible, which will shame away all the trickery of a forced and fantastic eloquence. There is a severe simplicity of expression, which will correct an unhealthy taste. Above all, there is an earnest sternness and a fiery directness, that cannot tolerate nor even endure anything that is not business-like, manly and zealous. Let expository preaching be introduced into our churches, and it will form anew the style of preaching, and the popular taste, not by a sudden and marked revolution, but by a slow but certain transformation.

The charge of the late Dr. John M. Mason to his people, from his farewell sermon, is altogether pertinent to our purpose, and adds to our argument the authority of an eminent example and model of pulpit eloquence:—"Do not choose a man who always preaches upon isolated texts. I care not how powerful or eloquent he may be in handling them. The effect of his power and eloquence will be, to banish a taste for the word of God and to substitute the preacher in its place. You have been accustomed to hear that word preached to you in its connection. Never permit that practice to drop. Foreign churches call it *lecturing*; and when done with discretion, I can assure you, that, while it is of all exercises the most difficult for the preacher, it is, in the same proportion, the most profitable for you. It has this peculiar advantage, that in going through a book of Scrip-

ture, it spreads out before you all sorts of character, and all forms of opinion; and gives the preacher an opportunity of striking every kind of evil and of error, without subjecting him to the invidious suspicion of aiming his discourses at individuals."

We are not insensible to the difficulties that the enterprise proposed would encounter. We know that labor and ingenuity must be severely tasked, that the preacher must give himself to the earnest search for truth and for illustrations, more perhaps than to the study of startling groupings of thought and of galvanic spasms of expression. We know that many prejudices must be encountered, that old and inveterate habits must be abandoned, and that patience and hope must whisper the promise of the satisfaction that is long deferred. But we believe that to him who will labor as he may, and will labor as patiently and as long as he must, the reward will come, in abundant and blessed satisfaction to himself and his hearers.

ART. VII.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CAMPBELL.

Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D., one of his Executors. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff-Street. 1850.
The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell. With a Memoir of his Life, and an Essay on his Genius and Writings. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut-Street. 1847.

WE have had it in mind for some time past to give an account of the life and writings of Thomas Campbell; the publication of Dr. Beattie's work affords us a favorable opportunity for accomplishing this purpose.

Dr. Beattie's work is on the whole a good one. It is not written with any preeminent excellence of style, though well enough for his object. But the materials which he has collected, besides displaying the character of the poet in its true light and vindicating it from many aspersions, are in themselves peculiarly interesting. The letters of Campbell are the outpourings of thoughts and feelings which arose spontaneously and which were uttered just as they arose without the forethought of being published. The literary history of

several of his poems is given with sufficient particularity ; and there are many anecdotes of the distinguished men of the age. The memoir prefixed to the edition of his poetical works is taken from *Fraser's Magazine*, but besides being erroneous in a few particulars, it was written by some one who had not entire sympathy with Campbell, and who, as a consequence, has failed to do him justice.

There were two enemies which pursued Campbell through life—Highland pride, and poverty. For the former, he was not altogether to blame ; for it came down to him, we dare say, from old Sir Neil, contemporary with King Robert Bruce, through all the devious windings of the clan Campbell, undiluted and unimpaired. His poverty he might have resisted better, had it not been that with his Highland pride, nature had given him more than a Highland heart, which beat in sympathy not only for all the near and “far awa’ ” Campbells, but also for every human sufferer. We mention this at the outset, because his pride and poverty working against each other often involved him in difficulties, and in consequence there has been a certain style of sneer and pity in speaking about him which misrepresents his real character. Thus the writer in *Fraser's Magazine* exclaims, “Poor Tom Campbell ! he exhausted all his sympathy on the Poles and spent all his invectives on Russia.” If the writer lives and has read the present memoir, he will have seen that Campbell's sympathy, instead of being exhausted, continued to grow warmer and more expansive to the last days of life. And surely, the writer of the best lyrics in the English language, the life-long friend of Scott and Stewart and Alison and Jeffrey and others too many to be mentioned, the founder of the London University, and the constant friend and protector of the exiled patriots of every land, needs not the pity of any man.

Campbell traced his family, as we have already intimated, to a remote antiquity, even to the time of King Robert Bruce. The Campbells of Kirnan—the branch to which the poet's family belonged—had an estate in the vale of Glassary as early as the fourteenth century, and it continued in their possession for several generations, till the death of Archibald Campbell, when it passed into other hands. Archibald Campbell left three sons ; Robert, who was a political writer in London, under the auspices of Walpole ; Archibald, who first went to Jamaica as a Presbyterian minister, but afterwards came to Virginia, where he continued to reside ; and Alexander, the father of the poet. Alexander Campbell was a merchant. He commenced business at Falmouth, in Virginia, but afterwards returned to Scotland and settled in Glasgow, where he and a clansman, Daniel Campbell, entered into copartnership as Virginia traders. The firm continued in prosperous business for twenty years. But our Revolutionary War seriously interfered with

the trade of Glasgow, and this old and respectable firm fell in the general ruin. By this unexpected blow, Alexander Campbell, who had married the sister of his partner in business and who had now a family of ten children, was reduced from affluence to comparative poverty, but he easily accommodated himself to his altered circumstances and passed the remainder of his life, at least in comfort and respectability. Alexander Campbell was a man of strong powers of mind and of considerable reading—his favorite subjects being History, Theology, and Philosophy. He lived on terms of intimacy with the distinguished men who then adorned the University of Glasgow—especially with Adam Smith and Thomas Reid. The latter was much gratified with the approbation which Mr. Campbell bestowed upon his "Inquiry," at its first publication, "for now," said he, "there are at least two men in Glasgow who understand my work, and these are Alexander Campbell and myself." He was a man of unimpeachable integrity in business matters; in politics, the supporter of liberal principles; and in his religious views, a strict Presbyterian. He had been educated by the revered biographer of the "Scotch Worthies," Robert Wodrow, and was doubtless well instructed in the truths of the Bible. The Campbells of Kirnan had furnished the Kirk with a succession of elders and, in ancient times, of martyrs. Alexander Campbell did not desert the ways of his forefathers. Family worship was never omitted in the household, and it is interesting to know, that the prayers of the father continued fresh in the memory of the son in the last hours of life.

Mrs. Campbell was of a different turn of mind from her husband. She was of a more lively temperament. She was well read in the best English writers of the preceding age—fond of poetry—and a passionate admirer of Scotch ballads, which she sung with great effect. It is not unlikely that the family pride descended through her; she was always "Mrs. Campbell of Kirnan," to which she afterwards had the satisfaction of adding "mother of the author of the 'Pleasures of Hope.'" It has been handed down that she held the reins of family government with no slack hand, for which, however, she had the apology that the head of the household was somewhat lax in his notions or at least in his practice on that point. The poet was accustomed to tell a story of his early days which well illustrates the different dispositions of the parents. Mrs. Campbell had a cousin, an old bed-ridden lady by the name of Simpson, about whose frail health she was very anxious. So Daniel and Thomas by turns were sent every morning about two miles from the city, to inquire "How Mrs. Simpson was? and how she had rested the night before?" Getting tired of these daily visits and finding the bulletins pretty much the same, the boys concluded to report progress

without actually going to inquire. This they carried on for some months, till at length they thought it time the old lady should get well, and accordingly they reported her as quite recovered. "But woe's me," said Campbell, "on that very morning there comes to our father a letter as broad and as long as a brick, with cross bones and a grinning death's-head on its seal, announcing the death of Mrs. Simpson." The culprits were speechless, and so were Mr. and Mrs. Campbell. They looked at the letter, then at the boys, and then at themselves. "At last," said the poet, "my mother's grief for the death of her respected cousin vented itself in cuffing our ears. But I was far less pained by her blows than by a few words from my father." He seems to have remembered both pretty well and we are sure got no more than he deserved. But it is proper to say that to Mrs. Campbell, who was much younger than her husband, is due the credit of bringing up their large family with respectability and placing the children as they grew up in stations of honor and usefulness.

Thomas Campbell was born July 27, 1777, and received his name in baptism from the celebrated Thomas Reid. The father and mother seem from an early period to have cherished ardent hopes concerning this, their youngest child—though not more ardent than were realized—and to have watched over him with parental fondness. His education was conducted under most favorable circumstances. At eight years of age he was entered a student of the Glasgow Grammar School, where he continued six years. Living in the bosom of his own family, protected by all the influences of home, and more than all, watched over with untiring love by an elder sister, Miss Isabella Campbell, his affections were developed along with his intellect, and they attained an intensity and purity which continued through life. At the same time every proper stimulant was employed to animate him in his studies. By this means he easily made himself the first scholar in the school. Among the modes of instruction adopted by his teacher, Mr. Daniel Alison, was one which we must not omit to mention, as it had a decided influence upon the style of his poetical writings. Mr. Alison required, as an evening lesson, a translation from some ancient classic, in prose or verse, at the option of the student. Young Campbell most generally made his in verse; and as these translations were required two or three times a week and were continued for several years, they must have become very numerous. Dr. Beattie has printed some of his earliest verses, but they do not possess superior merit.

Campbell was entered a student of the University of Glasgow, at the session in October, 1791. His college career was brilliant. He was the acknowledged head of the Latin, Greek, and Logic

classes. He received here also much encouragement from his own family. His father, who was competent to direct his reading, and to take a general supervision of his studies, watched over this part of his education; and although he would sometimes tell his son he had better be reading Locke than scribbling verses, he had the good sense to let him follow the "instinct" of his genius. The son not less understood the character of his father, and in after years rendered him the following tribute:—

"His soul's proud instinct sought not to enjoy
Romantic fictions, like a minstrel boy;
Truth, standing on her solid square, from youth
He worshiped—stern, uncompromising truth."

It was in accordance with this that the Sunday reading which the father required, and which the son says he read with interest and relish, was Sherlock and Doddridge—although after the affair of Mrs. Simpson and certain slight transgressions of domestic rules, he admits they became less palatable. Campbell continued his versions at the University, and took several prizes. He says, however, "Some of my biographers have, in their friendly zeal, exaggerated my triumphs at the University. It is not true that I carried away all the prizes; for I was idle in some of the classes, and being obliged by my necessities to give elementary instruction to younger lads, my powers of attention were exhausted in teaching, when I ought to have been learning." But he was universally acknowledged as the poet of the University, and the scholar of the most brilliant talents in it. Dr. Beattie has published several of his college prize compositions, both in prose and verse. But we are bound to say that we do not recognize anything very extraordinary in them. We think the college poems of N. P. Willis, of the late George H. Colton, and of others, whom we have known during their college course, are superior to them.

Campbell continued at the University from November first, 1791, till May first, 1796—five sessions. These sessions were each six months, which gives a residence in the whole some months shorter than the usual residence in the four years course of American colleges. Campbell left the University a good Latin and Greek scholar. He continued to pursue his Greek studies through life. It is not easy to estimate with precision the amount of his scholarship. Dr. Beattie says that he had at command the best passages in Homer and Virgil, even in the Grammar School. One of his University pupils—afterward Lord Cunningham—speaks of reading with him Demosthenes and Homer. During the vacation preceding his last session at the University—which he spent as teacher in the Isle of Mull—he writes of himself: "I am much hurried at my old comedy of the 'Clouds of Aristophanes.' I am the length of the seventy-

third page with the 'Choephoree' of Æschylus, the choral parts of which are very fatiguing; the length of the piece is ninety pages." This latter he afterwards completed and revised. The year after he left the University, he finished a translation of the "Medea" of Euripides, and prepared for the press one of the plays of Æschylus, with original notes. Of these translations, he retained in the authorized edition of his poems only a few, but these are very good. Homer was a special favorite, and so was Virgil. He says at a later period, that Homer was as essential to his breakfast as a Scotch herring. He maintained the essential unity of the Homeric poems at a time when the Wolfian heresy had more followers than at present. At Holland House he discussed with Fox the merits of Virgil, and received the approbation of that fine Latin scholar—"he was so right about Virgil." On the whole, we may conclude, that among the most distinguished contemporary poets, he was the best classical scholar, as he was the most purely classical poet.

The period which immediately succeeds the termination of the academical course of education, when it imposes the necessity of a final choice of a profession for life, is one of great anxiety, especially to young men of genius, destitute of property, because their instinctive desires lead them with great force away from all those liberal pursuits by which a competence or a fortune can be secured. It was so in the case of Campbell. He had thought a little of Divinity, and with that view had studied Hebrew and read some of the best divines, but he does not appear to have had a decided call to the Gospel ministry. He attended lectures on Medicine, but the sight of the first blood-letting disgusted him with that profession. With a more determined effort he tried the Law, but never could bring the Pandects and poetry into harmonious union. He also at one time made up his mind to come to this country as a merchant, and even went so far as to take lessons in book-keeping—it is to be regretted he did not persevere long enough to have mastered at least the mystery of a cash-book. But we must not do Campbell the injustice of ascribing these frequent changes to fickleness. The truth is, he was possessed by a spirit which he could not master, and which led him at its will. He seems to have looked at the matter at last in this light himself, and to have come to the determination to submit to his fate, and become an author. And we must say it was a hard fate. We know of no profession which imposes such wearisome drudgery as making books for a living. The revelations which have been made of the labors of some of the greatest men among the authors of the preceding age, would lead us to apply even to the most successful of them, the epitaph in Goldsmith:—

"Here lies poor Ned Purdon—a bookseller's hack."

When we read of Scott toiling through life like a slave at the oar; of Southey driving his pen from early dawn till night, and at no time certain of a year's support for his family; and of Campbell sacrificing the vigor of his days to the merest drudgery, and without, even by this means, attaining to a reliable income, we cannot but regard the *profession of letters* as the most toilsome and the least remunerative of the professions. The alternative seems to be,—to slave at works which are born only to die—and live; or to produce works which posterity will not willingly let die—and starve.

But to return to Campbell—and here we would do as we would be done by, and set down a few dates, as we shall continue to do throughout the article.

Campbell left the University, as we have seen, at the close of the session, May first, 1796. He spent the greater part of the succeeding twelve months as a private teacher in a family at Downie in the Highlands. Here he had the fortune to fall in love, and very naturally began the "*Pleasures of Hope*." He left the Highlands somewhat suddenly, and in April, 1797, we find him in Glasgow. He soon after went to Edinburgh and got a situation as "*copying-clerk*," in the office of an attorney. But he soon after made the acquaintance of Dr. Anderson—the Dr. Anderson of the "*British Poets*,"—by whose means he obtained his first job, which we think is deserving to be mentioned, as well as the pay for it. It was an abridgment of Bryan Edwards's "*West Indies*," and the pay was twenty pounds. With this prize he went back to Glasgow and set himself to his task. He soon finished it, and in October we find him again in Edinburgh, whither in the following month, at his instigation, his father removed with his family, and ever after continued to reside there. The poet was now engaged in writing the "*Pleasures of Hope*," and his situation was by no means an unpleasant one. He thus describes it in the retrospect of his life. "And now I lived in the Scotch metropolis by instructing pupils in Greek and Latin. In this vocation I made a comfortable livelihood, as long as I was industrious. But the '*Pleasures of Hope*' came over me. I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent lines; and as my '*Pleasures of Hope*' got on, my pupils fell off. I was not friendless, nor quite solitary at this period in Edinburgh. My aunt, Mrs. Campbell, and her beautiful daughter, Margaret,—so beautiful that she was commonly called Mary Queen of Scots—used to receive me kindly of an evening, whenever I called; and it was to them—and with no small encouragement—that I first recited my poem, when it was finished. I had other friends whose attachment was a solace to my life. Before I became known as an author, I was intimate with Francis Jeffrey, and with Thomas Brown."

The "Pleasures of Hope" was published April 27, 1799, when the poet was just twenty-one years and nine months old. The title was as follows: "THE PLEASURES OF HOPE, in two parts, with other poems, by THOMAS CAMPBELL." A copy of this edition must be very rare in this country; we have never seen one, nor do we know what the "other poems" were. But it turned out that none were needed to help out the popularity of the volume. For very rarely has any poem of an unknown author been received with more unbounded favor than the "Pleasures of Hope." It was hardly two years since the death of Burns, and the young poet was at once hailed as his fitting successor. They who had turned away weeping from the bier of the inspired peasant, it has been well said, looked around them and joyfully accepted the pledge of returning day. The author took rank immediately, young as he was, among the great men who then adorned the metropolis of Scotland—with Scott, Erskine, Jeffrey, Brougham, Stewart, Alison, McKenzie, Brown, Gregory, Anderson, and other hardly lesser lights, for few cities have had a more varied and delightful society of men of letters than Edinburgh at that period.

This poem was considered at the time of its publication, and has since been considered, as a very extraordinary production to be written by a young man under twenty-two years of age. But this view does not do justice to Campbell. The poem does not need to have the plea of infancy made in its behalf. It is an extraordinary poem to be written by any man. If it were not, it would not live as it does in literature. To be admired as a mere curiosity,—to be embalmed in collections as some prodigy of nature in a museum—is not to live as a work of genius; to do that, it must penetrate and interest the common sympathies of men, and it must appear in that *perfect form* which nature alone can give. Every poem that perpetually lives in the hearts of men from generation to generation, is something extraordinary; it is not constructed by expert mechanism, but is the natural product of superior genius. So far is this poem from being extraordinary as the work of a young man, it would have been far more extraordinary if it had been produced by any one, of however great genius, who had passed much beyond the period of life which the author had reached.

This poem is the outburst of the mind, instinct with genius and polished by culture, as it takes its *first survey* of life. It embodies the thoughts and feelings and aspirations of the generous spirit, which, following its own instinctive judgments, looks with indignation upon the wrongs which afflict mankind, but enlarged by education to take comprehensive views, despairs not of the final regeneration of the race. It is not the mere effusion of a poetic temperament which seeks to turn everything in life into poetry, nor is it

the utterance of idle wishes ; but it sets forth the sympathies which spring up in every deep-feeling mind, and speaks forth aspirations which have their ground in the nature of man. Every one who has had much to do with the education of young men of a more generous mould has had frequent occasion to admire the correctness of those judgments which they almost spontaneously pass upon the various moral and political questions which come before them in the course of their studies. Rarely in after life is vice so indignantly rebuked, or oppression and wrong so strongly condemned, while at the same time the very generosity of their own feelings and the unselfishness of their disposition inspire them with ardent hopes that these vices may be eradicated and these wrongs redressed. We believe that the views which a young man of this character would take, are far more likely to be what in strict reason they ought to be, than the views of those whose feelings have been cooled and hopes been checked by the experience of actual life. Not unfrequently has the impulse to great movements for the amelioration of the lot of man on earth, been communicated by youthful sympathy and confidence. The thoughts and feelings and sympathies, therefore, which make up the materials of this poem, are not only not beyond the experience and observation of the youthful mind, but are peculiarly appropriate to it ; it needs only the plastic power of genius to mould them into poetical forms.

But it is not every man of genius even, that would have taken the view which Campbell has done. The problem of life must present itself to every thoughtful mind in prospect of an immediate contact with its realities, but in different ways according to the natural disposition—and each may be poetical. One may attempt to sound the depths of his own being and comprehend the moral relations which he sustains to God, to time, to eternity—as we may suppose a Pollok would do—and if the thoughts take a poetic shape, they will assume a character of sublimity from the very struggle to penetrate the obscure and comprehend the vast. Or one, looking only at the stern realities of the present, may view everything as swept onward by an irresistible fate—and if he vent his feelings in poetry, it may be the poetry of hate and defiance—the poetry of a Satanic school. Another, surveying life only to flee from it, may retire within himself and live in communion with nature or in an ideal world of his own creation—somewhat as Wordsworth and Southey may have done. But there is another view, which shall represent life neither as a fate to be defied nor a misery to be hopelessly endured,—a view in which sympathy with suffering is united with the determination to relieve it, and indignation at wrong with the purpose to redress it. This latter is the view which Campbell has taken, and he was led to it both by the necessity of his nature and the circumstances of his life and the character of his education.

Campbell was by nature sympathetic, generous and hopeful. He was born near the opening of our Revolution, and the connection of his family with this country must have familiarized him from his early years with our struggles for freedom. He heard the first shouts of the French revolution, and grew up amidst the violent discussions to which it gave rise. At the same time there was a feeling throughout Great Britain that the period had come round for a new advancement of the nation in the path of civil and religious liberty, and he himself might fairly be reckoned among those young men of liberal spirit and extraordinary powers whom Providence raised up at that time to sow the seeds of future reforms and to lay anew the foundations of the state. His education, too, had made him familiar with the masters of human thought. He had studied the history of Grecian and Roman freedom. He had surveyed, under the guidance of the enlightened Miller, the principles of the British constitution. He had learned to hate tyranny in every form, and to sympathize with humanity wherever suffering. How deep these feelings were, we may learn from his pupil, Lord Cunningham. "In reading Demosthenes and Cicero," he says, "he delighted to point out and enlarge on their sublime eloquence and the grandeur of their views. He used occasionally to repeat, with the greatest enthusiasm, the more impassioned passages of Lord Chatham's speeches in favor of American freedom; while at other times he poured forth, with great rapture, Mr. Burke's declamation against Warren Hastings, and Mr. Wilberforce's heart-rending description of the 'Middle Passage.'" All these feelings and sentiments appear in the poem.

Under these circumstances Campbell could not but write as he did. The subject of the poem is not so much Hope as Life viewed by a hopeful spirit. It is not an abstract disquisition nor a formal treatise—it is the gushing forth of the feelings, as the poet, in the first flush of youth, scans the scene of human life that opens before him. Even those topics which are common to men in every period of life, he colors with the hue of his own feelings. The objects, for instance, which hope summons before the "sailor," "the march-worn soldier," "the wedded pair of love and virtue," are not precisely such as the several characters might themselves think of, but such as the youthful poet conceived he in their situation should have summoned. When "congenial Hope" stands "hand in hand" with Genius, "'tis Hope in youth's untroubled hour." And what can be more delightful than the fresh hopes of youth—to enjoy or to look back upon? What view of life can have in it more of poetry than that which is taken when the heart is warm, the affections pure, the enthusiasm unchecked, the aspirations unselfish, the hopes untried? It is this which makes this poem so dear to every one; the

young like it because they sympathize with it in their present feelings, and others because they live their youthful days over again in its perusal. It is this which gives it a peculiar and appropriate place in literature. Hope is, indeed, a hackneyed theme, but we are inclined to claim for the real subject of the poem, as we have expounded it, that it is new in poetry, at least to the extent in which the enthusiasm of youth has been made to portray its views of life.

The preceding remarks prevent the necessity of minute criticism. They show us what we shall find in the poem and what we ought not to look for. We should not look for metaphysical discrimination, for subtle observations on human nature, nor for profound generalizations. The author has not sounded the depths of the human heart nor evoked its mighty passions. We meet with few of those unexpected touches which open the secret fountains of the soul and which suggest far more than they express. We can call to mind but a single instance. It is in the description of the maiden made maniac by the loss of her lover.

“ Oft when yon moon has climbed the midnight sky,
And the lone sea-bird wakes its wildest cry,
Piled on the steep, her blazing fagots burn
To hail the bark that never can return :
And still she waits, *but scarce forbears to weep*
That constant love can linger on the deep.”

The lines in italics will awaken a multitude of thoughts in almost every mind. But, on the other hand, we shall find passionate thoughts, ardent feelings, pure affections, warm and genial sentiments, and all expressed in a highly polished style of composition.

Indeed, if there be anything in the poem which should be considered as extraordinary on account of the youth of the writer, it is the perfection of the style. Such a mastery of style is not usually gained except by long continued and oft repeated efforts. We doubt if another example of a style so perfect in a writer of genius, at his age, is to be found. It has all the glow of youth without extravagance, and at the same time the polish and condensation of expression which belong to more matured powers. But we think it not difficult to account for this excellence. Besides that mysterious power of language which seems to be a portion of the birth-right of genius, we are disposed to ascribe it to the practice of poetic translation from the classic writers into English, early begun and long continued under the eye of a good scholar. He thus became in the forming period of his mind familiar with models of polished and studied style, and accustomed himself to the careful management of words and clauses. We have already said that his earliest poetry did not have in it much of promise, and it is possible that

this careful and precise copying of others may somewhat have repressed his powers of original composition. But if it were so, it left them a longer time to mature, and enabled them finally to act with a surer and steadier purpose.

This poem has a peculiar interest as reflecting the character of the writer. The sentiments which he here expressed, he never deserted. His love of liberty never abated, his ardent philanthropy never grew cool, his sympathy with whatever is great and noble never failed. Neither his bitter experience of the ills of life, nor his more profound knowledge of man, nor his more extensive acquaintance with the history of the race, changed, in the least, the opinions of his youth; nor did the triumphs of the oppressors of mankind weaken the confidence he cherished in the ultimate prevalence of right and of liberty. On the contrary, his indignation of wrong increased with increasing years, and his benevolence shone brighter and brighter to the last moments of life. The feelings which led him to exclaim—

“Departed spirits of the mighty dead!
Ye that at Marathon and Leuctra bled!
Friends of the world! restore your swords to man,
Fight in his sacred cause, and lead the van!
Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood, atone,
And make her arm puissant as your own!
Oh! once again to Freedom's cause return
The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn!”—

these feelings revived with increased strength in later years.

“And have I lived to see thee, sword in hand
Uprise again, immortal Polish land!”
* * * * *
“A theme for uninspired lips too strong,
That swells my heart beyond the power of song.”

It is a little remarkable that many of the wrongs he denounced, he “lived to see,” either wholly or in part redressed. We have already mentioned that he did not forget the eloquent invective of Burke against the oppressors of India—

“Rich in the gems of India's gaudy zone,
And plunder piled from kingdoms not their own,
Degenerate trade! thy minions could despise
The heart-born anguish of a thousand cries;
Could lock, with impious hands, their teeming store,
While famished nations died along the shore.”

This stain on the character of British merchants he beheld at least in part wiped out. But there was one wrong which was upheld in a way that made even Campbell's hopeful spirit waver.

" Yet, yet, degraded men! th' expected day
That breaks your bitter cup, is far away:
Trade, wealth, and fashion, ask you still to bleed,
And holy men give Scripture for the deed:
Scourged, and debased, no Briton stoops to save
A wretch, a coward; yes, because a slave!"

Yet he lived to see the day when every fetter was broken throughout the British empire; and it was among the last public acts of his life to express anew in the Anti-Slavery World Convention, his interest in the "emancipation of man, everywhere, from the thralldom of man."

Campbell passed the summer succeeding the publication of the "Pleasures of Hope," in Edinburgh, occupied partly in literary drudgery and partly in preparing for a new edition. The next year, June 1, 1800, he left England for Germany, where he passed nearly twelve months, principally in Ratisbon and Altona. Here he studied Kant, read Schiller, Wieland, and Bürger, and wrote some of his best lyrics. He reached London on his return home, on the 7th of April, 1801. The death of his father, which took place while he was in London, devolved upon him almost the entire burden of supporting his mother and sisters—a duty which he most cheerfully accepted and most faithfully performed, for more than thirty years. The next two years he spent alternately in London and Edinburgh, employed in the same kind of literary labor. He at length made preparation to visit Germany again, and bargained with Constable to write a book of travels, for which he received a part of the pay. But of a sudden his plans are all changed. "The poet was no longer his own master, and he who had sung so much of freedom and independence, began to boast of his own chains." It may occur to some of our readers that a man who could scarcely make a living for himself, was in no condition to be married. So it seemed to the father of Miss Matilda Sinclair, but the poet could not be made to comprehend the argument. "He had few or no debts; the subscriptions to his quarto were still pouring in; the historical work on which he was employed would bring him a hundred pounds a volume; and, besides, he had at that very moment a fifty pound bank note in his desk." It is scarcely necessary to say, they were married. The ceremony was performed on the 10th of September, 1803. He resided the first year of his marriage in Pimlico Square, London, but in November of 1804, removed to Sydenham, a hamlet in Kent, not far from London, where he continued to live for seventeen years.

His residence at Sydenham was the happiest period of the poet's life. It was the greenest spot in his memory. It was here he enjoyed all the blessings of quiet domestic life, for which he was

peculiarly fitted, both from the intensity and the purity of his affections. It was here he formed friendships which blessed him through life. It was here he employed the powers of his genius in their full development, in painful toils for the support of those who were dear to him, it is true, but also in the productions of those poems, which have placed him among the great men of England. It was here, too, he suffered those afflictions which sooner or later must enter every household.

We will dwell a little upon the picture which the memoirs present to us. We shall tell the story of his early struggles in his own language:—"I do not mean to say that we suffered the absolute privations of poverty. On the contrary, it was rather the fear than the substance of it, which afflicted us. But I shall never forget my sensations when I one day received a letter from my eldest brother in America, stating that the casual remittances he had made to my mother must now cease, on account of his unfortunate circumstances; and that I must undertake, *alone*, the pious duty of supporting our widowed parent. Here now, I had two establishments to provide for, one at Edinburgh and another at Sydenham. I had never known, in earnest, the fear of poverty before, but it now came upon me like a ruthless fiend. If I were sentenced to live my life over again, and had the power of supplicating Adversity to spare me, I would say, 'O Adversity, take any other shape!' To meet these pressing demands, I got literary engagements both in prose and poetry; but a malady came over me, which put all poetry, and even imaginative prose, out of the question. My anxiety to wake in the morning, in order to be at my literary labors, kept me awake all night, and from less to more I became a regular victim to the disease called the coma-vigil. Besides the current expenses of our common maintenance, I had to meet the quarterly payment of usurious interest, on a debt which I had been obliged to contract for our new furniture, and for the very cradle that rocked our first-born child. The usurious interest to which I allude, was forty pounds a year upon a loan of two hundred pounds—a Judaic loan. Throbbing as my temples were, after sleepless and anxious nights, I was obliged next day to work at such literary labor as I could undertake—that is, at prosaic tasks of compilation, abridgment, or commonplace thought, which required little more than the labor of penmanship."—*Vol. i. pp. 406, 407.*

But these gloomy clouds passed away. Brighter prospects dawned. In the latter part of the next year, 1805, the king granted him a pension of two hundred pounds. He at once divided it with his mother and sisters. The relief which this timely aid afforded him, is vividly expressed by himself when looking back to it thirty years afterwards:—"Before that event, I had labored

under such gloomy prospects as I am reluctant to look back upon ; and I should probably consign the history of them to oblivion, if I gave way to unmanly feeling or false pride. But everything that is false in my pride gives way to the gratitude which I owe to those friends who rallied around me at that period ; and it would be black ingratitude if I could forget that, in one of those days, I was saved from taking a debtor's lodgings in the King's Bench, by a munificent present which the Rev. Sydney Smith conveyed to me from Lady Holland." Besides, his friends set on foot a new quarto edition of his poems to be published by subscription. The subscription was a very large one. The next year, therefore, 1806, opened upon him with much brighter prospects. His health returned, his spirits revived, and in the enjoyment of his home, and the congenial society which Sydenham afforded, the poet labored with diligence and enjoyed life with a keen relish. And here, we feel it would be an unpardonable omission, did we neglect to mention the family of Wynell Mayow, Esq., whose daughters, especially Miss Mary Wynell Mayow, and Miss Fanny Wynell Mayow, were the firm friends of his family for life, and whose intelligence, refinement, and affection, endeared to him his residence in Sydenham, and contributed to the happiness of his whole after life. His residence was not so far from London but that his friends could easily visit him. He kept up a frequent correspondence with his mother and sisters, with Mr. Alison, Mrs. Stewart, wife of Dugald Stewart, and other Scotch friends. Besides, he enjoyed much congenial society abroad. We will give a part of his own account of a day passed at Holland House. "Lord Holland asked me to dine at Holland House, in company with his illustrious uncle—and now I come to a passage of my life that ought to give inspiring recollections. What a proud day for me to shake hands with the Demosthenes of his time ! to converse familiarly with the great man, whose sagacity I revered as unequalled, whose benevolence was no less apparent in his simple manners—and to walk arm-in-arm round the room with him ! But I must own that when the great man treated me with this condescension, I hardly knew—you will excuse the phrase"—[it must be remembered that the poet was yet quite a young man]—"I hardly knew whether I was standing on my head or my feet. Luckily for me, however, Fox drew me into a subject on which I was competent to converse. It was the *Æneid* of Virgil. It is disgustingly common for shallow critics to talk about the *monotony* of Virgil's heroic characters—unfairly quoting a single line—

'Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cleanthum'—

for Virgil's characters are really varied and richly picturesque. In this critical belief I found that the great man with whom I was con-

versing, agreed with me : and I delivered myself so well on the subject, that he said at parting, ' Mr. Campbell, you must come and see me at St. Anne's Hill, and there we shall talk more about these matters.' Lord Holland also told me afterwards, that Fox said to him aside—' I like Campbell ; he is so right about Virgil.' ”—*Vol. i. p. 447.*

We may remark that Campbell wrote a portion of an autobiography, which we regret Dr. Beattie did not print by itself, instead of interspersing it through his own materials. The autobiography ends with this extract.

We shall now make a few quotations taken almost at random from letters written during this period, and most generally to some one of the Mayows. Writing from the Isle of Wight, where he had gone for his health, he says :—

" Well, I have been long enough on my own case. I shall tire you with it no more. I trust I shall hear from Sydenham good and pleasing accounts of your health and spirits. . . . * At this star, I stop to break open a letter from poor Matilda. She says my favorites are all well.—*All well!* It sounds like the sweet note of the midnight sentinel! A letter from one's best friend is worth going a hundred leagues for—to wish, and long for, and receive. I have never been so far away from her. I may say it is the first wife's letter I ever received. She seems in very good spirits. I have your family, I believe, to thank for it. I was agoing to have concluded, but my spirits seem to mount as if I had pledged to my absent friends in a bumper. All is well! My wife—my hearty, brown-necked boys—my faithful sister-in-law—and those my wife emphatically 'calls 'my favorites.' All is well *indeed.*"—*June, 1807.—Vol. i. pp. 462, 463.*

Our next extract shall be from a letter written at Sydenham, to one of the Mayows away from home on account of health.

" I have visited your beloved household ; and as to your sister Fanny—about whom I guess from her nervousness that you are most anxious, I do assure you, I never saw her more healthy, charming, cheerful—everything that is beautiful ; and compared with her sometimes state of nerves, she is now positively brazen faced!

" We had a long, delightful, wise, and entertaining chat this morning. It was after one of my watch-nights, when I had lain as uneasy as the head that wears a crown. I had meandered five hours about the common, from long before dark till eight o'clock—my sleepless 'eye in fine frenzy rolling'—when, after again invoking the drowsy powers, and taking a chapter of 'Godwin's Political Justice,' instead of laudanum, I was favored by heaven with ambrosial rest. At mid-day I reeled up stairs in a wig, three hundred years old, and a neckcloth tied like a halter about my neck, when the sight of your lovely sister made me start back, conscious that I was a sloven—unfit to be seen by a fair lady! I contrived to breakfast, however, in her presence, and during a most pleasant forenoon, we discoursed about a thousand things ; and Fanny was so exhilarating and good, and my children, whom she praised much, looked so cherubical, that I forgot my marvelous old wig, and grew so happy that I could have sat down and purred like a cat." * * *

" I have myself no great hopes of long life—not longer, I think, can this sleepless frame subsist than twelve or fourteen years. Where you will be then, I

don't know; but I often think when all the plays, and poems, and novels, which, by the grace of God, I shall hope to have written by that time, are inspected, the learned commentator and biographer on my poor works—for every poetaster has now his biographer—will trace from piece to piece the similarity of characters from whom I shall have drawn my materials of the good and beautiful. Methinks then, that your sisters, Fanny and Caroline, and yourself, will see your images as in a mirror—not disfiguring, I trust, but reflecting their genius and dispositions just as they strike my mind as the models of their several descriptions of characters. When you look at some wretched daubing of my forty-year-old countenance, prefixed to some cheap edition of my works, you will often, I fondly imagine, perceive a look of the good will with which your society has often filled my mind; and which, perhaps, may contribute to make my physiognomy more good-natured. I leave Lawrence the pleasure of drawing your countenance; I shall be proud enough to delineate the mind. You must not, however, be in the least surprised to see these children of fancy, the shadows of poetical perfection, sketched from outlines of real life, used in a most tragical and heart-rending manner. You must not think I would willingly beat or maltreat you, because some heroine whose nose, eyes, and profile are like your own, is drowned or shot, or otherwise executed by the laws of poetical pathos. What would poetry be, if heroines were to sail happily and smoothly through a few hundred smooth lines and never squeeze a tear from the heart of the reader? No, no. I have had a lady of great perfection in mind, manners, and physiognomy, for many months sentenced to a tragical end in my next poem. She may claim whatever resemblance she pleases to real life, but the law must take its course, and the best is, that, while the copy perishes, the original still lives to furnish new pictures of perfection, and new sources of tragical interest in another portraiture under a different name.”—*October, 1807.—Vol. i. pp. 473–475.*

We add a single extract more, for the sake of the sentiment.

“You used to say that *talents were always formidable*. I think not so. Superior beings are necessarily benignant: they guide us, and guard us, not like the jostling of a mob, but by a gaining, invisible influence. I never fear a great man; I only fear and hate what the slang of the world calls a *clever* man; that is, generally, a pert and *half-wise* man. In the other sex, the women who bear sway over the generality of minds are called accomplished and beautiful women; they are, like those half-wise men, generally thought formidable; they are to me very often great objects of terror! just as self-conceit and bad dispositions are terrible. But let me see the woman who is truly admirable, and I fancy the most shy and ungainly admirer of female excellence, like myself, will be very much at his ease, and destitute of all fear or diffidence in her presence. The truly beautiful, the truly wise, the truly good, do not abash even the most retiring. The friendship of wise men which I have enjoyed—the sentiments with which I have regarded my real heroines—convince me of this.”—*Vol. i., 479, 480.*

We have drawn rather more upon these letters than is perhaps proper, but we had a particular object in view. It was at this time and under these circumstances that Campbell was engaged in writing “*Gertrude of Wyoming*.” The sweetly-flowing numbers—and can there be sweeter music than the opening line,

“On Susquehanna’s side, fair Wyoming!—

the sketches of domestic love and joy and peace, drawn with the

most delicate taste—the lovely vision of Gertrude, presented in perfect form and beauty,—could only come, it would seem, from a mind, made harmonious by such influences and touched in its own experience with a sense of such grace and purity. There are many particular subjects in the poem, which doubtless had their counterparts in the congenial circle at Sydenham; “those thousand infant charms”—the father, “the playmate ere the teacher of her mind”—the “enthusiast of the woods”—“the days of raptured influence,” and with what fullness, yet wise reserve, are they all handled. Nor is it difficult to see although the scene is laid in fair Wyoming,—

“Sweet land! may I thy lost delights recall,
And paint thy Gertrude in her bowers of yore
Whose beauty was the love of Pennsylvania’s shore,”—

that the materials of the picture were drawn from nearer home.

The poem was published in March, 1809. Jeffrey passed judgment on it in the *Edinburgh Review*, and Scott in the *London Quarterly*. Both critics knew what value to place on such a poem. The judgment of Jeffrey stands unreversed. “We rejoice once more,” he said, “to see a polished and pathetic poem in the old style of English pathos and poetry. This is of the pitch of the ‘Castle of Indolence,’ and the finer parts of Spenser; with more feeling in many places than the first, and more condensation and diligent finishing than the latter.” But perhaps the best criticism ever passed upon it, was at Callander House, the residence of Du-gald Stewart—as it is reported in a letter from Mr. Alison to a friend of Campbell. “Mrs. Stewart’s rapture rose with every line; and when I hinted some apprehension that a little more detail would have been acceptable to the unlearned reader, and that there were symptoms of an *iron hand* having shorn some of the tresses of her luxuriant beauty, Mrs. Stewart declared, most positively, that ‘she was perfect, and that she could not have read one more page for the world.’” Both Jeffrey and Scott complained of the obscurity of a part of the story, and others have done so since. This is, indeed, a blemish; but on the other hand, it is just to remember that the other parts of the story are conducted with consummate judgment. Let any one call to mind the many topics adapted in themselves to produce great poetic effect which almost forced themselves upon the poet in the subject he selected, but which with stern self-denial and in obedience to the laws of perfect art he rejected; and then let him reflect upon the almost matchless judgment which prevails in the disposition of the principal characters in the catastrophe of the poem, and he will conclude that the blemish alluded to is of little account. As in a painting, there are many parts where another touch would spoil the whole, so in a poem there are many places

where the greatest skill of the poet is seen in what he leaves out. It is easy to bring in everything and let the reader take his choice, but it is not so easy to bring in that which every reader wants and to omit only that which no reader misses. In this peculiar exercise of poetical judgment, we think Campbell excelled, and that full justice has hardly been done him, in this respect.

The poem was every where well received. This apparently was the crowning period of his life. He had placed himself among the first of the many distinguished poets of his own age; and in his own sphere and that a high one, he was without a peer. He was in the full enjoyment of his own happy home and of a refined circle of congenial friends. The powers of his mind were developed in their maturity, and animated by the exhortation of the most sagacious critics of the day, he was prepared to try a bolder flight than any he had yet attempted. But soon after, death entered his household, and in succeeding years stroke after stroke of affliction came upon him. In the spring of 1810, he lost his youngest and favorite boy, Alison. This blow overwhelmed the sensitive mind of the poet. It was some months before he could devote himself to his usual labors, and weeks after the event, we hear him exclaim: "I mourn still for my child! I cry out 'Absalom, my son Absalom! would to God I had died for thee!' I think that once I had the soft, lovely hands of two children to go into each of mine, and now I have but one. I think of my cherub, and see him playing on the common before me. But now—"

We need not dwell upon the remaining years of his residence at Sydenham. In 1815, he received a legacy of five hundred pounds to himself in life-rent, and to his children in fee. We may mention that the legacy was given him, as the testator expressly said, because he had divided his pension with his mother, and that this return of the poet's filial love is still enjoyed in circumstances of peculiar need, by his son. But notwithstanding this accession to his income, he was not relieved from literary drudgery, but he had now attained a position which enabled him to dictate his own terms. He entered, therefore, into an engagement with Mr. Colburn to edit the "New Monthly Magazine," at a salary of five hundred pounds a-year. Before commencing his duties as editor, he made a short visit with his family to Germany, and on his return, left Sydenham and took up his residence in London, where he continued to live. This was in the spring of 1821.

The most important works which he wrote at Sydenham, after the publication of "Gertrude," were "Specimens of the British Poets," and "Lectures on Poetry." The essay on the history of English poetry prefixed to the former, has ever been admired as a fine piece of prose composition; and the criticisms upon the various

poets from whom extracts were made, were of a high order, showing a mind that sympathized with excellence of every kind. The book was published, we believe, in 1817. The "Lectures" were first delivered in 1812, before the Royal Institute in London, and were received with great favor. His other productions we pass over. Dr. Beattie has not given a very full account, and the future antiquary will have in them a fine field of research.

Campbell's residence in London, which was rendered necessary by his assumption of the editorship of the *New Monthly*, was soon overclouded with gloom. We refer to an event which pierced his heart and embittered all his after-life. His son, Thomas Telford Campbell, now a youth of fifteen, had grown up, either from hereditary taint or an injury received at school, imbecile in mind, and sometime in the latter part of 1822 had become so violent in his conduct that it was necessary to place him in a private hospital. This affliction lay like a dead weight upon the heart of the father for many years, till at length, after many hopes and disappointments, the painful suspense was ended in the conviction that nothing remained to be done but to make his life as comfortable as possible. Dr. Beattie remarks, that the motives and conduct of Campbell had been much misrepresented, if not maligned, as it respects the treatment of his son. But no one can read these memoirs without feeling that not only was there nothing to blame, but everything to commend. We should be at a loss to point out what more paternal kindness could have done. The expressions of affection and the outbursts of grief bespeak the most devoted parental love in a heart wrung with sorrows.

With regard to his literary labors during this period of his life, we have little to say. His editorship, which continued ten years,—commencing with 1821 and ending with 1830, engrossed a good deal of his time, and the affliction which he was suffering unfitted him for original composition. He wrote only a single poem of any length, "*Theodric, a Domestic Tale*." This was published in November, 1824. If we judge of this poem in view of the circumstances under which it was written—amid the sorrows attending the first realization of the calamity which had befallen his son—we shall not condemn it; but if we look at it with reference to the absolute standard of poetic excellence, we must acknowledge that it is an inferior poem.

We have thus far spoken of Campbell as a poet. We are now to contemplate him in another sphere. We regard him as a great public benefactor. To him belongs the honor of having been the founder of the London University. During his visit to Germany he conceived the plan of a large metropolitan school, but he did not for some time communicate his scheme to any except a few intimate

friends. During the year 1824, however, his views became matured, and in the spring of 1825, several private conferences were held preparatory to bringing it before the public. We will transcribe his own account of the part he took in this matter, in its more advanced stages. It is contained in a letter.

"I have had a double-quick time of employment since I saw you. In addition to the business of the Magazine, I have had that of the University in a formidable shape. Brougham, who must have popularity among the dissenters, propounded the matter to them. The delegates of almost all the dissenting bodies in London came to a conference at his summons. At the first meeting, it was decided that there should be theological chairs, partly Church of England and partly Presbyterian. I had instructed all friends of the University to resist any attempt to make us a Theological body; but Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, came away from the first meeting, saying: 'We think with you, that the introduction of Divinity will be mischievous; but we must yield to the dissenters with Irving at their head. We must have a Theological College.' I immediately waited on the Church of England men, who had already subscribed to the number of a hundred, and said to them: 'You see our paction is broken; I induced you to subscribe, on the faith that no ecclesiastical interest, English or Scotch, should predominate in our scheme; but the dissenters are rushing in. What do you say?' They, that is, the Church of England friends of the scheme, concerted that I should go commissioned from them to say at the Conference, that either the Church of England must predominate, or else there must be no church influence. I went with this commission; I debated the matter with the dissenters. Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, who had before deserted me, changed sides and came over to me. Irving and his party stoutly opposed me, but I succeeded at last in gaining a complete victory. The dissenters themselves, I must say, behaved with extreme candor; they would not even suffer me to conclude my reply to Mr. Irving, but exclaimed, 'Enough, enough, we are convinced and concede the point that the University should be without religious rivalship.' The scene concluded amicably. Lord Althorp appeared on the part of the Church, and coincided in the decision. A directory of the association, for the scheme of the University, is to meet in my house on Monday; and everything promises well. You cannot conceive what anxiety I have undergone, whilst I imagined that the whole beautiful project was likely to be reduced to a mere dissenter's university. But I have no more reason to be dissatisfied with the dissenters than with the hundred Church of England subscribers, whose interest, I have done my best to support. *I regard this as an eventful day in my life.*"—April 30, 1825.—Vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Hume had an interview with the Ministers, to whom a copy of Campbell's scheme of Education was submitted. The government favored the plan. The subject became every day more popular. Public meetings were held; patrons multiplied; subscriptions poured in; and before the end of summer he had the certain prospect of seeing his expectations realized. Campbell, now that success was sure, withdrew from an active participation in the affairs of the University, though not until he had again visited Germany to study the German system of education. Great credit is undoubtedly due to others, but to Campbell belongs the honor

of having formed the plan, of first bringing it before the public, and of directing the movements by which it was at length carried into execution. He always looked back with satisfaction to the part he took in this transaction, and said of it, that it was to him, perhaps, *the only important event in his life's little history*.

In 1826, Campbell was elected Rector of the University of Glasgow. The office of Lord Rector had become merely an office of honor, though originally one of great importance. It is usually conferred on political grounds, and always on men of distinction. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Lord Brougham, Lord Jeffrey, Sir James Mackintosh, and other great men have held it, and Canning was one of Campbell's competitors. Campbell was received by the students with the greatest enthusiasm, and his inaugural address was pronounced the most eloquent ever delivered. Allan Cunningham describes a part of the scene: "It was a deep snow when he reached the college-green; the students were drawn up in parties, pelting one another, the poet ran into the ranks, threw several snowballs with unerring aim, then summoning the scholars around him in the hall, delivered a speech replete with philosophy and eloquence. It is needless to say how this was welcomed." Most of the Lord Rectors had contented themselves with delivering the Inaugural Address, because the other duties had become obsolete, but Campbell went through with *all* the duties, and introduced some changes of great importance to the University. He was reelected the next year, and also the third year, although there had not been another instance of the kind for a century. These honors were highly gratifying to the poet, and he was justly proud of them.

But amidst these honors, Campbell was called to experience the greatest affliction of his life. Mrs. Campbell, whose devoted love had always been his solace and support in all his other trials, was taken away from him. She died on the 9th of May, 1828. Dr. Beattie has deemed it due to the sacredness of such sorrow, not to lift the vail which conceals it from common view. Perhaps he has decided wisely, although we have always thought that Lockhart, whose sound judgment is seen in every portion of his life of Scott, never showed his judgment more than in publishing that part of Scott's Diary which immediately followed the death of his wife. Surely never before was such a memorial left on record of any woman. We shall make a single quotation from Campbell's letters at this time: "At times, the sight of a knot of ribbon or a trinket upmans me and makes me weep for hours. But altogether, I am too mature in life, and too much master of myself, and—I trust I may say, without your censure,—too well possessed of a pure conscience, to be abandoned to unavailing despondency. I wish to make the rest of my life as useful to society and as honorable as my

limited faculties will permit. And I think this is honoring my dear Matilda's memory in a more manly and decent manner, than if I were to waste myself to tax the sympathy of my friends, by nursing to excess those pangs of separation from the companion of half my life, which, from the nature of things, may well be conceived to vibrate deeply enough through my heart." This wish was not a vain one. His charities grew more and more abundant, and his sacrifices for others became greater and greater from this time to the end of his life. His philanthropy was not a poetic dream, but an active principle.

It would be unpardonable in speaking of Campbell, to omit to mention his connection with the cause of Poland. The last Polish revolution broke out on the 19th of November, 1830. The news soon reached England. It rekindled all the youthful ardor of the poet, and he threw himself into the cause with his whole soul. He was absorbed in it; he gave for it, he begged for it, he interceded for it. He summoned up all the powers of his mind, and rarely in verse have there been expressed such heart-felt sympathy, such terrific invective. His name was hailed in Poland as an omen of success. The Poles fought nobly; the struggle was prolonged; and it seemed as if they might triumph. But the sanguinary conflicts of the 5th and 6th of September, 1831, in which Warsaw fell, destroyed the hopes of freedom. A gentleman who was present when Campbell received the news, says, "Never in my life did I see a man so stricken with profound sorrow! He looked utterly woe-begone: his features were haggard, his eyes sunken, his lips pale, his color almost yellow. If I had been told that any man could have been similarly affected by the news of any political event, or catastrophe, I could not have believed it. It was not regret, deep concern, or mere melancholy, at tidings of a distressing public nature, but real heart-felt sorrow, stupefying grief, an astounding trouble of mind for the loss of a beloved object in which all his hopes centered." The defeat of the Poles brought large numbers of them into England. Many of these exiles had been reduced from affluence to poverty, and all needed sympathy and aid. Campbell took the lead in the efforts for their relief. In concert with a distinguished German lawyer, Adolphus Bach, he formed a Polish Association for this purpose. He was at the head of it. Everything else was sacrificed to this object. The Association was formed in March (1832), and in December he writes, "About four-score refugees have been supported or relieved, and sent abroad by our society. But the task of doing so was left entirely to your humble servant and our indefatigable and worthy secretary, Adolphus Bach. He has injured his business as a German jurist; and I have injured my health. Since May 1st, I have never been in bed later than six—devoting regular-

ly four hours to writing letters to the rich and charitable—and hundreds have I written, in order to raise some hundreds of pounds for our fourscore patriots.”—*Vol. ii. p. 286.* But the excitement was too much for his health, and he was obliged to retire from its more active duties, but he continued for several years to contribute to its funds. Dr. Beattie,—whose *intimate* connection with the poet commenced about this time—thus writes, “At his town lodgings, he was beset every hour of the day by appeals to his sympathy,—solicitations for assistance, literary and pecuniary—and these to a man, who had seldom fortitude enough to resist a pressing request, became more and more intolerable. Instead of growing callous, however, he seemed to become more and more sensitive with experience; and to have witnessed any distress in the morning, which he had not the means of relieving, poisoned his enjoyments for the rest of the day. I saw him almost daily, under these circumstances; very rarely without some ‘new and most deserving case’ to be taken in hand; and, whenever I acted professionally or otherwise, in concert with the poet, the relief he experienced in his own feelings was often as great as that he had administered to the patient.” Dr. Beattie adds in a note, “This partnership between the warm-hearted poet and the writer terminated only at his death-bed; and if, among the numerous instances that now start up in retrospect, much good was done or evil prevented, the merit was his. He was the good Samaritan, who, while others avoided, sought out cases of distress for the sole pleasure of relieving them.”—*Vol. ii. p. 289.*

Campbell’s friends were somewhat disposed to laugh at his zeal in the cause of Poland, but it sprang from the best impulses of the heart, and it is by no means clear that the poet was not wiser than the statesmen who then controlled the councils of Western Europe. A writer in the *London Quarterly*, in a notice of the edition of his collected poems published in 1831, makes himself merry over his forebodings as to the growing power of Russia. But have not recent events vindicated the words of the poet?

“Russia, that on his throne of adamant,
Consults what nation’s breast shall next be gored;
He on Polonia’s Golgotha will plant
His standard fresh; and, horde succeeding horde,
On patriot tombstones he will whet the sword,
For more stupendous slaughter of the free.
Then Europe’s realms, when their best blood is poured,
Shall miss thee, Poland——”

But there is in one of his letters a still more remarkable prediction. “I am sick and fevered with Germany for suffering this foolish Emperor of Austria. He fears letting his own people taste a little freedom more than resigning his own freedom to Russia—for he will

soon be the very vassal of the inhuman Slaves, and so also *will the King of Prussia henceforth.*”—*Vol. ii. p. 240.* Have not the last few months even converted this prediction into a fulfilled prophecy?

The aid which Campbell rendered to the cause of Poland and the Polish exiles, may be regarded as finishing his career as a public man. It will not be necessary to trace out the events of his subsequent life. We return to speak of him as an author.

Campbell's connection with the "New Monthly" ended, as we have seen, with the year 1830. He was then connected for a year or more with the "Metropolitan." This closed his labors as an editor. We shall not speak of him in that capacity, although we have some slight sense of the drudgery he endured. In 1834, he published a "Life of Mrs. Siddons." In the autumn of this year, he visited Africa, and on his return published in the New Monthly the results of his observations under the title of "Letters from the South," which were afterwards printed as a separate work. We omit to notice his other prose works as unimportant. In 1842, he published the "Pilgrim of Glencoe," which was the last of his long poems. But we can only place it in the same rank with "Theodric."

We have reserved the consideration of his lyric poems to this place that we might examine them together; besides, some of the finest of his short poems were written in the last years of his life.

We rank Campbell among the first of English lyric poets. He had that soul of fire, whose burning thoughts and feelings find their most appropriate expression in the ode, and, at the same time, a taste founded on the classic models, the severity of which kept him from the extravagances for which some poets seem to have claimed a poetic license. But the form is as essential to poetry as the matter. We will dwell for a moment upon the nature and worth of poetic expression, since we think Campbell particularly excelled in it. If the thought be the soul of poetry, the word is the body; and if the soul bear a heavenly impress, we may claim for the body that it shall have a divine beauty. Poetry is the spontaneous production of Nature, and as the powers of Nature are ever striving to be developed in forms of beauty, so poetic thoughts and feelings may be said to have an instinctive appetency for perfect forms of expression. Indeed, we need not confine this to poetry. Language itself is no mechanical thing, but a power of nature, the functions of which are to develop by necessary processes the forms in which the productions of the soul are to appear. Particular, definite thoughts can never exert all their influence upon mankind till they shall have attained a form of expression which all shall recognize as the natural one. The proverbs of all nations are the choice thoughts, sentiments, principles, which have become, as it were, incarnated in the

forms which nature seems to have designed for them. But these remarks apply particularly to poetry. This power of giving permanent form to thoughts and feelings is a part of the "gift divine." It is the appropriate office of the poet to arrest these thoughts and feelings which float in chaos through the minds of men, and cause them to come forth in forms of beauty which all shall recognize and own. The thought expressed in the oft-quoted line, "The child is father of the man," was common to other minds; Wordsworth was the first to give it an utterance in a way to make all other persons adopt the utterance as their own. The words of Burns, "A man's a man for a' that," are very simple and express a sentiment which must have been often felt before, but till then had never been spoken in a common language which all could read. It had remained like metal in the ore; Burns put his royal stamp upon it and made it current coin. We have taken our illustrations from single, short lines for the sake of convenience, but we might refer to entire poems. Were not the thought and the word in Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, born together as one perfect creation? This gift of language is a sure test of a genuine poet. It is to us a far more mysterious power, as it is developed in perfection, for instance in Shakspeare, than that power, which gives birth to the thoughts of the poet, for the latter are often common to all men and derive their preeminence alone from the expression. There is no poet of modern times, perhaps, who has excelled Campbell in this respect—no one who has produced so many lines which live in the minds of men. Many of them have become a part of the language itself. We will refer to two instances only.

With respect to the lines,—

"Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before"—

the following anecdote is preserved. The happy thought first presented itself to his mind the previous summer. He had gone early to bed, and still meditating on the wizard's "warning," fell fast asleep. During the night he suddenly awoke, repeating,—

"Events to come cast their shadows before."

This was the very thought for which he had been hunting during the whole week. He rang the bell more than once with increased force. At last, the servant appeared. The poet was sitting with one foot in the bed and one on the floor, with an air of mixed impatience and inspiration. He called for a light, and seizing hold of the pen, wrote down the "happy thought," but as he wrote, changed the words "*events to come*" into "*coming events*," as it now stands in the text. That slight change seems to us to have made

the difference between the line being known to every one and being known only by those who are acquainted with the whole poem. Without it, it would have been like a beautiful portrait with some feature imperfect.

The familiar line,—

“Like angel’s visits, few and far between,”

has an interesting history. The thought seems to have been first introduced into poetry by a poet of the seventeenth century, John Norris,—

“How fading are the joys we dote upon—
Like apparitions seen and gone!
 But those which soonest take their flight
 Are the most exquisite and strong—
Like angels’ visits short and bright,
 Mortality’s too weak to bear them long.”

Blair has borrowed this thought in his poem of the “Grave,” and thus expresses it,—

“—— visits
 Like those of angels—*short and far between.*”

But he has marred the line by introducing the demonstrative pronoun, and in substituting “far between” for “bright,” he has not only sacrificed the most expressive epithet, but he has destroyed the appropriate connection there was before between the *two* epithets, for the visits might as well be “long” and “far between,” as “short and far between,” and indeed with even greater propriety. Burns next took up the theme, and he gives the line thus,—

“Like the visits of good angels, few and far between.”

But the epithet “good” is almost tautological, at least no one would miss its absence. It was at this point in its history, that Campbell found the line and changed it as we now have it,—

“Like angel-visits, few and far between.”

By using the compound “angel-visits,” he secures greater compactness and avoids the harshness of the possessive case, and by substituting the epithet “few” for “short,” he gives a somewhat greater appropriateness to the two epithets, so that he seems to have improved upon Blair and Burns, but as between him and Norris, the question is doubtful—the epithet “bright” is so beautiful when spoken of an angel’s visit. If we look, however, at the *whole* stanza, we shall assign the palm of victory to Campbell.

The martial lyrics, “Ye Mariners of England,” “Hohenlinden,” “The Battle of the Baltic,” and others, are too well known to au-

thorize any remarks. "Ye Mariners of England," is to us a *perfect poem*. Although Campbell wrote so many battle pieces, he was no friend to war, and in a few odes he has succeeded in the difficult task of surrounding civic heroes with a halo of glory not inferior in brilliancy to that which encircles the brow of the warrior. We will refer as an example to the ode entitled "Men of England," and will quote three stanzas,—

"What are monuments of bravery,
Where no public virtues bloom,
What avails in lands of slavery,
Trophied temples, arch, and tomb ?

"Pageants ! Let the world revere us
For our people's rights and laws,
And the breasts of civic heroes
Bared in Freedom's holy cause.

"Yours are Hampden's, Russel's glory,
Sidney's matchless shade is yours—
Martyrs in heroic story
Worth a hundred Agincourts."

There is a class of odes which take a higher flight, such as, "The Last Man," and "O'Connor's Child." On the whole we think that "O'Connor's Child" is the best of Campbell's poems, as it unites more perfectly than any other both beauty, sublimity and pathos.

In 1836, Campbell published an edition of his poems, in which he inserted those only upon which he would rest his claim to be remembered. This selection was made with wonderful judgment and self-denial. There are not more than two poems, "The Dirge of Wallace," and "Love and Madness," about the admission of which there could be any question, while of all the poems printed by Dr. Beattie in the *Memoirs*, there is not one that should not have been rejected, though there are a few that needed only the final polish. His critics, Jeffrey and Scott, were constantly calling for long poems, but borne down as he was by the necessary toils of life, did not the poet judge the more wisely ? Indeed, will not these short poems—these odes—actually exert a greater influence upon mankind than any of the long poems of his age ?—of Southey's ? or even of Scott's himself ? Scott, indeed, with his usual sagacity and good sense, has so decided the matter. Upon Washington Irving's telling him on a certain occasion, that Campbell was deterred from writing, by the superior brilliancy of Lord Byron's poetry and of his own, Scott replied, "Pooh ! how can Campbell mistake the matter so much ? Poetry goes by quality, not by bulk. My poems are mere cairngorms, wrought up, perhaps, with a cunning hand, and may pass

well in the market as long as cairngorms are the fashion ; but they are mere Scotch pebbles after all. Now Tom Campbell's are real diamonds, and diamonds of the first water." Is not this the sentence which has already been passed on these poets ?

We hasten to the closing scene. Worn out by disease, Campbell, with his niece who had lived with him for one or two years, left England and took up his residence at Boulogne in France. Here he was taken dangerously ill. Dr. Beattie with his wife hurried to attend upon him in his last moments. We shall give the account in the words of Dr. Beattie. " June 12th.—By his desire, I again read the prayers for the sick ; followed by various texts of Scripture, to which he listened with deep attention ; suppressing, as much as he could, the sound of his own breathing, which had become almost laborious. At the conclusion, he said, " it is very soothing." At another time, I read to him passages from the Epistles and Gospels ; directing his attention, as well as I could, to the comforting assurance they contained of the life and immortality brought to light by the Savior. When this was done, I asked him, ' do you believe all this ? ' ' Oh yes,' he replied with emphasis, ' I do.' His manner all this time was deeply solemn and affecting. Later in the day, he spoke with less difficulty—he said something to every one near him. To his niece, who was leaning over him in great anxiety and anticipating every little want, he said, ' Come—let us sing praises to Christ'—then pointing to the bedside, he added, ' Sit here.' ' Shall I pray for you ? ' she said ; ' Oh, yes,' he replied ; ' let us pray for one another ! ' " He died June 15, 1844. He was carried to England, and buried in Westminster Abbey.

If our readers should think we have dwelt too long upon this subject, we have to say by way of apology, that Campbell is the poet of liberty and humanity, and that in spirit he is as much an American as an English poet.

ART. VIII. PLANK ROADS.

History, Structure, and Statistics of Plank Roads in the United States and Canada. By W. KINGSFORD, Civil Engineer on the Hudson River Railroad. *With remarks on Roads in general,* by F. G. SKINNER, and a *Letter on Plank Roads,* by the Hon. CHARLES E. CLARKE. Philadelphia: A. Hart, late Carey and Hart, 126 Chestnut Street. 1851. pp. 40.

PLANK roads have within a few years become an important part of the general system of intercommunication in the State of New York. We believe they have not been extensively adopted elsewhere, though we see no reason why this cannot be done, and with equal advantage. We have thought that a few remarks on this subject would not be out of place in the New Englander. In making them we shall draw somewhat largely upon the pamphlet before us, for which we would make this general acknowledgment.

A plank road consists of two parts. These are the road bed and the superstructure. The road bed does not differ from any well made turnpike road. The superstructure is composed of two parts, the "stringers," and the planks. The stringers are thick and broad plank, and should be not less than one foot in breadth and two inches in thickness. The stringers are laid longitudinally with the road; if only two are used, they should be placed so far apart that the wheels of vehicles with the ordinary length of axle, will pass over their center, and if a third is added, which is the best way, it should be so placed as to give some support to the tread of the horse. The stringers are imbedded so that their upper surface is on a level with the surface of the road bed. The planks are laid transversely on the stringers, and each one is settled by mauling till it rests flat and plumb on the stringer, and solid on the ground from end to end, so that no space is left for air beneath. The planks are driven close together, and thus form a perfect flooring. This flooring is then covered with sand or fine gravel, which prevents the calks of the horses' shoes from cutting the planks, and the tire of the wheels from wearing them. The grit, moreover, penetrates into the grain of the wood and forms a kind of protective covering, and by filling up the interstices hinders the passage of water in wet weather. The planks are eight feet long. The whole width of the road should be from sixteen to eighteen feet, of which the planked portion will of course occupy eight feet, and should be on one side and not in the center. As in passing, it is necessary for one of the vehicles to turn off upon the *unplanked* portion, which is called the "turn-off," it is obvious that that portion should be on a level with the planks,

and should be kept in good repair. To facilitate the return of the wheel, the planks are laid alternately in and out, so as to form a jog, on which the wheel can catch.

The cost of a plank road, including right of way, is on an average about seventeen hundred and fifty dollars a mile. The annual repairs will average for a series of seven years about ten dollars a mile, and the planks must be relaid every eighth year. The cost of repairs and of replanking, however, will depend very much upon the grade and the drainage. The grade should not be over one foot in sixteen, and might be much less, with advantage. The drainage, which is the most important point of all, should be so managed as to allow no water to stand on the planks.

The income of the road in the State of New York is derived from tolls. These, according to the law regulating them, are not to exceed one cent and a half a mile for a vehicle drawn by two animals; and one half-cent a mile for every additional animal; for every vehicle drawn by one animal, three-quarters of a cent a mile, and for each horse and rider, or led horse, half a cent a mile.

The questions of draught, of the rate of travel, of the wear of animals and of vehicles, are important to be considered. Mr. Clarke says, in general, "They are the best roads imaginable, better by far than the best paved or 'macadamized' road, pleasanter for the person riding, easier for the animals, and far less destructive to the carriages that roll upon them. A very little snow is enough to make excellent sleighing, and you can drive in the night as well as in the day, for the horses will instinctively keep the road." Mr. Kingsford makes the following statement: "Experiment has determined the load which a horse is capable of drawing on the plank road to be so weighty, that one almost hesitates to set it down from fear of the accusation of extravagance. On the Salina and Central road, a few weeks back, for a wager, a team of two horses brought in, without any extraordinary strain, six tons of iron from Brewerton, a distance of twelve miles, to Syracuse. One and a half cords of green beech is a common load, which is equivalent to four and a half tons. And there is so little resistance on a properly constructed road, that an average team of two horses can travel with this load from thirty to thirty-five miles day after day, at the rate of from three to four miles an hour. Indeed, the farmer does not seem to make any calculations of the weight taken. He loads his wagon as best he can, and the only care is not to exceed the quantity which it will carry; whether the team can draw the load is not the question—for those who travel on plank roads affirm that the only danger is that the wagon cannot bear the load, not that the horse cannot draw it." The difference between the common road and the plank road is well and fairly illustrated by the following fact given by Mr.

Kingsford : " A manufacturer of Utica formerly transported from the railroad to his establishment—a distance of seven miles—ten bales of cotton a day, with two teams of two horses each, each team making but one daily trip ; but on the recently constructed plank road, one team performs the journey twice, delivering fifteen bales daily. The average weight of a bale of cotton is five hundred pounds ; one team, therefore, is now equal to the work of seventy-five hundred, while on the old road it was equal to only twenty-five hundred. These loads must be considered as fair average burdens, without the energy of the horses being unduly taxed." We may place the usual load, for a team of two horses, at three tons.

The average rate of the stage coach on the plank road is eight miles an hour.

The wear and tear to the horse, harness and vehicle, is reduced at least one-half. Horse-shoes last twice the time. Instead of frequent new shoes, it is only necessary to have them periodically removed. These savings alone, to say nothing of the gain in point of time, will more than make up for the tolls which are exacted.

We do not propose to discuss fully the relations which plank roads may sustain to the several modes of communication within any given region, to the canal, the railroad, and the common road. We will confine ourselves to three remarks. *In the first place*, plank roads should take the place of most railroad branches. It is well known that the length of the branches of the Boston and Worcester railroad is about the same as the length of the main line, and that as a whole they produce *no income*. Here, then, is in reality a railroad of fifty miles long in the richest part of Massachusetts, which does not pay the expenses of running it. The reason why short railroad branches are not profitable, seems to be, that the inhabitants having their own " motive power," prefer to use it for short distances, so that the main line does not get much by the branch road which it did not before get. It seems to us, that the plank road is just what is wanted to complete and perfect the railroad system of any region. It is inevitable that a long line of railroad connecting distant important points between which there is a demand for the most speedy transport, should pass to the right or left of many important places, which places must decline by the growing up of others on the road, unless they can be connected with the main line in some easy way. A village five or ten miles from a railroad could not furnish freight and travel for a branch railroad, which would cost in the one case one hundred and in the other two hundred thousand dollars or more, while it would support a plank road, costing only eight or nine thousand dollars in the one case, and from sixteen to eighteen thousand in the other.

In the second place, there are many regions which have not at any given time business enough to support a railroad, but capacity to do it, if its resources should be developed. But it may take some years fully to develop them. Now in this case a plank road is just what is needed. The business of the region will pay a fair income upon a comparatively small capital, which it could not do upon a larger. Mr. Kingsford estimates that the cost of the railroad is at least twelve times that of the plank road. If we suppose the region through which a more speedy means of transport is required to be twenty miles long, the cost of a plank road would be about thirty-five thousand dollars, and of a railroad about four hundred and forty-two thousand dollars. This latter sum might in the course of some years earn a fair income, but in the meanwhile it would be unproductive. But the plank road will pay handsomely from the outset and is ready to give way to the railroad whenever the increase of business shall authorize it. In this case, indeed in every other, the plank road should be constructed under the direction of a competent engineer. Its line of direction and its grades should be determined with reference to the fact, that iron rails may at some future period be laid upon the road bed. This conversion of the plank road into a railroad, if it should become expedient, could take place at those periods when the planks shall have become so far worn as to require to be removed. The economy of this arrangement will be further evinced by considering the fact, that in average distances the fare on the plank road is only three cents a mile while on the railroad it is not much less; and that the difference of time in most cases is not more than three to one in favor of the railroad. This difference too is much more important to merchants and travelers going long distances than it is to the inhabitants of any particular region who have to travel short distances in their own vehicles. It seems to us, therefore, that in cases like this, and there are some such even in New England, the plank road finds its proper place in the system of intercommunication, and is to be preferred to the railroad.

In the third place, while attention has properly been directed to costly structures exclusively as the means of facilitating communication between distant parts of the country, it is a little remarkable that no attempt has been made until within a few years to improve the modes of communication between the different parts of the same county, or township, or smaller portions of territory. We have been disposed to grumble if we could not go a hundred miles on the railroad in three or four hours, but have been quite content to take the same time to go a dozen miles in our own vehicles. Now we believe that an improvement in the means of travel and transport for the inhabitants living within small districts of territory, among themselves, would be as great a gain to the country in proportion to

the money expended, as has been secured by canals and railroads. What does this gain consist in? If we trace it to its ultimate source, it will be found to consist in the saving of time. The person who goes by railroad to New York saves an hour or two compared with the person who goes by steamboat, and he who goes by steamboat, still more, compared with the person who goes in his own carriage. The farmer who requires one whole day to transport a given amount a given distance on a common road, will transport the same in one-third of the time on a plank road. Now to estimate the amount of time saved, or in other words, of productive power increased or money made, by a complete system of intercommunication for short distances, would be impossible. If we were to divide the number of miles run by all the railroads in any State within one year, by the number of inhabitants of that State, we should find that each individual on an average, had traveled but a very few miles, and of course had saved but a very little time: but if we were to divide the number of miles passed over by vehicles on the *common roads* in that State in the same space of time, by the same number, we should be astonished at the difference. If now each inhabitant in going the number of miles he travels in the year, on the common roads, could by any means save two-thirds of his time, and if this amount of time saved, should be made the standard of the actual worth to the community of the improvement, then, we say that such an improvement would be far more valuable to any State than the railroad system—valuable almost beyond estimate, as that has proved to be. We believe that the next great step in the improvement of the means of communication will be in the modes of transport and travel which is and must be accomplished by animal power. And this improvement will diffuse its blessings far more equally among the people than the railroad or canal. The railroad benefits the termini and a few intermediate points, and indirectly the whole region, but in the case supposed almost every householder in any given community would be *directly* benefited. In illustration of this position we will make a few extracts from Mr. Kingsford, who has collected some valuable statistics on the subject. He has given in specific statement the effects of these roads upon the surrounding country.

“UTICA.—One hundred and sixty-three miles of plank road may be said to belong to this city and converge toward it. These roads, further, connect the city with roads leading to Sackett's Harbor, a distance of seventy miles, and to Oswego, a distance of sixty miles. Prior to the introduction of plank roads, during the fall and spring, farmers could not take to the city loads exceeding 8 cwt. At these seasons, the streets, markets, and hotels would be deserted, presenting a painful aspect of depression of industry. In fact, it was only in the deep winter, when the sleighing was good, and in the clear summer months, that active business could be relied upon. The plank roads have equalized the seasons. Farmers can now come in every day in the year. There is a steady trade carried

on, and it is asserted that business has increased 100 per cent. The streets bear witness to this prosperity, for in all weathers they present a bustling and animated appearance. Indeed, it is on wet days that farmers often prefer driving to the city, having little occupation at home in bad weather.

"Property has increased in value 15 per cent.; the population 25 per cent. A new trade has grown up. On the northern road, the woollen manufactures in operation, some few miles from Utica, were in the habit, on the one hand, of obtaining their supplies by the canal—and on the other, of importing their manufactured articles by the same communication. They now purchase the raw material at Utica, and sell their goods there—thus creating a more profitable and better kind of business. Generally, the plank roads about Utica prove that the travel is soon doubled. What rate of increase will follow cannot be anticipated. The surrounding woodlands have considerably increased in value; formerly, they were scarcely salable. The timber is now regularly cut; consequently cord-wood has been reduced in value one dollar and a half a cord—the difference of carting from lots some short distance from Utica; and, as 35,000 cords are annually consumed in Utica, there is an annual saving of \$52,000, which would be the original cost of about thirty miles of plank road.

"On the Rome and Utica road, property, some few miles from Utica, has gone up 25 per cent.

"On the Utica and Ilion road, the advance is laid at 15 per cent.

"The Utica, Clinton, and Waterville, and the Utica and Waterville roads, furnish a good instance of the influence of plank roads. The latter was the old main road, and when the former was built, all the traffic was turned to the new road; and the little village of New Hartford, situated on the old road, was quite deserted. The result was the determination of the residents there to continue a road direct from Waterville through New Hartford to Utica, by which means the lost travel not only returned to the road, but property increased in New Hartford about 10 per cent., and in Waterville 20 per cent.

"On the Utica and Frankfort road, the advance on property has been 15 per cent."

We make one other quotation, in which the author sums up the advantages of plank roads to the farmer.

"The farmer has what he never had before—a good road every day in the year—the same in all seasons. Formerly, the spring and fall were periods, when the avenues to the neighboring city were closed to him. On the plank road, he can select for his journey days when he cannot work on the farm, taking with greater ease, in half the time, three times what he formerly could carry; and while residing close to the road, he sees his neighbor living five miles off, bringing two wagons to the planks, and then transferring the contents into the larger, and moving off with it—he can load his single vehicle with the full amount it can carry, and proceed onward without delay. His woodlands acquire, intrinsically, a value which they had not before, for he can cart sufficiently in one load to pay him for the expense of carting and cutting, allowing a fair value for his timber. His farm increases in value from 10 to 50 per cent., and commands a sale from the fact that the produce never lacks a market, and has a more regular and higher *net* value. By the current price, he knows what he can count upon. His grain is worth what all grain fetches in the next market, deducting the cost of cartage to take it there, which he can calculate to a cent, and deliver when he needs money. The adjoining tannery (and the probability is there is one within twenty miles) will buy his bark. His cord-wood can be carried the same distance. He sells, for remunerating prices, his perishable produce, such as vege-

tables and fruit, pumpkins, corn-stalk and fall apples, which brought him, previously, a very small sum, as the only market was in the small villages where there was little demand for them."

The history of plank roads is very brief. The first road of this kind built on this continent was in Canada in 1835-36. It ran east from Toronto. The first plank road in the United States was the "Salina and Central Square" road, which was built in 1847. Within the four years since that time, there have been constructed, or are now in course of construction, 2,106 miles of plank road in the State of New York, at an average cost of \$1,833 a mile. The cost of 1,201 miles of railroad in that State, as reported in 1850, was \$46,604,921: the cost of 2,106 miles of plank road is \$3,860,296; and we are strongly impressed with the belief that the latter has been expended as profitably for the State as the former. The earnings of these roads have been literally enormous. Mr. Kingsford says that the stock of no one of them is under par, but most of them at a great advance—some cannot be bought at all.

We have not designed to treat this subject at length, but we think it has an importance which has not as yet been conceded to it in New England. We hope it may be more thoroughly discussed in journals, where perhaps the discussion will be more appropriate.

ART. IX.—SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE HON. DAVID DAGGETT.

THE eminent public services of the Hon. David Daggett, lately deceased, and his wide reputation, especially as Professor in the Law Department of Yale College, and as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, have induced the Editors of the *New Englander* to request for publication the following address, sketching his life and character, which was given on the occasion of his burial by the Rev. S. W. S. Dutton.

There lies before us, in death, no more henceforth to be seen among the living, robed for the grave, the form of one whom we have long looked upon with admiration, affection and reverence; one, who, through a long life, has been eminent in the public service; one whom this town, and city, and College, and State, have willingly trusted and delighted to honor.

This mournful event has not come upon us suddenly. We have long felt that it must come soon. We have seen our friend, once vigorous and active, "the observed of all observers" in our streets and public resorts, gradually withdrawn by the growing infirmities of age to complete seclusion in his own dwelling. That voice, which once rung like a clarion in the halls of justice and of legislation, and in the clear music of social converse, has been losing its fullness and power. We have seen a falling away in that bold and strong Roman face, and dimness stealing the fire of that eagle eye. That brisk step, which was once seen in our streets before the sun of each morning, we have observed to grow more and more feeble and tottering. And that noble form, with its antique and peculiar but comely dress, which was once seen every day by our citizens, and in the sanctuary as regularly as the gates of Zion were opened on the Sabbath, has been gradually, and at length wholly, withdrawn from public view. We have known that the days of man's years are threescore years and ten; that if they are fourscore years, it is by reason of strength; and that when they are near to fourscore and ten, they must soon be cut off. And when it was learned that disease had come upon our friend in his extreme age, we all felt that but one event could be reasonably expected.

But our expectation of this event, our certainty that it could not be long deferred, does not divest it of sorrow. Our sorrow is indeed calm and tranquil. It is not the sorrow of those who mourn over one cut down in the prime, or the midst, of his days and his usefulness: for our friend is borne, a patriarch, to his grave, "as a shock of corn cometh in its season." It is not the sorrow of disappointed expectations, broken plans and blighted hopes. It is not the sorrow of that overwhelming shock, which bears away the trusted, the honored and the loved in the full exercise of their activities; which rends away the pillar, when sustaining the weightiest responsibilities of the state, the church and the family: for, as often happens in the divine kindness, the gentle ministries of advancing age had removed, one by one, the ties which bound our friend to a life of activity and duty, and had transferred slowly, safely and completely to other hands the offices and labors which once were his. His public burdens had all been borne and laid aside. His trusts had all been discharged, both without and within his home. His work had all been done. Nor yet is our sorrow that bitterest of all—the sorrow of those who have no hope in respect to the future life of a friend departed.

Nevertheless, our sorrow is sorrow indeed—the sorrow of those who see worth and nobleness passing away from among us; and especially the sorrow which must flow from the tender ties of nature and affection, when sundered and bleeding. We are never ready—

nature never can be ready—to have those ties severed ; though faith and piety can submit to the event, reverently and cheerfully, when it comes.

It is well, then, for sorrowing friends, a sorrowing church, a sorrowing community, and more deeply sorrowing kindred, to mingle, in this hour, their griefs and sympathies. And especially is it well—it is due—before we consign to the house of the grave one who has performed so many public services, to review his life and character, that we may be grateful for what God has done for our fathers and for us through him, and that we may gather wisdom from the survey of his virtues.

DAVID DAGGETT was born in Attleborough, in the county of Bristol, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, on the 31st of December, 1764 ; and, of course, at the day of his decease, April 12, 1851, had passed through three months and twelve days of his eighty-seventh year. He was of that stock, which we have so much reason to honor and reverence, the Puritan stock of the New England Pilgrims ; being the fifth in the direct line of descent from John Daggett, who came over from England with Winthrop's company in 1630, and settled in Watertown, in the Colony of Massachusetts. His son, Thomas Daggett, Esq., resided in Edgartown, on Martha's Vineyard. He removed thither, it is supposed, with the first Governor Mayhew, when he settled that island in 1644. He married Hannah, the oldest daughter of Governor Mayhew, was a magistrate of the island, and died about the year 1690. His son, Deacon John Daggett, the second in the line from the original settler, removed, with four sons, about the year 1707, from Martha's Vineyard to Attleborough, Bristol county, Massachusetts, where he built, for protection against the Indians, what was called a "garrison house," in which he lived. It is quite remarkable that of the four sons of this Deacon John Daggett, three have, for many generations, been represented by their descendants, in New Haven ; viz., Mayhew Daggett, the grandfather of the late Henry Daggett, Esq., whose residence was on the corner of Chapel and High streets ; Ebenezer Daggett, the father of Rev. Dr. Daggett, Professor of Divinity and President in Yale College, and grandfather of the late Captain Henry Daggett, whose residence was in George street ; and Thomas Daggett, the grandfather of David Daggett, whose death we now mourn. The fourth son, Naphthali Daggett, met an untimely death by the falling of a tree in Attleborough. The fourth in this line of descent, also named Thomas Daggett, the father of our lamented friend, was a man of vigorous intellect, strong common sense, and decided and earnest religious character. I have often heard our venerable friend speak of his father's strong sympathy

with the friends of the "Great Awakening," which occurred in the earlier part of his manhood, under the preaching of Whitfield, Edwards, Bellamy and the Tennents. In the controversy, which in subsequent years grew out of that Awakening, he was earnestly on the side of its friends; so much so that he had a partiality for the "Separates" of that day, though he never united himself with them. He was a Baptist in sentiment; and his influence as such had a modifying, though not a decisive, effect on the opinions of his son through life. Under the nurture and admonition of such a father, the son received thorough and judicious religious instruction, commended by a corresponding example; and was well trained in the principles of virtue and piety.

At the age of sixteen he came to Yale College, and entered the Junior Class, two years in advance; induced to choose this rather than the nearer College at Harvard, probably by the fact that Rev. Dr. Daggett, the first cousin of his father, who deceased the year before, had been an officer in Yale. He graduated in due course, and with high honor, in the year 1783, in the same class with Samuel Austin, Abiel Holmes, and John Cotton Smith. Of this class, numbering forty-two at the time of graduation, he is the last survivor but one.* His college life, it will be observed, was during the latter part of the stormy and trying period of the American Revolution. His class entered during the year in which the British troops, under General Tryon, invaded New Haven; and graduated in the very month in which the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed. When he took his second, or Master's degree, he spoke an oration of such marked excellence that it received the honor, quite unusual in that day, of publication. Having a strong preference for the profession of the law, he commenced, soon after leaving College, the study preparatory to that profession, with Charles Chauncey, Esq., of New Haven, afterwards a Judge of the Superior Court; and continued therein till January, 1786, a little more than two years; when he was admitted to the bar of New Haven county, at the age of twenty-one, and immediately entered upon practice in this town. While pursuing his legal studies under Judge Chauncey, he supported himself by performing the duties of Butler in college, and of Preceptor in the Hopkins Grammar School. A few months after he was admitted to the Bar, he was chosen to the office of Tutor in Yale College: which he declined, being eager to pursue the practice of the profession which he had chosen.

Mr. Daggett was early called into political service. In 1791, he

* Rev. Payson Williston, father of Hon. Samuel Williston, of Easthampton, Massachusetts.

was chosen to represent the town of New Haven in the General Assembly; and was annually re-elected for six years, till 1797, when he was chosen a member of the Council or Upper House. Though one of the youngest members of the House of Representatives, he soon became one of the most influential; and in 1794, three years after he entered the House, he was chosen to preside over it as its Speaker, at the early age of twenty-nine. To this office he was elected, year after year, till he was chosen to the Council or Upper House. This body was then constituted in a manner, very different from that in which our present Senate or Upper House is chosen. At the election in the autumn, twenty persons were chosen, not from particular districts, but from wherever in the whole State the ablest men could be found; and out of these twenty, twelve were chosen at the election in the spring—the twelve who had the highest number of votes—to constitute the Senate. The members of that body, thus chosen, were rarely changed. They were usually re-elected, until they forfeited public confidence by mal-conduct, or were promoted to some higher office, or voluntarily resigned. It was thus an unusually permanent body for an elective one, and embraced much of the political wisdom, ability and experience of the State. To this body, Mr. Daggett was transferred from the chair of the House of Representatives, in 1797; and he retained his seat there, for seven years, until he resigned it in 1804. In 1805, he was again a member of the House of Representatives. In 1809, he was again chosen a member of the Upper House of the General Assembly; and he continued to hold a place in that body, for four years, till May, 1813, when he was chosen a Senator in the Congress of the United States, for six years from the preceding fourth of March. In June, 1811, he was appointed State's Attorney for the county of New Haven, and continued in that office till he resigned it, when chosen Senator in 1813. At the close of his Senatorial term, in 1819, he returned to his extensive practice of law, which conduced much more to his private interest than had the public service of the State, in which he had been engaged as her representative in the Senate of the United States. In November, 1824, he became an associate instructor of the Law School in this city with the late Judge Hitchcock; and in 1826, he was appointed Kent Professor of Law in Yale College. In these positions he continued, until, at a very advanced age, his infirmities induced him to resign them. In the autumn of 1826, he received from the corporation of Yale College the honorary degree of LL.D. In May, 1826, when he was sixty-two years of age, he was chosen an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of this State. To this office he was appointed by a legislature, in which a decided majority were opposed to him in political principles and preferences. This fact is

worthy of remark, on account of its strong testimony to his preeminent fitness, at that time, for that high office, and also on account of the honorable testimony which it gives respecting his political opponents—whom he never courted, and in political conflict never spared—that in the election to an office so responsible, so remote from political interests and strifes, as that of a Judge of our Supreme Court, they were willing to lay aside partisan partialities, and to be controlled by a regard to superior intellectual, legal and moral qualifications. During the years 1828 and 1829 he was Mayor of the city of New Haven. In May, 1832, he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Here, again, was singular testimony to his preeminent judicial qualifications; for, contrary to the usual custom, he was appointed to that chief place notwithstanding the fact that he was not the senior in office among the judges on the bench. Judge Daggett continued to perform the duties of that station until December 31st, 1834; when he reached seventy years of age—the limit which our State Constitution assigns to the judicial office.

Thus for forty-four years, from the close of his twenty-sixth to the close of his seventyeth year, Mr. Daggett was almost continually engaged in public service, as member and Speaker of the House of Representatives of this State, member of its Council, Senator in the Congress of the United States, and Associate and Chief Judge of our Supreme Court.

The eminence of Judge Daggett, in his profession, and among the public men of the State, is sufficiently attested by the preceding account of the many positions of high responsibility and trust, in which he was placed by the guardians of Yale College, and by the people of this town, and this commonwealth; especially when we remember that the political party to which he belonged, which was dominant in the State till he was past middle life, and gave him the most of his honors, embraced, confessedly, many of the most powerful and brilliant minds of the State: and if we remember also, that some of the highest of these trusts were devolved upon him when his political opponents had come into power, and his own party had passed into a minority.

Mr. Daggett was admitted to the bar, and entered into public life, two years before the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Of the political parties which grew out of the adoption of that Constitution, he united, as did a great body of the people of New England at that time, with that which was called Federal. Of this party, though he was not a mere partisan but a true statesman, he was a firm, consistent, and thorough supporter. In the Legislature of the State, and as a Senator of the United States, he was a sagacious

and powerful advocate of its general principles and policy. Among its many strong men in this State, it had none stronger than he. For many years, no man in the State had so much political influence, an influence amounting so nearly to a political control of the State, as he. And since the defeat and prostration of that party and the formation of new parties on new issues, *he*, certainly, has never been ashamed, or reluctant, to have it known, that he belonged to the same school of politics with Washington and Hamilton, Jay and Pickering, Adams and Ames, Ellsworth and Sherman.

If we inquire for the qualities which rendered Judge Daggett so able and eminent in forensic and political life, that which was, perhaps, most remarkable, was his perspicacity—his faculty of quick and thorough insight—of looking through, speedily and completely, men, measures and cases, and learning what was in them. This faculty was of great service to him in society, in political life, and in court, whether at the bar or on the bench. His knowledge of men seemed almost intuition. He looked through them at a glance, and read their characters, motives and tendencies. He knew at once his jury, the witnesses, and the opposing counsel, and understood, of course, how to deal with them. If a witness knew the truth, but was reluctant to unfold or desirous to conceal that knowledge, he perceived the fact, and well understood how to bring out his testimony. If a witness was dishonest, he saw it, and knew just where his fraud lay, and how to detect and expose it. His cases he comprehended thoroughly, and saw them in their just proportions; knowing accurately their strong, their weak, and their unimportant points—those which demanded notice and stress, those which would not bear it, and those which would occupy time to no purpose, except weariness of judge and jury.

United with this faculty, was well-balanced judgment and strong common sense. In his own intellectual efforts, he directed his force, as by a kind of instinct, to that which was useful and practicable. He was far as possible from learned folly, intellectual quixotism, or the expenditure of acuteness to no good purpose. He could split hairs, if it was necessary: for he was acute in discrimination, and profound in analysis; but he never would split hairs for nothing, or for the sake of the performance. As a lawyer and a judge, he would not be under bondage to nice quibbles or legal technicalities, but took a plain and common-sense course to that which was the real intent of the law; and he preferred to lean to the side of equity and sound judgment, rather than to the side of legal formality. And, in judging of the intellectual efforts of others, he always liked those middle ground and common ground arguments, which carry the convictions of the great body of intelligent people, rather

than those extreme and doubtful, though ingenious arguments, which commend themselves only to the few. And this faculty of mind, in connection with his quick and thorough perception, enabled him in arguing cases in court, to apply testimony so as to make the strongest impression of the merits of his case upon the judge, and especially upon the jury.

He had also an exquisite and quick sense of propriety or fitness. He knew how to do and say the right thing, in the right time and place. He used often to remark that he admired what the Greeks call *τὸ πρέπον*: and surely, few ever understood it, or exemplified it, better than he. This quality rendered him very agreeable to others, and was of great service to him in his public life, especially at the bar. It gave him great tact. He knew just what suited what, and how to bring them together so as to produce the right result. He never did anything which was *mal-apropos*. He never stepped on the wrong spot. He never touched the wrong spring or key. He rarely blundered, in word or deed.

He abounded also in wit and humor, and had an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, always at command, with which he used to illustrate his positions and arguments, with great pertinence and felicity. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and remarkable power of pantomime—of imitating voice, look and manner—which he employed very effectively, when he related anecdotes, or when he wished to make his adversaries appear ridiculous. He had the rare and very effective rhetorical power of passing suddenly from the humorous and ludicrous, to the solemn, vehement and impressive, and of changing the laughter of his hearers into stern conviction, or indignation, or tears.

His memory was accurate and retentive; and it had the excellent quality of retaining what was pertinent, and of letting the rest go. He took very few notes during a trial; yet everything in the case was at his command when it was needed for use, and the right illustrations were ever ready at the right points.

He had great energy of feeling, which, kindling up as he proceeded with his case, gave impressiveness to his words, and set his argument on fire. Through this feeling, he became warmly enlisted in the causes which he espoused, and had a singular power of identifying himself with his client.

His power of concentration also was distinguished. He was almost uniformly brief in his arguments, rarely occupying more than an hour; yet they embraced in their dense and compact but luminous volume, all that was essential, or really useful, for his purpose.

All who have heard him agree in testifying, that his most marked peculiarity in the management of his cases was, that he saw, and distinguished clearly, the minor and the strong points, and passing

entirely or rapidly over the former, seized upon the latter with force and thorough comprehension, set them forth in all their strength, and pressed them with great earnestness and power upon the court and jury. His language, remarkable for its perspicuity, energy and impressiveness, and abounding in the strong Saxon words which are the common inheritance of all who speak the English tongue, enabled him to present vividly before others the truth, which he saw so clearly himself.

His knowledge of law was thorough, and eminently practical. He had it at command, when it was needed. His arguments, addressed to the court, were able and luminous; and he applied to his cases the principles of law, as well as the testimony of witnesses, with great sagacity. He relied more, however, on the resources of his own mind, upon his clear and quick perceptions of the nature and relations of things, on his profound thought, and strong common sense, than upon the erudition of books; though he had a good professional library, which he used to great advantage.

His manner of speaking was calm and deliberate, when he began; but as he proceeded with his case or subject, his feelings kindled, his language glowed, his eye, tones and person spoke in unison with his words, and often, in his peroration, he overwhelmed his adversary as by a resistless torrent.

The features of Judge Daggett's intellectual character which have been mentioned, his quick and thorough insight, his well balanced judgment and strong common sense, his quick and ready perception of fitness, his wit and humor, his power of varied and felicitous illustration, his ready memory, his energy of feeling, his concentration, his clear and nervous language, his practical knowledge of law—these, joined to his qualities of person and manner—his tall and commanding form, always dressed carefully, richly, and in perfect taste, rising and dilating as he warmed with his subject, his large and piercing eye, his expressive brow, his strong-featured Roman face, his powerful voice ranging through the whole scale, from a subdued yet distinct whisper, till it sounded like a trumpet-call, his utterance varying from solemn deliberation to the vehemence of a torrent—these qualities of mind, person and manner, made him an advocate, who, in his best days, had, on the whole, no superior, if he had an equal, at the bar of Connecticut.

There are other qualities of Judge Daggett's character as a public man which should not be omitted in this sketch. Time, however, which is fast passing, and is needed for other parts of the subject, compels me to speak of them briefly.

His punctuality was most extraordinary. The pointers of the town clock, the sun itself, hardly surpassed him in this respect. His integrity was thorough, stern and exact; and secured entire con-

fidence. He manifested particular kindness to those who were beginning life, especially in his own profession; sympathizing with them in their difficulties and anxieties, because he remembered his own. He had a just idea of the nature, and a thorough appreciation of the rules, of civility and courtesy at the bar; and observed them scrupulously in his own conduct. He was fair in his treatment of witnesses; regarding their feelings; never harsh and overbearing toward them, unless indeed they deserved severity, when he knew well how to use it; never resorting to the unscrupulous method of making an honest opposing witness appear ridiculous, or confused and perplexed, in order to impair the just force of his testimony.

He was very familiar with the Bible, which he had known "from a child," and had studied in his manhood more than any other book. The power of its self-commending truths and of its strong and popular language over the minds of men he appreciated highly. Its expressions were stored in his memory in great abundance and with singular accuracy; and he was accustomed to introduce them, when a Judge into his charges and especially into his addresses to the convicted, and when an advocate into his arguments and appeals, with great pertinence and felicity, solemnity and power.

A few words respecting Judge Daggett as he appeared in social life.

He was a true and accomplished gentleman. He was, in a very extraordinary degree, polished in his manners, and gracefully and scrupulously observant of all civilities. His courtesy was remarkable. He was disposed to please all whom he met; and his almost instinctive sense of propriety, and his graceful and easy manners and language enabled him to do so: and this made him a model of courtesy. In the performance of social civilities and duties to relatives, neighbors, and friends, he was an example, such as is rarely if ever found in these days. His courtesy, his varied knowledge of men and things, his lively feelings, accommodated readily to the old and the young, his cheerfulness, his wit and humor, his fund of anecdote, and his reminiscences of the past, made him the life of every social circle into which he entered.

The domestic life of Mr. Daggett was commenced early. At the age of twenty-one, soon after he began the practice of law in New Haven, he was united in marriage to Wealthy Ann, daughter of Dr. Æneas Munson; with whom he lived, in confiding attachment, and with almost reverential regard for her strong and marked intellectual and religious character, for fifty-three years, till death removed her from him for a time, in July, 1839, at the age of seventy-two. Judge Daggett's home, although filled with comforts

and joys, was darkened by the sorrows of many bereavements. He had nineteen children, the offspring of his first marriage, and of the fourteen who lived any considerable time only three survive him; and these, by the favor of Providence, have had the mournful privilege of smoothing his pillow in his last sickness, and to-day follow him to his last earthly house in the grave. So many children, with their mother, the beloved wife of his youth, he has followed, in the path of grief, to the tomb. Such was the strength of his parental feelings, that these bereavements took deep hold of him. With one of them he was completely overwhelmed—a bereavement by the death of a son, in his nineteenth year, of unusual loveliness and promise, who bore his father's name, and had devoted himself in purpose and heart to the ministry of Christ. This was a sorrow from which he never entirely recovered; though the blow fell upon his heart forty-one years since. It is not long ago that he said to a friend: "There has not been a day in all these years, in which I have not thought of that beloved son." Thus it is, that they who die in their early promise, are embalmed in the memory, and prolong, as it were, their earthly life by living in the hearts of surviving friends.

In May, 1840, Judge Daggett was married, a second time, to Mary, daughter of Major Lines, who, by her devoted affection and kindness, her cheerful society, and her anticipation of his every want, has been the joy and solace of his declining years; while she has made his home a pleasant resort, not only for his children and his children's children, but for all his friends.

Let us turn now, in conclusion, to view the religious life and character of our friend. Oh, that is the point to which, in this solemn hour, we look with paramount interest. His earthly honors would, in this hour, be poor consolation to us, did we not trust that he is an inheritor of the honor, pure, unfading and eternal, which comes from God. It would be mournful, indeed, to dwell upon his public services, did we not believe that he was a servant of Christ, and has heard from him the benediction, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Reference has already been made to the thorough religious training which Mr. Daggett received in his childhood and youth. This "nurture and admonition of the Lord" under the parental roof, and the memories and records of his pious ancestry, had a strong influence upon him. He commenced his active life with great respect for religion and its ordinances. He began at once to be a liberal supporter of its institutions, as he was through life, and a regular and attentive hearer of the gospel in the sanctuary; uniting himself with this ecclesiastical society [*i. e.* that connected with the North

Church], of which Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards was then pastor. He always took a great pleasure in hearing the doctrines and precepts of God's Word thoroughly and discriminatingly presented and applied; though for many years he did not cordially and savingly regard them. Indeed, he was quite an enthusiast with regard to preaching, and received great intellectual satisfaction in hearing, whenever he had an opportunity, the ablest ministers of his time; and they had no better judges of their discourses than he.

The various and severe discipline of bereavement with which it pleased God to visit Mr. Daggett, had the effect to bring him near to the kingdom of God, especially the death of his son David, which has been mentioned, and the death of a beloved daughter, his youngest child. Soon after the death of the latter, which was in 1815, he felt constrained to commence family worship, which he continued from that time through life. Another influence which had great and continued effect upon him, ought to be mentioned. His wife was a woman of decided piety, eminent in faith and prayer. She was in the habit, not only of praying herself for him at all times, but also of making appointment with those of her children who were Christians, at specified hours in the day, to plead in concert at the throne of grace, for the conversion of the husband and the father. She always cherished strong confidence that he would be brought into the fold of Christ, and she was not disappointed.

It was not, however, till the year 1832, that Judge Daggett, in his own view and that of his friends, began a really religious life. In April of that year, during one of those "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord," of which the Holy Scriptures speak, and which the Church in her glad experience has so often realized, there were in this city continuous religious services for a few days. The power of the Holy Ghost was upon the community, and Judge Daggett and many others among our elder men of distinction, were seriously moved. On one afternoon, when there was to be religious service in the evening, his wife and children observed that he walked his hall for hours, evidently in deep thought and mental conflict. In the evening, after an earnest and thorough presentation of the gospel, those who were disposed to take a position, expressive of their desire to become the friends and servants of Christ, were invited to remain in their seats, while the other portion of the audience should retire. Judge Daggett remained. After a few words of explanation, direction and exhortation from a minister of Christ, those who were resolved, by the divine help, to serve and love and trust the Savior of sinners, were invited to rise. Judge Daggett rose. And the decision, which he then, in that signal manner, expressed, he adhered to and cherished through life.

That was a period of rich grace and abounding joy in the house of our friend : for not only he but his youngest son, then in the profession of the law, consecrated himself to Christ ; and the father has often, in subsequent years, had the pleasure of listening to the Gospel from the lips of that son.

Four months after the event just related, Judge Daggett, at the age of sixty-eight, stood up in this aisle, near where his body now lies, and publicly expressed his repentance toward God and his faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, avowing the ever living and true God to be his God ; and covenanting, by the help of divine grace, to give himself up through life, to the Lord Jesus Christ, to be taught and governed by him, and to walk with this church in the divine ordinances.

Since that period, he has acted in the various relations of life according to this good confession. He has been an interested and edified attendant on the services of the sanctuary, and the weekly meeting of the church for prayer and conference, until prevented by the increasing infirmities of age. In social religious services he did not (as many desired, and as indeed was very desirable) take an active or leading part. But he felt a reluctance to take the attitude of instruction and exhortation in matters of spiritual experience, and thought, doubtless sincerely, however incorrectly, that he could be edified by others more than he could edify them.

Judge Daggett never spoke freely of his private feelings on any subject ; and especially on the sacred subject of religion. Yet there were those, who, he thought, had a right to know his religious feelings ; and to them he would speak willingly and freely. A little more than a year since, he had a full and unreserved conversation respecting his religious condition, hopes, and prospects, with one in whom he confided. He commenced his answer to an inquiry made on that point, by adopting, as his own, the remark of a distinguished Christian minister : " I feel that it is a very solemn thing for a sinful man to go into the presence of a holy God." But he added, that he approved and loved the way of salvation by the atonement of Christ ; that he daily committed his soul in love, loyalty and confidence to the Savior of sinners ; and believed that he was accepted now, and should be accepted hereafter of him : though he was not able to sympathize as fully as he desired, with the strong expressions of assurance in which it seemed the privilege of some to indulge.

During the last years and months of his life, Judge Daggett has turned his attention with more and more of exclusiveness to religious subjects ; and the reading which he has chosen to hear has been almost wholly of that character.

Having a constitution singularly tenacious of life, Judge Daggett

has had more than the usual dread of death. But in his case, as with God's people usually, the truth of "grace according to the day" was illustrated. He met death without fear or anxiety. It was quite evident to him that this was his last illness; yet he felt no concern. And when one inquired respecting the state of his mind, he referred immediately to his conversation with the person who made the inquiry, more than a year previous, as expressing fully his present feelings. Thus leaving himself quietly in the hands of his Savior, he breathed his life away; and has gone, we may believe, into the rest and joy of his Lord.

The length to which this address has been protracted, almost necessarily in giving an account of a life, so long and so crowded with matter for observation, precludes any extended remarks in closing. I will content myself with a few words.

The fathers! where are they? Those, who, a few years since, were regarded as the fathers in this church and this community! Where are they? Gentlemen of the Bar, those who a few years since were regarded as the seniors in your profession in this city—where are they? But one remains. Would, for our sakes, though not for his, that he might remain with us always. But it will not be. It can barely be said that he is here: for he is daily waiting, in the serenity of patience and hope, and in the confidence of faith, for his departure.* And you, who, a short time since, seemed to stand in the middle of your band, have now been moved forward to stand in the front rank, before the open grave! May God give you grace so to number your days, as to apply your hearts unto wisdom!

Gentlemen and friends, each and all, you have regarded him whose body lies before us as worthy in many respects of your imitation. Oh, that you would imitate him in the consecration of yourselves to Christ! He felt, that, in comparison with an interest in Christ, worldly honors were nothing, worldly wealth nothing, the whole world nothing. And this feeling controlled him. May it control you!

* The venerable Judge Baldwin, in his ninetieth year.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Christ in Theology; being the answer of the author, before the Hartford Central Association of Ministers, October, 1849, for the doctrines of the Book entitled "God in Christ." By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. Hartford: Brown & Parsons. 1851. 12mo. pp. 348.

THIS work is explained by its title. It consists of an argument in explanation and defence of the author's previous volume, which has since been prepared for publication. Our readers will scarcely expect us to enter into a criticism of its merits, or to give an opinion upon the correctness of its principles. The author bears to us the relation of a friend and coadjutor. This relation does not indeed make us responsible for his opinions in Philosophy and Theology—but it may reasonably allow us to leave to other hands than our own the service of attacking or defending these opinions. We trust that some of our journals professedly Theological, will furnish the public with a dispassionate and discriminating criticism of this and the previous volume, as works of Theological science. Such a criticism we think required by the importance of the subjects discussed and by the general and excited interest, which the volumes have occasioned.

But while for the reason given, we decline the service of giving an extended review of this book, we subjoin a brief view of its character and its contents. It is more argumentative than the previous work—more careful and clear in its statements, more guarded in its expressions, more orderly in its arrangement, and more consecutive and consistent in its argument. We believe that on this account it will be read with greater satisfaction, even by the author's most earnest opponents, and will relieve the minds of some, who were puzzled or offended by separate sentences and single propositions of his earlier work.

After a few introductory remarks, the author enters upon his argument by a discussion of "Language and doctrine," in which he explains and vindicates the positions which he had taken concerning the relation of language to thought and the possibility of a communication of spiritual and religious truth by language. His position is, that inasmuch as all language is "formal" in its nature, such truth cannot be separated from the medium by which it is conveyed, so far as to become the subject of logical deduction. He excepts from the application of this principle "the absolute truths, the expressions for which class with algebraic notations," which absolute truths are not, as we understand his meaning, limited to mathematical propositions, but relate to certain other familiar notions.

There can be no question among those who are competent to form an opinion upon this subject, that all the words of every language are "formal" in their origin and nature. The ablest philologist of his time, who has recently deceased, has demonstrated this fact; and illustrated completely, that both the materials of which language is composed and the relations of thought, are originally represented by sensible objects and by motions in space. This fact of itself does not prove, that the truths which are represented in language, cannot be so represented as to be separated entirely from the forms in which they are clothed, and to furnish the basis for logical deductions. Dr. Bushnell himself does not affirm that this is impossible in regard to all truths whatever, but only in respect to those truths which are infinite and divine. Here, then, is the precise question which is to be settled and on which the whole argument of Dr. Bushnell must stand or fall. Are the Trinity and the Atonement truths of such a nature, that they cannot be revealed in language in such a way as to become parts of theological science and to furnish ground for logical inference and deduction? Are they on the other hand, as made known in the Scriptures, not revealed as "absolute truths," but as

the ultimate "forms" of truth which man can attain, and the most adequate revelation of truth which man is bound to believe and live by? These are the questions which are to be discussed and decided by scientific theologians.

The question for practical adjudication has been from the first, and is now so far as it is an open question, whether a religious teacher, who holds that though the Trinity and the Atonement are not, so far as he can affirm or deny, "absolute truths," in his sense of that phrase, yet that they are "revealed truths" in the only way in which such truths can be revealed at all—whether such a teacher is or is not worthy the fellowship of his ministerial brethren, and the confidence of the churches.

We say this seems to us to be the form in which this question is presented for practical adjudication, for a careful perusal of the remainder of the volume on "the Person of Christ, the Trinity, the Work of Christ," will show beyond question that Dr. Bushnell believes these truths to be revealed so far as, according to his principles of language, such truths can be at all communicated by Revelation.

The Half Century; or, a History of changes which have taken place, and events that have transpired, chiefly in the United States, between 1800 and 1850. With an Introduction by MARK HOPKINS, D.D. By EMERSON DAVIS, D.D. Boston: Tappan and Whittemore, 114 Washington Street. 1851.

THIS book has been lying upon our table for some months. We have several times taken it up with the intention of writing a notice of it, but after reading a little here and there, have grown weary of our task and thrown the book aside. Were it not that it comes before the public under the protection of so distinguished a name as that of President Hopkins, and that therefore, it might be supposed to represent the state of New England scholarship, we should pass it by.

There is one thing, however, we can say in its favor, which can be said of few books; it fully answered the object for which it was written. The author remarks with great good humor, that the question of the time when the nineteenth century commenced having been started, "there was reason to fear for a while that all the enthusiasm which the completion of a half century excites would be used up, before the set time for the appearance of this volume had arrived." As it was, a few shots were fired too early, but most of the clergy waited and thus had an opportunity of taking their ammunition from the magazine prepared for them. But the last half of the nineteenth century began too soon for our author after all, for he informs the reader, that "he fully intended to have given some prominence to natural, intellectual and moral philosophy, and also to agriculture; but the time has passed and he finds himself obliged to omit these topics entirely." However, as some consolation, he adds, "he leaves them for the benefit of those who may be gleaners in the field." We advise those who are disposed to avail themselves of this "benefit," to be prepared to harvest as well as to "glean," for they will find many other fields untouched and of the crops into which the sickle has been thrust, a large part continues standing.

We fully approve the project of getting up this book for the especial behoof of those who had to write semi-centennial sermons. It saved them much labor and suggested many hints. The publication was a decided hit in the book-making line and we can but think it smacks of its Yankee origin.

But when we have said this, we have said all that we can say in its favor. There is no one chapter which a person master of the subject of which it treats, would regard as satisfactory. No statesman would acknowledge the chapter on "political changes and events," as anything more than a chronological table of

occurrences which every well informed man is presumed to be acquainted with. The statistician, who should chance to glance over the chapter on "canals," "steamboats," "railroads," "telegraphs," and "post-offices," would naturally conclude that the clergy must be ignorant indeed, if they could be made satisfied with such a meagre *posting up*. The chapters on "educational changes," on "charitable educational institutions," and on "moral reformation," are somewhat better, though one would have supposed that in the enumeration of the changes in school books, so great an improvement as the introduction of Webster's Dictionary could not have been overlooked.

The chapter on the "progress of science" opens with an illustration of the proposition, that "science is the handmaid of religion." Among the several instances adduced, there is one so remarkable that we quote it:—"Infidelity has denied the resurrection of Christ from the dead, on the assumption, that he was not dead when laid in the sepulchre. *She* declares he could not have died in so short a time by the ordinary pains of crucifixion. A late writer, eminent in the medical profession, has shown by reasoning on the facts we have on the subject, that when 'on him was laid the iniquity of us all,' such was the pressure of sorrow, that *it produced a rupture of the heart*, and hence the reason why life was so soon extinct." We hardly know what to say to this. The objection itself is not worthy of the least attention, and the answer is as worthless as the objection. To dignify idle conjectures of this kind with the name of science, and then to bring forward *such* science as the handmaid of religion, is to dishonor both.

The chapters on "astronomy" and the other sciences must have been the portions of the book which President Hopkins did *not* examine, we are sure, for there are some obvious suggestions which he could not have forbore to make. Our author mentions correctly the discoveries of the ten asteroids, but ignores the discovery of the eighth satellite of Saturn by the Messrs. Bond, of the Cambridge Observatory. In his account of comets he omits to mention the great comet of 1843, which was seen in broad daylight in many parts of the world, and with the naked eye all over New England, and which was attended with so many interesting circumstances. He has nothing of De Vico's comet of 1844—nothing of the return of Biela's comet with its remarkable attendant body, in 1846—nothing of the return of Halley's comet in 1835, which was first seen by Professors Olmstead and Loomis with the Clark telescope weeks before news arrived of its having been seen in Europe; but the latter omission may perhaps be accounted for from the fact that the author does not appear to be aware that there is an Observatory in Yale College. There is not a word upon the important discoveries relating to the fixed stars and the nebulae. We do not complain of his omission of any mention of the Yale Observatory, for we would not appear even to wish to detract from the credit justly due to Professor Hopkins of Williams College, for being the first to erect an observatory "solely and exclusively" devoted to astronomical purposes. We believe the building in which the Clark telescope is placed, is used for some other purposes. The author concludes this chapter by "mentioning some of the persons that have contributed to the progress of this science, who have died within the period under consideration." He enumerates, "Sir William Herschel," "Miss Herschel," and "Olbers." We would add to this list, La Place, and his distinguished translator, Dr. Bowditch, Maskelyne and Baily, Lalande and Bessel, Piazzi, Delambre and Lagrange.

The chapters on Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, Botany and Zoology, are of the same character. But we have no time to examine them. We will merely add to the "Geological Surveys" of the States which are mentioned, the survey of the State of Connecticut, made by Dr. James G. Percival and Professor Charles U. Shepard.

It was not to be expected that in giving an account of "Religious Controversies," the author should please all parties. But as far as we have observed he has

pleased none, although in regard to what he calls the "Connecticut Controversy" there are at least three persons who ought to be entirely pleased, and we have no reason to suppose they are not. Dr. Harvey is informed that his review of Dr. Taylor's "Concio ad Clerum" is "able and elaborate;" Dr. Tyler, that his "strictures" were regarded by those who did not sympathise with Dr. Taylor, "as a triumphant refutation of his theory of regeneration;" and Dr. Woods, that his letters were "candid and conclusive." The author has spared the feelings of the gentlemen who wrote on the other side of these questions, by withholding his opinion of their performances. We accept the motive, but would not have exacted the self-denial, for we do not suppose it will make much difference either way in the long run. We have been not a little amused in fancying to ourselves the confusion and perplexity of mind into which Dr. Fitch will be thrown, when he learns that he has been teaching all his life, that "man is not a sinner till he has committed an outward act of transgression." But the sentence is too remarkable to be withheld. "He," Dr. Fitch, "maintained that sin consists not in any preexisting propensity to sin, but in acting according to that propensity; or in other words, man is not a sinner till he has committed an outward act of transgression." Considering how much the will has been discussed in New Haven, we are surprised it did not occur to Dr. Fitch that there might be an act of the will between the propensity and the "outward act;" indeed, we seem to have some recollection that the Doctor did place the sinfulness of man in "immanent preference." If this be a fair specimen of our author's philosophical acumen, we must regret the more the loss of those chapters on "intellectual and moral philosophy" which the rapid flight of time prevented from being given, for we are sure they would have contained some surprising revelations as to the sentiments of the distinguished thinkers of the age.

But there is a statement in respect to Dr. Taylor's controversy with Dr. Tyler, which required something besides philosophical acumen to make. Dr. Tyler and Dr. Taylor had had a controversy in the Spirit of the Pilgrims. After the publication of Dr. Tyler's final communication in that Magazine, Dr. Taylor published a letter in the Christian Spectator, "which," says our author, "was regarded by many as an extraordinary production, because in it he endeavored to show that he and Dr. Tyler were, after all, perfectly agreed, and yet he had charged Dr. Tyler with adopting a theory which involved the idea, that 'sin is a good thing,' that 'God is the responsible author of sin,' and that his views, carried out to their legitimate results, lead to universalism, infidelity and atheism." Truly, this would have been extraordinary. In one letter, to charge a man with holding doctrines leading to such results and then in the next to turn round and say you perfectly agree with him, is such downright folly, that our author ought to have characterized it as such under his own name, without fathering the assertion upon the convenient "many."

Those controversies had somewhat passed from our memory, and we therefore turned to the letter itself of Dr. Taylor, in which we find this preliminary remark: "Throughout the whole of the discussion, until his last letter, Dr. Tyler has adopted modes of stating and explaining his opinions, which appear to me, in what I deem their true and proper import, to be altogether erroneous. In his last communication, however, he has adopted other forms of statement, which, if I understand their meaning, coincide perfectly with what I have always maintained on the subjects in debate." Now, whether Dr. Taylor's understanding of the meaning of "the other forms of statement" is correct or not, we do not stop to inquire: but is it saying the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to record as a historic verity, that Dr. Taylor endeavored to show that he and Dr. Tyler were, after all, perfectly agreed in their views, and yet he had charged that the views of Dr. Tyler, carried out to their legitimate results, lead to universalism, infidelity, and atheism, without even alluding to the circumstances upon

which that claim to agreement rested? That is the question; or rather it is no question at all. Dr. Taylor had not charged that the views of Dr. Tyler, as expressed in "the other forms of statement"—the views which he supposed agreed with his own—lead to "universalism, infidelity and atheism," as Dr. Davis says he had. If this be the true mode of writing the history of "religious controversies," there are but few men who could afford to write it.

There are many other topics upon which we might remark, but we give up the wearisome task. It is some consolation that semi-centennial sermons do not have to be written but once in fifty years.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A., Professor of Divinity, Kings College, London, &c., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. 8vo. pp. 375. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THIS volume is another sign and example of the fact, that English interpreters are introducing to their countrymen the results of German exegesis. It consists of two portions, a preliminary essay of 80 pages, which presents a highly valuable summary of the nature and signs of miracles, their appropriate evidence, the events which have been falsely claimed to be miraculous, the various assaults which have been made upon them by Jewish and Heathen objectors in the earliest ages of Christianity, by the pantheist Spinoza, the skeptical Hume, the philosophic Schleiermacher, by the rationalistic Paulus and the historico-critical Strauss. The author also discusses with thoroughness and ability the apologetic value of miracles, which is a subject of the highest interest and has been much mooted in our time. It bears a most important relation to the prevailing skepticism and infidelity, and meets the wants of every student of the evidence of the truth of a supernatural revelation. This essay we regard as an important contribution to Theological Science, and it will cause this book to take its place upon the shelves of every one who aspires to be a well-read theologian.

After this essay, the author takes each miracle by itself and comments upon it critically, theologically and practically, giving himself greater freedom than would be appropriate to an ordinary commentary, and aiming to discuss all the questions which are suggested by each miracle. We recommend the book as one of permanent value to the theologian and the intelligent Christian. It is enriched with abundant references not only to the recent German interpreters, but to the writings of the Fathers, from which ample quotations are made in the foot-notes. Among other subjects, that of demoniacal possessions is treated at length, and with abundant research and marked ability.

The World's Progress: A Dictionary of Dates, with Tabular Views of General History and a Historical Chart. Edited by G. P. PUTNAM, Member of the Amer. Ethnol. Soc.; of N. Y. Hist. Soc.; Hon. Mem. of Conn. Hist. Soc., etc. New York: G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1851.

THE convenience of such a work as this as a book of reference, need not be dwelt upon. No memory can carry the dates of even all the most important events in the world's history. Of necessity, recourse must be had to books where they are recorded. But the books may not always be at hand, and it must take time to search often in several volumes. This work of Mr. Putnam's saves all this time and trouble. We have constantly had it on our table, since we received it, and have found frequent occasion to consult it. Of course, there must be some errors, but we give our testimony to its general accuracy, so far as we have examined it.

The Old Red Sandstone; or New Walks in an Old Field. By HUGH MILLER, author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. From the fourth London edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 288. New Haven: S. Babcock.

WE remember when, a few years since, a copy of this work was shown to us by a friend recently returned from England, who described it as a book which had produced a strong impression. It is the work by which Hugh Miller created for himself his well-deserved fame. It is more popular in its character than the "Footprints of the Creator"—and will be eagerly sought for, not only by devotees of the Natural Sciences, but by all intelligent men.

The Footprints of the Creator; or the Asterolepis of Stromness. By HUGH MILLER, author of "the Old Red Sandstone," &c. With a memoir of the author, by Louis Agassiz. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 337. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THE theme of this fascinating volume is indicated by its title. Its design is to show that the fact of creative interposition is not only indicated by the facts of Geology, but that the footprints of the Creator can be traced in the strata long ago deposited. Taking the arguments from fossil remains, as undisputed and indisputable, following the line of gradation in the ascending scale of animal and vegetable life, he finds strange interruptions and occasional degradations, which show conclusively that the Deity has not simply developed all animal and vegetable existence, by the accretion of certain potent and self-organizing particles, but has now and then stepped forth as a present and necessary Creator. The contrast between the style of reasoning adopted in this book and that of the Vestiges of Creation is as striking as that between the conclusions to which the two methods of reasoning conduct. We cannot recommend this book too highly, to all our readers.

The Poetry of Science; or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By ROBERT HUNT. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 388. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

THIS book is readable and popular, but the number of facts which it presents, and the lucid method in which they are exhibited are fitted to secure to it the confidence of men of science. To every such work as this, we give our cordial good wishes.

Principles of Zoölogy. By L. AGASSIZ and A. A. GOULD. New Edition. Boston. 1851.

As it was to be expected, this book has excited a good deal of attention among the students of Natural History, not only on account of the source from which it emanated, but also from its intrinsic value. In this respect, we concur entirely with the views which an able writer and competent judge expressed in the Massachusetts Quarterly Review (Vol. I. p. 456, &c.), when the first edition was published. Unlike most of our scientific text-books, this is not a mere repertory of facts which are more or less interesting in themselves; it is written in that philosophical spirit which, for some time past, has distinguished the investigations of modern science, and especially in Germany. The design is not so much to give a description of the various animals in their adaptation to the condition in which they live, as to represent the animal kingdom as a whole, intimately connected in all its parts, as the realization of one great plan, which is to

be traced in various directions in the development of the *individuum*, as well as in the successive appearances of the different tribes during the geological ages, and their actual distribution on the surface of the earth. In this respect, the work is highly suggestive, and has no doubt done much good, and we cannot but congratulate the community that has patronized the work.

But while we acknowledge its great merits, we cannot help noticing some of its defects, the more so, as we have been somewhat familiar with its history. The work, as it stands, was written in a foreign language, according to a plan proposed by Professor Agassiz. Any one who has read it attentively must have seen marks of its foreign origin. Besides, it was written in a manner somewhat hasty, and all parts were not treated with the same care, for the actual authors of the work were not equally conversant with all the subjects treated of therein. In both respects, the new edition has been materially improved. The physiological part, which treats of the functions of vegetative life, has received various additions, and the chapter on the secretions of the animal body has been entirely re-cast. On the contrary, the new part, which treats of the embryology and metamorphosis of the animal, and which is by far the most interesting and the best written, has undergone but few modifications. Yet in this department, there was need of some corrections growing out of the recent investigations, and the rapid progress of science. Thus, for instance, it is now proved beyond doubt, by the investigations of Sir T. Dalyell and others, that the jelly-fishes originate by budding from little Polyps like the Hydra; whereas, they are here still represented as transferring themselves from an infusoria-like animalcule into a jelly-fish.

The Hydroids are left as an order in the class of Polyps, although it has been proved and admitted by Professor Agassiz himself, that they belong to the jelly-fishes.

We find a still graver error in the geological part (p. 218), where the Permian formation is placed *below* the coal measures. It would hardly be a greater mistake to put the period of Cæsar before that of Alexander.

The corrections have not always been made with the necessary care, and in consequence, there are discrepancies which must puzzle the student. Thus, in the introduction (p. 23), the class of Polyps is represented as composed of *two* orders—the Hydroids and the Actinoids—while in the frontispiece, the same class numbers *three* orders—the Rhizopoda, the Actinoids, and the Hydroids. Again, the class of Gasteropoda or snail-like Mollusks, in the introduction (p. 22), is composed of *four* orders; in the frontispiece, of *three*.

There are other mistakes in the frontispiece, which ought to have been corrected. Thus, the oldest reptiles are represented as not reaching further back than the Trias, while it is well known to all geologists, that reptiles occur in the coal measures. On the other hand, the ganoid fishes are carried to the bottom of the Lower Silurian, while in reality they are not known below the Devonian.

The new edition is enriched with a list of important authors to be consulted in the subjects of the work. This might have proved a valuable addition, if it had been anything like complete and impartial. But authors who have very small claim, if any at all in Zoölogy, as for example M. Guyot, are ranked among the first authorities, while some of the masters of the science, and leading minds of the age, are omitted. Thus we have in vain looked for the name of Lamarck among the zoölogists, and of Quatrefages, Dujardin, and Professor C. Vogt, among the embryologists. The omission of the latter is the more surprising, as the authors have made abundant use of his labors. We understand that *fourteen* of the most conspicuous diagrams of the text-book are copied from one of Mr. Vogt's works.

Finally, we would only allude to the inadequate credit which is given to Messrs. E. Desor and J. Elliot Cabot for their share in the undertaking. The

name of the latter gentleman is not mentioned at all, although he translated the whole of the embryological and geological part from M. Desor's French manuscript. The wrong done to M. Desor has already been stated in the Massachusetts Quarterly Review, and it was then ascribed to an oversight, and the hope expressed that the error might be corrected in a new edition. We are sorry to see this has not been done.

History and Geography of the Middle Ages, For Colleges and Schools (chiefly from the French). By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, author of "Life of Gen. Greene," "Historical Studies," etc. Part I. History. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. pp. 454.

This is the first volume of a series, which will comprise a History of Rome in one volume; Ancient and Grecian History, one volume; Ancient Historical Geography, one volume; Geography of the Middle Ages, with maps showing the state of Europe at the great epochs of mediæval history, one volume; and Modern History, one volume.

The present volume is chiefly taken from a French text-book of approved reputation. It is distinguished for its analytic clearness of method, and its precision and perspicuity of style. Each chapter is preceded by a condensed summary of its contents, and of the smaller sections, even, each one has its subject placed at the beginning. The author does not confine himself to history in the narrowest sense, the mere narrative of public transactions; he traces the progress of legislation and political institutions; and presents general views of art, literature, society and manners. The chronological and genealogical tables at the end are numerous and well arranged: they add much to the value of the work.

The second part, containing the Geography of the Middle Ages, is understood to be in course of preparation. The parts which are to follow will resemble the present volume in their arrangement, but will be composed expressly for the series.

The Works of Horace: with English notes. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 575. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We have not had the time to secure to this work a critical examination, but so far as we have examined, it seems to us to deserve to be considered the best edition of Horace prepared in this country for the use of our schools and colleges. The text is that of Orelli—the notes are prepared on the right principles—the indexes are ample—the type and paper are very superior. There is nothing to which we except, but the slight awkwardness of the volume, which may arise from the thickness of the paper. If this can be, we hope it will be corrected.

The Devotional Sacred Music of America; Arranged for Four Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano-Forte, Organ, Seraphine, Melodeon or Æolian Attachment. New York: For sale by Waters & Berry, 333 and 447 Broadway.

We recommend to the attention of our readers the above valuable collection of music. It seems well adapted to family and social worship. Whatever shall serve to facilitate the diffusion of a musical taste, and to introduce more extensively into the household the worship of God by psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, should be welcomed.

Reveries of a Bachelor: or a Book of the Heart. By I. K. MARVEL, Author of "Fresh Gleanings." New York: Charles Scribner. 1850. 12mo. pp. 298.

THE author of this volume is one in whom we acknowledge a personal interest, and for whose works we are inclined to a favorable judgment. We do not need to guard ourselves, in the present instance, against a flattering estimate of his success. With somewhat of the tenderness of Mackenzie, he has the strong common sense of the New Englander who has been country bred. He has cherished the love for out of door scenes and for indoor affections, which are so natural to New England life. His pictures and scenes are drawn from a personal contact with living men, and a quiet yet strong interest in the workings of a reflecting yet affectionate nature. Hence the peculiar charm of naturalness in all his portraits, whether of himself or of others. The style, too, is easy, showing patient study of the powers of the English tongue, and a taste that is exquisitely sensitive to its rarer and more delicate beauties and its finer harmonies. There are conceits, now and then, it is true; but fewer than we have observed in some of his previous volumes. There may be occasional reiteration and monotony; but as a whole, the book richly deserves the popularity which it has already received. We hope the author will work his best veins, with fidelity and the amplest reward. Are we mistaken, or is there not a series of letters from the same pen, that once appeared in the *New York Spectator*, on *Country Life in England*? If we are not mistaken as to their authorship, we would earnestly advise their publication in a volume.

A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography, partly based on the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Editor of the Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Revised, with numerous corrections and additions, by CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. 1851.

THE progress of classical studies has at last reached our classical dictionaries and geographies for schools. Lempriere is dethroned. The student has now sources of information upon which he can rely. The series prepared by Dr. William Smith, aided by the cooperation of some twenty-eight distinguished scholars in England and Germany, leaves little to be desired, at least according to our present views. This series consists, first, of a Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, in one volume of 1121 pages: secondly, of a Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, in three volumes of about 3600 pages: and thirdly, of a Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, now in preparation. The present work is an abridgment compiled from the first two of the preceding works, for the use of schools, the articles on Geography being written anew for it. It is published in this country under the supervision of Prof. Anthon, who has corrected many errors and made many additions. We hope it may be introduced into every classical school in the land.

Appleton's Mechanic's Magazine and Engineer's Journal. Edited by JULIUS W. ADAMS. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut street. Nos. 1—4.

WE very much like the plan of this Magazine, and we have found ourselves unexpectedly interested in its contents. We think these enterprising publishers have entered upon a field of publication most useful to the country, in their recent issues upon Mechanics, Engine-Work, and Engineering. Such publications are much needed, and we hope may be extensively circulated.

Lavengro: The Scholar—The Gipsy—The Priest. By GEORGE BORROW, author of "The Bible in Spain," and "The Gipsies of Spain." New York: G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1851.

The Wide, Wide World. By ELIZABETH WETHERELL. In two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1851.

WITH respect to the first of these works, we have very much the same opinion as other critics. The reader is left in a very doubtful state how far he is to regard it as an autobiography, and how far as fiction. We claim that the union of the two is incompatible, and the appearance of the union where it does not exist, injurious to a work as a work of art. If we regard it as pure fiction, and judge of it according to the laws of art as a whole, we must condemn it, as wanting in unity both in the structure of the story and in the inferiority of the last of the three prominent characters he would set forth. "The priest" is a miserable failure. On the other hand, looking at the work as merely containing a series of descriptions and characters without much connection being intended—as a miscellany—we acknowledge there are scenes written with great dramatic power and effect.

With regard to the other work, we have no other remark to make than that it appears to be an interesting novel.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WE have found it difficult to notice works which are published in successive numbers. We shall hereafter merely report the progress of such publications, after we have once informed our readers of the character of the work. There are also some books which, either from being well known, or for other reasons, do not require an extended notice; these we shall place under the present head.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics and Traditions of the War for Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. With six hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing & Barrett, chiefly from original sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851. Nos. 1-13.

Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture. Detailing the labors of the farmer in all their variety, and adapting them to the seasons of the year, as they successively occur. By HENRY STEVENS, F.R.S.E., Author of the "Book of the Farm," etc. Assisted by JOHN P. NORTON, Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New Haven. New York: Leonard Scott & Co., 79 Fulton street, and 54 Gold street. 1851. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Nos. 1-16. Vol. I, pp. 673. American Appendix, pp. 40. Vol. II. pp. 304.

Dictionary of Mechanics, Engine-Work, and Engineering. OLIVER BYRNE, Editor. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. New Haven: T. H. Pease, Nos. 1-27. Vol. I. pp. 960. Vol. II. pp. 336.

The Illustrated Domestic Bible. By the Rev. INGRAHAM COBBIN, M.A. New York: Samuel Hueston, 139 Nassau street. Nos. 1-16. New Haven: J. B. Peck, Sunday-School, Tract and Bible Depository.

We repeat, on farther acquaintance with this edition of the Bible, our recommendation of it. We think it admirably adapted for use in the family.

The Conquest of Florida by Hernando De Soto. By THEODORE IRVING. 1 volume. New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1851.

As we intend hereafter to give a full account of this very interesting and valuable work, we do no more than announce its publication in our present number.

An Exposition of the Apocalypse of John, from the fourth chapter. By REV. JOEL MANN. New York: E. French, 135 Nassau street. 1851. pp. 302.

Annals of the Famine in Ireland in 1847, 1848, and 1849. By MRS. A. NICHOLSON, author of "Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger." New York: E. French, 135 Nassau street. 1851. pp. 336.

It will be recollected that Mrs. Nicholson visited Ireland in the years of the Famine. She resided there some years in constant intercourse with the people. This volume contains the result of her observations. We have had time since receiving it, to read only a portion of the book, but we have read enough to satisfy us that it contains very much that is highly interesting and valuable.

Memoir of David Hale, late Editor of the Journal of Commerce, with selections from his miscellaneous writings. By REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON. 2d Edition. 1 vol. 8vo. New York: E. French, 135 Nassau street.

We are glad to see that this useful piece of biography has reached a second edition, and has been brought out in a handsome octavo volume.

The Sanctuary preeminently the place of God's Glory. A Sermon at the re-opening of the North Church, in New Haven, Dec. 6, 1850. By SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON. New Haven: A. H. Maltby, 67 Chapel street. 1851. pp. 19.

The Fathers of New England—Religion, their ruling motive in their Emigration. A Sermon preached on the Lord's Day, Dec. 22, 1850, the 230th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims. By SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON. New Haven: A. H. Maltby, No. 67 Chapel street. 1851. pp. 17.

The Riches of Bunyan. Selected from his works, for the American Tract Society, by REV. JEREMIAH CHAPLIN, with an Introductory Notice, by Rev. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, D.D. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York. Sold at the Tract Depository, New Haven, by J. B. Peck. pp. 488.

This selection is made from the entire works of Bunyan, and the materials arranged under appropriate heads, such as, "God," "The Trinity," "The Scriptures," and the like. The selections are well made, and will be valued by every one who possesses them.

London Labor and the London Poor. By HENRY MAYHEW. With Daguerreotype engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. Parts 1 and 4. pp. 96.

This work is the result, we believe, of personal investigation, and its details, we suppose, may be depended upon. They present a state of heathenism and social degradation, which shows that the march of improvement in the Nineteenth Century has been on a level high above large masses of human beings, even in the most civilized countries. When the work is finished, we shall take up and discuss the subject at length.

Nile Notes of a Howadji. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street. 1851.

This book is very pleasant reading for a leisure hour.

The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer. Translated from the German of PAUL HENRY, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin, by Henry Stebbing, D.D., F.R.S. In two volumes. Vol. 1. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 519. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

We acknowledge the receipt of the first volume of this most valuable work. We hardly need recommend it to our readers. We hope to make it the subject of an extended article.

The Decline of Popery and its Causes. An Address delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, January 15th, 1851. By Rev. N. MURRAY, D.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1851. pp. 32.



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